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The
Emma
Goldman
Papers

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The
Emma
Goldman
Papers

A Microfilm Edition

Reel 14

Correspondence:

October 1, 1924 to April 30, 1925

Edited by

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Ronald J. Zboray

and

Daniel Cornford

CHADWYCK-HEALEY INC.

Alexandria, Virginia

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- [Letter, 1925] Feb. 6, Berlin [to] Em[ma Goldman, London] / [Alexander Berkman].
- [Letter, 19]25 [Feb.?] 6 [London to] Emma Goldman, [London] / Havelock Ellis.
- [Letter, 19]25 Feb. 6 [London to] Emma Goldman, [London] / Havelock Ellis.
- [Letter] 1925 Feb. 6, London [to] Odette Keun, St. Jean, France / [Emma Goldman].
- [Letter, 19]25 Feb. 6 [London to] Emma [Goldman, London] / T[h]om[as H. Keell].
- [Letter] 1925 Feb. 6, Berlin [to] Emma Goldman, London / Helene Stöcker. [In German.]
- [Letter] 1925 Feb. 7 [London to Emma] Goldman, [London] / Marie Belloc Lowndes.
- [Letter] 1925 Feb. 7 [London to] Emma [Goldman, London] / Rebecca West.
- [Letter] 1925 Feb. 9, London [to Ragnar Casparsson, Stockholm] / Emma Goldman.
- [Letter] 1925 Feb. 9, [London to] Bertrand Russell, [London] / Emma Goldman.
- [Letter] 1925 Feb. 9, Berlin [to] Emma Goldman, London / Walter Rohlapp.
- [Letter, 1925] Feb. 9 [London to Emma] Goldman, [London] / Juliet Soskice.
- [Letter, 19]25 Feb. 9 [London to Emma] Goldman, [London] / Josiah C. Wedgwood.
- [Letter] 1925 Feb. 10, London [to Stella Ballantine, New York] / E[mma] Goldman.

Emma Goldman Papers**Contents: Reel 14**

- [Letter] 1925 Feb. 10 [London to] Emma Goldman, [London] / Prince Hopkins.
[Letter] 1925 Feb. 10, Hythe [England to Emma Goldman, London] / W[illia]m C. Owen.
[Letter] 1925 Feb. 11 [London to] Emma Goldman, [London] / Emmeline Pethick Lawrence.
[Letter] 1925 Feb. 14, Stockholm [to] Emma Goldman, London / Albert Bonnier.
[Letter, 19]25 Feb. 14, London [to Emma] Goldman, [London] / Bertrand Russell.
[Letter] 1925 Feb. 14, Brighton [England to] Emma [Goldman, London] / John Turner.
[Letter] 1925 Feb. 15, Stockholm [to] Emma Goldman, [London] / R[agnar] C[asparsson]. [In German.]
[Letter] 1925 Feb. 17, London [to Emma] Goldman, [London] / [Lady] Rhondda.
[Letter] 1925 Feb. 17 [London to Emma Goldman, London] / David Soskice.
[Letter] 1925 Feb. 18 [London to] Emma Goldman, [London] / Stan Harding.
[Letter] 1925 Feb. 18 [London to] Emma Goldman, [London] / Emmeline Pethick Lawrence.
[Letter] 1925 Feb. 19 [London to] Emma [Goldman, London] / Prince Hopkins.
[Letter] 1925 Feb. 19, London [to Emma] Goldman, [London] / [Lady] Rhondda.
[Letter] 1925 Feb. 19 [London to Emma Goldman, London] / David Soskice.
[Letter] 1925 Feb. 20, London [to Edward] Carpenter, [Guildford, England] / [Emma Goldman].
[Letter] 1925 Feb. 20, London [to Samuel Eliot] Morison, [Oxford, England (fragment)] / [Emma Goldman].
[Letter] 1925 Feb. 21, London [to Alexander Berkman, Berlin] / E[mma Goldman].
[Letter] 1925 Feb. 21, London [to] Emma Goldman, [London] / Prince Hopkins.
[Letter, 1925] Feb. 21 [Oxford, England to Emma] Goldman, [London] / S[amuel] E[liot] Morison.
[Letter, 1925] Feb. 22, St. Jean [France to Emma] Goldman, [London] / Odette Keun.
[Letter, 19]25 Feb. 22 [London to] Emma [Goldman, London] / T[h]om[as H. Keell].
[Letter] 1925 Feb. 23 Turö [Denmark to] Emma Goldman, [London] / Karin [Michaelis].
[Letter] 1925 Feb. 24, London [to] Havelock Ellis, [London] / Emma Goldman.
[Letter] 1925 Feb. 24, London [to] Minna Low[en]so[h]n, [New York] / [Emma Goldman].
[Letter] 1925 Feb. 24, London [to] Minna [Lowensohn, New York] / E[mma] G[oldman].
[Letter] 1925 Feb. 24, London [to] Kate [Richards] O'Hare, [New York?] / [Emma Goldman].
[Letter] 1925 Feb. 24, London [to] Kate [Richards] O'Hare, [New York? (fragment)] / [Emma Goldman].
[Letter] 1925 Feb. 25, London [to Alexander Berkman, Berlin] / E[mma Goldman].

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- [Letter] 1925 Feb. 25, London [to] John H. Cook, Providence, R.I. / Emma Goldman.
- [Letter] 1925 Feb. 25 [Oxford, England to Emma] Goldman, [London] / [Charles] Wright Thomas.
- [Letter] 1925 Feb. 26, London [to] Havelock Ellis, [London, England] / Emma Goldman.
- [Letter] 1925 Feb. 26, London [to] Odette Keun, [St. Jean, France] / [Emma Goldman].
- [Letter] 1925 Feb. 27 [London to] Michael A. Cohn, Brooklyn, N.Y. / [Emma Goldman].
- [Letter] 1925 Feb. 2[7?] London [to] Agnes Ingl[i]s, Ann Arbor, Mich. / [Emma Goldman].
- [Letter] 1925 Feb. 27, London [to] Max Nettlau, Vienna / E[mma] G[oldman].
- [Meeting notes, 1925 Feb. 27, London to Max Nettlau, Vienna (enclosure)] / [Emma Goldman].
- [Letter] 1925 Feb. 27, London [to] Harry Weinberger, New York / E[mma] G[oldman].
- [Letter] 1925 Feb. 28, London [to] Emma Goldman, [London] / Prince Hopkins.
- [Letter] 1925 Feb. 28, Berlin [to] Emma [Goldman, London] / [Isaac] Don [Levine].
- [Letter, 1925 March?] Berlin [to] Emma [Goldman, London] / Agnes [Smedley].
- [Letter, 1925 March?] Bristol [England to Gabriel Javicas, London] / E[mma] G[oldman].
- [Letter] 1925 March, Vienna [to] E[mma] G[oldman, London] / M[ax] Nettlau.
- [Envelope] 1925 March 3 [London to] Max Nettlau, Vienna / [Emma Goldman].
- [Letter] 1925 March 3, London [to Stella Ballantine, New York] / E[mma Goldman].
- [Letter, 1925] March 3, London [to Isaac] Don Levine, [Nice] / E[mma] Goldman.
- [Letter] 1925 March 3 [London to] Emma [Goldman, London] / John Turner.
- [Letter] 1925 March 3 [London to] Emma [Goldman, London] / John Turner.
- [Letter, 19]25 March 3 [London to Emma] Goldman, [London] / Florence Wedgwood.
- [Letter, 1925] March 4 [London to] Gab[riel Javicas, London] / E[mma] G[oldman].
- [Letter, 1925] March 4 [London to Gabriel Javicas, London] / Emma Goldman. [In German.]
- [Letter] 1925 March 5, London [to] Powers Hapgood, Rome / E[mma] G[oldman].
- [Letter] 1925 March 5, London [to Emma] Goldman, [London] / [Lady] Rhondda.
- [Letter, 19]25 March 5 [London to Emma] Goldman, [London] / Florence Wedgwood.
- [Letter] 1925 March 7, Nice [to Emma] Goldman, London / Frank Harris.
- [Letter] 1925 March 7, London [to] Emma Goldman, [London] / Prince Hopkins.

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- [Letter, 19]25 March 7 [London to Emma] Goldman, [London] / Florence Wedgwood.
- [Letter] 1925 March 8 [London to Emma Goldman, London] / David Soskice.
- [Letter] 1925 March 10 [London to] Emma Goldman, [London] / Stan Harding.
- [Letter]-1925 March 11, London [to Alexander Berkman, Berlin] / E[mma] G[oldman].
- [Letter] 1925 March 12 [London to Alexander Berkman, Berlin] / E[mma] Goldman.
- [Letter] 1925 March 12, Nice [to] Emma Goldman, London / Frank Harris.
- [Letter] 1925 March 12 [New York to] Emma Goldman, London / H[arry] W[einberger].
- [Letter, 1925 March 13? London to Alexander Berkman, Berlin] / E[mma] Goldman.
- [Letter, 1925] March 13, London [to Isaac] Don [Levine, Paris?] / E[mma] G[oldman].
- [Letter] 1925 March 13 [London to] Emma [Goldman, London] / John Turner.
- [Letter] 1925 March 14, London [to] Emma Goldman, [London] / Prince Hopkins.
- [Letter, 1925] March 16, Paris [to Emma Goldman, London] / [Alexander Berkman].
- [Letter] 1925 March 16, London [to Alexander Berkman, Berlin] / E[mma] Goldman.
- [Letter, 1925] March 17 [London to] Emma Goldman, [London] / Stan Harding.
- [Letter] 1925 March 17, Vienna [to] E[mma] G[oldman, London] / M[ax] N[ettlau].
- [Letter, 19]25 March 18 [London to Emma] Goldman, [London] / Florence Wedgwood.
- [Letter] 1925 March 19, London [to Alexander Berkman, Berlin] / E[mma] Goldman.
- [Letter] 1925 March 19, Ann Arbor [Mich. to] Emma [Goldman, London] / Agnes [Inglis].
- [Letter] 1925 March 19 [London to Emma Goldman, London] / David Soskice.
- [Letter] 1925 March 20, Berlin [to] Emma [Goldman, London] / Agnes [Smedley].
- [Letter, 19]25 March 20 [London to Emma] Goldman, [London] / Florence Wedgwood.
- [Letter, 1925] March 21, St. Jean [France to Emma] Goldman, [London] / Odette Keun.
- [Letter] 1925 March 22, Rochester, N.Y. [to] Emma [Goldman, London] / Saxe [Commins].
- [Envelope] 1925 March 23 [London to] Max Nettlau, Vienna / E[mma] G[oldman].
- [Letter] 1925 March 25, New York [to] Emma [Goldman, London] / Henry [G. Alsberg].
- [Letter] 1925 March 27 [New York to] Emma Goldman, London / R[oger] B[aldwin].

- [Letter] 1925 March 27, New York [to] Emma Goldman, London / Roger Baldwin.
- [Letter] 1925 March 27 [Glanamman?] Wales [to Stella Ballantine, New York] / E[mma Goldman].
- [Letter] 1925 March 27 [London to Emma Goldman, London] / David Soskice.
- [Letter, 1925] March 28 [St. Cloud, France to Emma Goldman, London] / [Alexander Berkman].
- [Letter, 19]25 March 28, London [to] Emma Goldman, [London] / Havelock Ellis.
- [Letter, 1925] March 31, Treherbert [Wales to Gabriel Javsicas, London] / Emma Goldman. [In German.]
- [Letter, 1925 between April and June, London? to Alexander Berkman, Berlin (fragment)] / [Emma Goldman].
- [Letter, 1925 April? Bristol, England to Alexander Berkman, Berlin (fragment)] / [Emma Goldman].
- [Letter, 1925 April? London to] E[mma] G[oldman, London] / [Charles Wright] T[h]om[as].
- [Letter, 1925 April? Oxford, England to Emma] Goldman, [London] / [Charles] Wright Thomas.
- [Letter, 1925] April 1 [London to] Gabriel [Javsicas, London] / E[mma] G[oldman].
- [Letter, 19]25 April 1 [Berlin to] Emma [Goldman, London] / Rudolf [Rocker]. [In German.]
- [Letter] 1925 April 2, London [to Max Nettlau, Vienna] / E[mma] G[oldman].
- [Envelope, 1925 April 2? Treherbert, Wales to] Max Nettlau, Vienna / [Emma Goldman].
- [Letter] 1925 April 2, Treherbert [Wales to W.S. Van Valkenburgh, New York?] / E[mma] G[oldman].
- [Letter] 1925 April 2, Treherbert [Wales to W.S. Van Valkenburgh, New York] / [Emma Goldman].
- [Letter] 1925 April 2, London [to Emma] Goldman, [London] / [Charles Wright] T[h]om[as].
- [Letter] 1925 April 3, Treherbert, Wales [to] Michael [A. Cohn, New York] / E[mma] G[oldman].
- [Letter] 1925 April 3 [London to Emma Goldman, London?] / David Soskice.
- [Letter] 1925 April 4, Berlin [to] E[mma] G[oldman], London / [Isaac] Don [Levine].
- [Letter] 1925 April 5, Treherbert, Wales [to W.S. Van Valkenburgh, New York] / E[mma] G[oldman].
- [Letter, 19]25 April 6, Vienna [to] E[mma] G[oldman, London] / M[ax] Nettlau.
- [Letter] 1925 April 7, Berlin [to] E[mma] G[oldman, London] / [Isaac] Don [Levine].
- [Letter] 1925 April 7 [New York to] E[mma] G[oldman], London / H[arry] W[einberger].
- [Letter] 1925 April 8, London [to Isaac] Don [Levine, Berlin] / E[mma] G[oldman].

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- [Letter] 1925 April 9 [London to Gabriel Javscas, London] / E[mma] G[oldman]. [In German.]
- [Letter] 1925 April 9 [London to Emma Goldman, London] / David Soskice.
- [Letter] 1925 April 9, London [to Isaac] Don [Levine, Berlin] / E[mma] G[oldman].
- [Letter] 1925 April 10 [London to] Minna [Lowensohn, New York?] / E[mma] G[oldman].
- [Letter] 1925 April 13, London [to] Powers Hapgood, [London?] / E[mma] G[oldman].
- [Letter] 1925 April 14, London [to Stella Ballantine, Rochester, N.Y.] / E[mma] Goldman.
- [Letter] 1925 April 14, London [to Albert] Bonnier, Stockholm / [Emma Goldman].
- [Letter] 1925 April 15, Berlin [to] E[mma] G[oldman, London] / [Isaac] Don [Levine].
- [Letter, 19]25 April 16 [London to] Emma [Goldman, London] / Rebecca West.
- [Letter, 19]25 April 16 [London to] Emma [Goldman, London] / Rebecca West.
- [Letter] 1925 April 17, London [to Isaac] Don [Levine, Berlin] / E[mma] G[oldman].
- [Letter] 1925 April 18, Stockholm [to] Emma Goldman, London / Albert Bonnier.
- [Letter] 1925 April 20, London [to] Roger Baldwin, [New York] / E[mma] G[oldman].
- [Letter] 1925 April 20, London [to] Roger Baldwin, [New York] / E[mma] G[oldman].
- [Letter] 1925 April 20, London [to] Roger Baldwin, [New York] / [Emma Goldman].
- [Letter] 1925 April 20, London [to] Roger Baldwin, [New York] / E[mma] G[oldman].
- [Letter] 1925 April 20, Norwich [England to] Roger Baldwin, [New York] / E[mma] G[oldman].
- [Letter] 1925 April 20, London [to] Roger Baldwin, [New York] / E[mma] G[oldman].
- [Postcard, 1925?] April 20 [London? to] G[abriel] Ja[vsicas], London / E[mma] G[oldman].
- [Letter, 1925] April 21 [London to Emma] Goldman, [London] / Juliet Soskice.
- [Letter] 1925 April 22, London [to Isaac] Don [Levine, Berlin] / E[mma] G[oldman].
- [Letter] 1925 April 23 [New York to] Emma [Goldman, London] / M[ichael] A. C[ohn].
- [Letter] 1925 April 23, Leeds [England to Gabriel Javscas, London] / [Emma Goldman]. [In German.]
- [Letter] 1925 April 26 [London to] Josiah C. Wedgwood, [London] / [Emma Goldman].
- [Letter] 1925 April 28 [Berlin to] E[mma] G[oldman, London] / [Isaac] Don [Levine].

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[Letter] 1925 April 28 [New York to] Emma Goldman, London / [W.S.] Van
[Valkenburgh].
[Letter] 1925 April 29 [London to] Emma Goldman, [London] / [H. Matheson].
[Letter] 1925 April 29 [London to] Emma Goldman, [London] / H. Matheson.
[Letter, 1925 April 29] London [to] E[mma] G[oldman, London] / [Charles
Wright] T[h]om[as].

Introduction to Reels 14 and 15 **(October 1, 1924 to April 30, 1926)**

From September 1924 through April 1926, Emma Goldman lived in exile in England where she hoped to revive her career as a writer and lecturer. Upon her arrival in London, she received an enthusiastic welcome from Labourites, Socialists, and other British luminaries. At a large reception sponsored by Bertrand Russell, Rebecca West, and Edward Carpenter in November 1924, Goldman made her debut in left-wing English society. British fascination with Goldman, however, soon cooled as she tenaciously pursued her anti-Bolshevik work. While her stand on the Soviet Union alienated much of the British left, Goldman refused to collaborate with right-wing elements who shared her anti-Bolshevik sentiments. As Goldman described it, she was perpetually "caught between two fires."

The Russian controversy dominates the correspondence during these years (see especially the letters from Goldman to Bertrand Russell, February 9, 1925, and John Turner, May 1, 1925). Her staunch anti-Sovietism also caused a growing rift between Goldman and American Civil Liberties Union co-founder Roger Baldwin. Working on behalf of Soviet political prisoners, Baldwin solicited Goldman and Alexander Berkman to help in compiling documentation for *Letters from Russian Prisons* in 1925. Goldman's blanket condemnation of the Soviet state, however, troubled Baldwin who limited his criticism to civil rights issues (see letter to Baldwin, April 20, 1925).

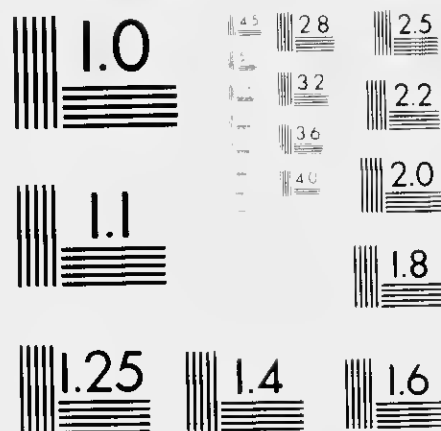
By 1925, Goldman had grown frustrated with her anti-Soviet activity which she characterized as a "disastrous defeat." Later that year, she developed a series of drama lectures and toured the country under the sponsorship of the British Drama League. She also published a British edition of *My Two Years*

in Russia with a new introduction by writer and friend Rebecca West. On the whole, though, her attempts to earn a living through writing and speaking were only marginally successful.

In order to obtain a British passport, in June 1925 Goldman married James Colton, a Welsh coal miner and long-time comrade. This paper marriage gave Goldman citizenship rights which allowed her to travel to France that winter. After returning to London for a few months, Goldman headed back to southern France where she joined Alexander Berkman at St. Tropez in May 1926. She did not visit England again for any extensive period until 1933.

Correspondents in these reels include: her life-long anarchist comrade Alexander Berkman; Goldman's attorney Harry Weinberger; historian Samuel Eliot Morison; psychologist Havelock Ellis; philosopher Bertrand Russell; and British writers Frank Harris and Rebecca West. During these years, Goldman also renewed contact with her ex-lover Ben Reitman. Their correspondence was as stormy as ever, and old tensions plagued Reitman's visit with Goldman in 1926 (see letter to Reitman, April 15, 1926). Among the notable women correspondents are: socialist prison reformer Kate Richards O'Hare; American feminist and radical Agnes Smedley; and French author and socialist exile Odette Kuen.

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The Emma Goldman Papers

870923112

[Letter, 1924 Oct., London to unknown recipient] / E[mma Goldman].—
2 p. ; 12 × 15 cm.

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Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

ANARCHIST RED CROSS
AND 8719
WORKERS FRIEND GROUP.

A Supper & Reception

TO GREET

EMMA GOLDMAN & MILLIE ROCKER

will take place at

KLEINMAN'S RESTAURANT,

ALDGATE EAST CHAMBERS E 1

ON SATURDAY, OCTOBER 18TH, 1924,

at 7 p.m.

SUPPER TICKETS 4 -

only

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[Letter, 1924 Oct., London to unknown recipient] / E[mma Goldman].—
2 p.; 12 × 15 cm.

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much as I would love
to have you. I am
glad you will not
be at this pitiful
Pity poor Miley and
myself. By the way
you should hear Miley
talk, you'd be amazed
at his fluency.
Love, CG

8720

The Emma Goldman Papers

850702118

[Letter, 1924 Oct.] London [to] H[arry] W[einberger, New York] / E[mma] G[oldman]. — 2 p. ; 28 x 22 cm.

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[1924 Oct]

E. G. Kershner.
3, Titchfield Terrace.
Regent's Park. London, N, W, 8.

Dear H. W. All small favors are gratefully accepted. You haven't written me one honest to God letter since you reached our own "free" country, but at least you have been sending me copies of letters written to others. From them I am able to see that you are as ever resourceful and energetic. I congratulate you on having succeeded with the joror in the Moony case with whom everybody else has failed. I only hope it will do some good for poor Moony I had a letter from friends in Calif, telling me that the man looked thin and worn. If he is continued in that awful place he may not last much longer. What a dreadful commentary on American justice to keep a man now recognized by all to be innocent in prison so long. I sincerely hope your efforts may bring fruit.

Your letter to the Nation is a bit naive. Why should a paper which fights for freedom in America yet condones the methods which outrage freedom in Russia, want to advertise E. G book? The people of the Nation know the contents of my book and they have not the guts to review it even. That merely goes to prove to what extent Moscow is hoodwinking everybody, especially the so called Liberals and Radicals who are as bigotted as the Catholic Church, and will not listen to the other side. I am curious to know the kind of reply your will get from the Nation.

I wonder when the 12 chapters will be out. I have written Doubleday, Page the other day, have asked them for fifty copies each of the two volumes. Will you see that I get them at cost price, as I need them for review in Europe. Brandt and Kirkpatrick have sent me the name of their agent here who is now trying to find an English publisher for my book. I have no faith in her success. If only Grant Richards had not been so timid and had brought out the book last spring, thousands of copies could have been sold now during the present elections when Russia is again so much to the fore. But publishers are so cowardly, certainly not very enterprising in this part of the world.

The lack of enterprising spirit will also be a great draw back in my efforts. Everybody tells me a free lance has no chance in England because everybody here is tucked away in some groove, organization, society or club. Naturally, I can not join the groove so where will I come in? Still, I mean to press on, I can see that if I can only hold out long enough and especially if I had initial capital to try a lecture tour on my own, I would make it go. That is just the rub, lack of funds. Well, I must try to find the people here sufficiently interested in the work I mean to do, to back me.

I found one, she has no money but she has an important position in public life here, Rebecca West. Do you know

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[Letter, 1924 Oct.] London [to] H[arry] W[einberger, New York] / E[mma] G[oldman]. — 2 p. ; 28 x 22 cm.

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[1924 Oct]

anything of her writings, The Return of the Soldier, the Judge, a work on James the writer? She is very gifted, but more than that is her personality, alert, friendly and generous. Of course she is an English Jewish, quite a different breed than the Engl. They are so cold and aloof, they freeze my blood. But Miss West has warmth and is eager to help. She wants to do all she can in interesting people in my work, and I am sure she will. I have met a few others who might prove helpful, but on the whole it is going to be a very slow process and an uphill fight.

Meanwhile a dinner has been arranged to take place Nov. 13th, West, Bertrand Russell and other known men and women are to be asked to speak. I will see what the dinner will bring. It is not only backing for the work which I will need it is also moral backing for my continued stay here. The alien laws in England are very drastic, people are being sent out for the slightest infractions. It is therefore, not at all certain that an attempt may not be made in my case the moment I become active. I must for this very reason have some backing which the dinner is to provide. Personally, I have come to the point where I do not give a damn what will happen, I am determined to let it come to a test. I am weary of inactivity and am quite decided to go ahead regardless of consequences, provided I can get the necessary material help. We, will see.

I haven't seen an American paper in ages, there must be considerable excitement about La Follette. Soon the issue will be decided, or merely deferred. I wish you'd write.

As ever faithfully.

L G

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The Emma Goldman Papers

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[Letter] 1924 Oct. 1, London [to] Sophi[a] Kropotkin, London? / Emma Goldman. — 1 p. ; 27 x 22 cm.

Obtained from the Central State Archive of the October Revolution. Institutional Location: Peter Kropotkin Collection.

4
c/o G. Kropotkin.
c/o Doris Zuck.
3, Titchfield Rd.
W. 8, London N.

Oct 1st. 1924.

My dear Sophie.

I would have written you sooner but I did not have your address and I was busy this week writing a lot of letters which I neglected the last two days in Paris.

I do want to see you and Sasha, when shall it be? Could I come to you Saturday afternoon, I mean can you have me then? Please let me know.

It took me a good deal of effort to get here and now that I am in England I find myself more stranded than ever. I know so few people, in fact hardly any one outside of a few comrades who much as they desired can be of me help in gaining a footing here. John Turner suggested some kind of a reception where I might meet a lot of people from different political and social ranks. Unfortunately, John is going away to Russia and will probably not have the time to give to arrange such a gathering. And I have no idea who else might. Yet it is a question of life and death for me to have the right kind of introduction to public life in England. Upon this depends whether I should be able to take root here, or again be sent adrift.

Speaking of receptions brings to my mind the wonderful evening in your house when Peter was alive. It was in 1899, the year I came over to England. The war and the Russian failure have disrupted everything to such an extent one no longer knows who one's friends or enemies are. Our dear Peter died since, others are worse than dead. It is all so terribly sad. Yet I cling to the hope that there maybe a few left here with whom one might pick up the lost thread and begin to weave again something new and vital for the future.

Please write me if I may come Saturday, or if that does not suite you then Monday next.

Affectionately.

Emma

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870923105

[Letter, 1924] Oct. 2, London [to Alexander Berkman, Berlin] / E[mma Goldman].—
5 p.; 26 x 21 cm.

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Oct 2 1924.

Dearest Sasha.

I have just come from an amusing adventure. You remember I was telling last year of a letter which I had from the American Consul from a British representative of an American Newspaper Corporation who wanted to publish in Russia. The letter did not come off when the Corporation learned that my stuff in Russia had already appeared. But I remained in correspondence with P. V. Curtiss, the American representative in London.

Recently when I left Paris I received a letter from him Mr Curtiss had been in London for 10 days, and I could not see him. I was in London for 10 days in an interview, but could not see him. I am in this week. I got a reply from him last lunch for today and adding that I must not be late. I have only recently taken over my father's business. I realized that the pleasure will all be mine, but as I am exceedingly keen about it, I have had to give up my business. Well, I went to lunch and discovered that P. V. Curtiss had been in London for 10 days, but he was very attractive young man, a very attractive man who has taken over his father's business with the usual American adventurous and daring spirit. I confess I was surprised but very pleasantly so. Now if I could, I would like to see the chance I would have. I am to see the young "man" lady again next Wed, when I am to speak to her about your book, which I am to see her first, if it would not mind me to see her story. Well, it certainly was an amusing adventure.

You must know that the United States Newspaper Corporation caters to Trade Papers, I think it has about six ty papers. I am not sure anything would come of the matter, but I want to try it. However, I must have your permission before Wed. The conditions they offered me was \$50 for an article, they wanted seven then, and fifty percent of the their receipts from sales to their papers. Naturally they would not take the whole book, but you could give them seven or eight articles. What do you think of it? Let me know before Wed.

Dearest Sasha, it is all very well to place the gage on figure ten and the other on 85. that is easy enough. But the gages seem to have a way of their own, they refuse to stay put. They keep on moving as you will see by this sheet. What I wanted you to tell me is how to fasten the damned thing so it stays in its place. I can not find the screw

3. Did you see telegram would be very interesting. He is a very interesting man. I am not sure anything would come of the matter, but I want to try it. However, I must have your permission before Wed. The conditions they offered me was \$50 for an article, they wanted seven then, and fifty percent of the their receipts from sales to their papers. Naturally they would not take the whole book, but you could give them seven or eight articles. What do you think of it? Let me know before Wed.

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[Letter, 1924] Oct. 2, London [to Alexander Berkman, Berlin] / E[mma Goldman]. — 5 p. ; 26 x 21 cm.
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anywhere. And without it they refuse to stand in one place. That is why I have been evicted.

Dear Sir, I wish I could tell you how much I have enjoyed your visit. But though I am here ten days nothing has happened to improve my outlook. Yesterday I spent five hours in the House of Commons. I did not hear the debate. But I did sit on with Jack Johns, one of the most original of the Labor leaders. After dinner I had a lot of the A.P.s to introduce to me. It was through a friend of Rose Witkop's that I met Jack Johns. Well, I did not find him very interesting. As we gave in America only better educated in labor questions. I was glad when they had to go home. Possibly in the way of getting a permanent stay in England, or if I had any trouble I could get a little help here. But as to any kind of political work, they are not only of no use, but would be a hindrance. Certainly, if I were plunged into the internal affairs I would have to attack the political party of the Labor Party and any other politicians.

However it was interesting to meet these men, all risen from the lowest labor depths now deciding the fate of nations. It was amusing to say the least. And yet also painful that I the uneducated should sit to waste five hours in a political net of life the House of Commons. This does change one's attitude on many things, doesn't it? Well, I cannot expect to be useful to the cause of the oppressed. And they are the only ones I have met so far.

No doubt there are many as there who would like to see me, I have no idea where they are, London is so vast and people here live so scattered from each other it takes too much time to meet them. Then too they are mostly Jewish comrades. The English comrades I know are either dead, out of the movement, or they live in various parts of England. There is no one here except Keell and Owen. I have seen them both and got nothing from them, not one useful idea. Saturday, I am going to the Freie Arbeiter Stimme banquet where I will no doubt meet a lot of Jewish comrades. And if my aim were to become active in the Jewish movement I know all of the comrades would do their best to give me all assistance possible. But of course, I have no intention of doing only Jewish propaganda. I will do that when I have established myself in the English speaking ranks. But the rub is how to establish myself there. So far there is not the faintest hope. By the way, I could not write an article for the F.A.R.B. St. but I sent a cable.

^{note} I wish you that John Turner suggested a reception for me to be initiated. He is the man to arrange it, but he has already written me that as he is going to Russia soon he

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The Emma Goldman Papers

870923105

[Letter, 1924] Oct. 2, London [to Alexander Berkman, Berlin] / Emma Goldman. — 5 p.; 26 x 21 cm.

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8704

will have no time to do anything about the reception. I have made another appeal to him to take it up since he is not going until the 16th. But I don't know whether he will. Of course he will give me names of people and he himself will give me letters of introduction. I may get Wess, Tcherkesoff and a few others of the old guard to arrange a sort of gathering. I will see. Only it is like so living from the very beginning, 35 years ago. I was younger then and less fastidious. People affect a different way then they did then. Like the friend of Rosa Witkop, he is good natured but so loud and vulgar it is an effort for me to deal with him. Now if one has become so sensitive and selective it is almost impossible to approach all sorts of people.

The war, the war and Russia have created an abyss. Take for instance Tcherkesoff, there is no denying his Jingoism during the war and even now. He became a violent Georgian patriot and even for little me. It is not pleasant to have him on a committee to arrange anything for me. He will be a matter of fact only quere my position. And so it goes with a lot of other things people. In short the situation is difficult and not very encouraging. If only we had some kind of an income, or I could earn even as much as you do now. It would be precious little for London, it just costs like hell to live here. Still, it would be something. But I have nothing. I had two hundred dollars with Harry Ballantine, in fact less than that. I had to ask him to send me ten pounds, \$45. It will not last for two weeks. My first week here cost \$22. True I had a few extra expenses, cable, my trunk and odds and ends. On the other hand I had but few meals at home and I was invited out. If I will have regular meals at home and occasionally go to a theatre or attend a concert, I will hardly do it for less than \$25 a week. In other words the money I have with Harry B will not go very far. Then I must begin drawing on the few dollars we have which as I have repeatedly told you I am handing on to as an emergency fund, illness, or if we will not raise enough to get out your box. Or if I must go back to Paris to try the tea room. It is this which worries me so terribly in my state here. Yet I must hold out couple of months anyway. I will keep you advised.

Dear, you must write Turner. Of course I talked to him and I will again. But it is necessary to get some thing from you. You ought to know your name enough to understand that Turner is likely to think that I am exaggerating about Russia. You go yourself often tell me that I am not accurate in facts. I am amused at that, but men have such an attitude towards my poor name. It is therefore most important that I should get facts from you, and still better official facts. I mean your committee. I do not say it will do much good. I believe you are right in your lack of faith in any of the people who go to R. Still it is necessary that you write, please do it soon. By the way, I met Purcell yesterday, you remember him, he was in Petrograd and Moscow in 1920. He recognized me at once and asked about you. He

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is on the committee for the "R" this month. If you have any material send it to me, I will turn it over to Purcell. I am to see Jack Johns & Co. next Tuesday when he will take me through the House of Commons just to see the place. I will get Purcell's address from him. So you better write and send me whatever you have on the "R" this month, please.

Debbie, I have a feeling of you to think that you can not write to people who have contributed to the money raised by H, K, and Emma. It is quite contrary. The fact that you are not using the money for yourself, that you are keeping it for your own will only on once the estate your friends have for you and make them willing to do with your own. Take Margaret Sanger for instance, I am sure she would be glad to extend you a loan of \$100 on your book. Why should you not ask her? I understand she has no say. And you are not asking for gifts but for a loan which is quite another matter. I am certain Lavroff would do the same if not more. There are Goldman and Bloom of Chicago, who would let you have hundreds of dollars. And of course Michael would and will extend a loan of several hundred. You must ask them your money and they will give it to you. After all it is not for you, it is for the "R", which you must do it. After which you will. It is for you, which you must do it to come out right after Christmas, or better the New Year. It must not be delayed. And if it is to be delayed then the matter ought to be settled right away so that the "R" can begin on it. Well, I hope F. or Pauline will attend to it at once. As I will write Henry A. I quite agree that Vladimir would be better than Cain. He is a more decent fellow and he liked you a great deal. Why not proceed? I wish the United Newspaper Corporation would subsidize the "R", it would give you some money to start the "R". But they do not care for it. Write me.

Finally, even though I wanted the letter from Einstein to be a revelation, I am not that. I am not that. I wanted Stella and Pauline to see a copy so they could use the reference to it as that help them with it to get it out of production. I need a copy for the "R" representative of Leade who does not yet know who the "R" is. At least I do not think he knows the "R" way have guessed. I want him to know what his Chief Editor of E G and the attitude Einstein has on it. I want that so I have a plan for his opinion. But because I want him to believe that some English producers when I want to make the "R" a success. You see that way I needed copies. To be for the "R" the.

As for the "R" material, you see how about the "R" Bible will not do, exact as you said, for Russia, no other country would run it. But my suggestion of a story about Harry would go, if not in A, certainly in England. The only thing is that you will have to have some pleasant ending. Certain the Russ Russell story would do. It occurs to me that you might combine Harry's life with that of Ed Morrell, make Harry come out after

I sent you already miserably expect something more
get it to me. I will see Pauline and ask her to write
get it to me. I will see Pauline and ask her to write
get it to me. I will see Pauline and ask her to write

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you are all efforts, and devote herself to sanitizing prisons. You could use your own influence on Harry, and then find some woman who helps him when he leaves prison. That is how Ed Kerrell survived and did very good work when he was released. A woman here, Mrs. Alice Pitt, did and devoted herself to his work. Fact is you could use Ed Kerrelling fully, entirely. Mr. John de Evans was a friend of Ed's, and the part Kerrell played, what do you think? What do you think of this? What do you think?

Dear dear Sam, you too have the seven old men heaped upon you. How can you, Sam, have the seven old men heaped upon your feet? You see I am finding out this about you even if you do not write. You are getting fairly old. You tell me you are not in a hurry to write about yourself. As if I am asking you about my intimate affairs. I am naturally interested in your health knowing the amount of my love exists. Why you should object to writing about it I do not understand. My own worries, as if there is anything in all the world that means as much to me as your health. But I xxx will not pester you with questions any more. Write when you feel the need. Only know that I am concerned.

[illegible]

The \$1000 content for prison story appeared in ~~xxxxx~~
~~xxxxxx~~ the "Donachellis Press". The clipping was sent to me by
 some one from Providence. I have taken down the address of that
 publication. It is 257 West 71st St New York City. Even if the
 content is closed it might be a good idea to send some short
 story on American Jails and Police in creating criminals and faste
 ring crime". That was the title of the content story. I think I
 will write the paper to get a copy we can then see what it stands for

So old George Selden is in Europe. Is he coming to England? If he is, give him my address. I like the old guy, he is so much finer than his son especially, George Junior. Give the old fellow my regards. And also the Levines. I hope the latter has sent me money to Sanya for the translation. He needs it badly. I have heard from Sanya, he tells me he has written you to come to Paris as it would be better to do the work you have in mind. He is right of course. Only if the Bolshoi job isn't to be followed up by the Bull Bulletin F, suggested it will not pay you to give up your job in B. Well, in that too I am not going to worry you with suggestions....

I think I have replied to both of your long letters in full. There is nothing more I can say about myself. If anything of interest develops I will write of course. I do not expect any thing this week any more. Affectionately. *g*

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850208009

[Letter, 19]24 Oct. 2, Penzance [England to Emma] Goldman, [London] / Bertrand Russell. — 1 p. ; 18 × 14 cm.

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Corn. Voel
Treen
Penzance

2.10.24

Dear Miss Goldman

Your letter has been forwarded to me here. I return to London on Oct. 15, but my first few days here I have not a minute to spare. I should very much like to see you again as soon as possible. Could you come to tea about 4.15 o'clock on Monday 20th or Tuesday 21st? My house is 3 minutes' walk from S. Kensington station.

I hope London will seem less cold & aloof when you have been here longer. In September many people are away for holidays. I shall be very glad to have a chance to talk about Russia, & so with my wife, who was here just after me (we were not married then).

Yours sincerely

Bertrand Russell.

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870924400

[Letter] 1924 Oct. 2 [London to] Emma Goldman, [London] / Rebecca West. —
1 p. ; 16 × 12 cm.

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36.QUEEN'S GATE TERRACE, S.W.7.

October 2nd, 1924.

Dear Emma Goldman,

I am so very interested to hear from
you, and I will be so interested to meet you
for your own sake, as well as for the sake of
your niece whom I liked so much, and who was one
of the most interesting people I met in New
York.

I shall be out of Town next Satur-
day, Monday and Tuesday, each time just for the
day. Do please come to me for lunch or tea
any other days but these and in the meantime if
there is anything I can do for you please let
me know.

Yours sincerely,

Rebecca West

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850208002

[Letter] 1924 Oct. 3, London [to Bertrand] Russell, [London] / Emma Goldman. —
1 p. ; 27 x 22 cm.

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Oct. 3 rd. 1924.

Dear Mr Russell.

Thank you so much for your ready response.
I will be glad to come to tea Monday the 20th. I am going
to try very hard to adjust myself to England. I am very
weary of the attempt to take root somewhere since I may
never return to America, and Russia too is closed to me.
I am astounded to find that people are being deported from
this country on very slight provocation. What is likely
to happen to me if I should make myself heard on any subject?

However, I am not so much concerned in my
chances of activity as I am in making a few friends. I am
therefore very glad to be able to see you again, to meet
Mrs Russell and through you both perhaps a few other people
to whom liberty isn't mere theory to be crushed by power.

I am looking forward to the 20th of this month.

Cordially,

Emma Goldman

Have only yesterday
been given your address
at Chelsea. 31 Sydney St.
Is that correct & am I to
come there? I know
so little about London
and its environs.

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Oct 4th. 1924

Ich wünschte ich wäre so leicht empfindlich zu den Reizen verschiedener Sträßen, wie Sie und Ihr Kollege Heinrich Reine zu den Reizen verschiedener Mädchen, dann wäre ich jetzt eben so begeistert von London wie ich es von Paris war. Denn es ist gewiss das London Reize hat, ganz individuelle Reize. Vielleicht bin ich auch nicht lange genug hier um dieselben entdeckt zu haben. Aber London wird mir kaum das geben was mir Paris gab. Das sagt mir xxxxxx meine Befundung eben jetzt. In Paris fühlte ich mich neu belebt, von einer Frische und eines Geistes, wie ich seit Jahren nicht mehr fähig zu sein glaubte. Hier ist ich wieder Blasi in den Gliedern, die Befriedigung einer Eiskruste um meinen Geist mit dem Genuß.

[illegible]

Der einzige Mensch den wir wenigstens mit Arbeiter
in den in Bismarck, sollte es ist, und viel helfen konnte,
Joh. Thuner, fährt von 1850 Ost nach Russland. Seine Frau
Irene gewiss besteht haben, das ich darauf bestanden habe
Ihr Komitee soll direkt an Thuner schreiben und ihm etwas
Material senden über die Zustände unserer Kameraden in R.
Ich hoffe es wird Nutzen werden. Also Thuner fährt weg, so ist es
nicht ich auch ihn verliere der viel hätte helfen können.
Doch das ist die Natur der Dinge, die ist es einer
anderen Teil mit jemand an zu tun, sollte es möglich sein
haben. Ich kann nicht so an das ich meine Hoffnung habe, aber
ich will es rechtlich vergelten. Ich habe sie vergewissert
3 Monate in London auszuhalten. Wenn es dir für dich nicht
schlingt aber zu fassen, dann kann ich für den Rest des Winters

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The Emma Goldman Papers

840522334

[Letter] 1924 Oct. 4, London [to] Mar[k Mratchny] / Emma G[oldman]. —
2 p. ; 28 x 22 cm.
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and Special Collections.

nach Frankreich zurück. Es könnte ja vorkommen dass
ich zu dem Zeitpunkt wieder in Deutschland eintrifft.
Jedenfalls für Sie, weil Sie nicht Deutsch sind.
Sie würde ihn also in der ersten Woche wieder treffen. Und
ich würde Ihnen ein heiliges Versprechen geben, Sie in
Ihre Liebesaffären in keiner Weise zu stören. Man hat
noch in der Welt, was man als einen erachtete, der nie
in Erfüllung. Und was man unter keiner Bedingung will,
damit man sich nicht blenden.

In London muss es sich nicht ein-
fallen dass es ein Moment kommen wird, wenn ich auf die Be-
schränkung von Politikanten eingehen werde. Und auch war
ich nicht Woche fünf Stunden in Parlament und hier *mir*
wäre ich ein Ritter verfallen. Ich habe Ihnen, wenn i-
ch meine, immer nicht gesagt hätte, ich hätte noch dieselbe
Nacht von London sterben lassen. Aber ich in meinem Leben
keinen physischen Prostitution in Haus besucht habe, so kann
ich mir ein politisches Bordell London erlauben. Ich
finde die politischen Prostituierten viel gefährlicher und weniger
interessant als die anderen *Mädchen*. Man muss eben
den Haufen der Geizhalsen, die alles in der Hand unterwerfen
wollen, nicht zu sehr annehmen. Ich hoffe ich werde bald
kommen.

Sie haben also die Freiheit ist, wie Sie jetzt
sich fühlen. Wir wollen auch. London ist von einer
alten Seite mit, hat eine Temporalität, die ich nicht
finde. Ich finde das Leben in London, die Freiheit zu
haben, so viel ich jetzt in. Ich finde Sie zu sein
mit mir wie London sein. Ich finde, es ist mir in der
in dieser Stunde mit Ihnen Spannung zu haben. Ei, en,
ich werde nicht viel machen. Schade, dass Sie
in D. bleiben und ich vielleicht noch viel zurück muss /
wollen wir uns vor. Ich habe Sie.

Wie haben Sie unsere Freunde xxxxxxxx gefunden,
die Paris nicht mit war? Ihre Aufgabe war sehr schwerer
für Sie, ist die noch eine Person, die Sie in meinem Leben
haben war, ein Leben das mit der Zeit wieder Sie noch wert
ist.

Lieber, guter Mann schreiben Sie mir noch recht
viele. Wie ist es Ihnen, der Sie die Analyse? Und bitte
nicht vergessen das ich nicht oft schreiben.

Gezellige Grüße.

Emma.

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870923106

[Letter] 1[9]24 Oct. 6, London [to Alexander Berkman], Berlin / E[mma Goldman]. — 6 p. ; 26 x 20 cm.

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8706

London. Oct. 6th. 1824.

Dearest Sash.

I am free this evening so I decided to write you. Otherwise I may not be able to write you at all this week. And of course I do not want to keep you without word.

You will see by the crease on my paper that my trouble is with the nickel plated gage which spaces the margins on each side of the machine. They keep on moving and I see no way of fastening them so they should remain firm. I have examined the darn machine on all sides I find nothing which would ~~make~~ ^{fix} the gage. Well, I will wait until some one who has more mechanical sense than I have, comes. Perhaps he can instruct me.

Dearest own Sash, your boils must be the result of indigestion. How is it with you on this score? And did you have a doctor open the boil? Because you will go on having them unless the ones you have now are thoroughly washed out after the matter has been drained. One can not do it oneself, one must have a physician or nurse do it. I wish I were near you, or you near me, you bet you'd soon be cured from boils even if I could not "cure" you from other "evils". But as that can not be, I suggest very strongly dearest that you have Gries or some one else attend to your boils. And also to see that your bowels are in order, eat fruits, figs especially. Can you not get your landlady to cook you some prunes? Fast is you do not need them cooked. They are much more effective if you get a good prune washed thoroughly in cold water, than pour boiling water over them and leave over night. They will be ready for use in the morning, the juice is especially good for you.

Dear, dear old boy, you always scolded me for being conservative when I did not want to get away from Germany. Now you do not wish to change even your room. Really Sash it is so foolish to remain in that ~~hole~~ ^{where} it was bad enough during the Summer. Now and later you will have to work by electric light all the time which so easily affects your eye. If you are determined to winter in Berlin why would you not get a room in Steglitz near Seuchy's? It is easier to get to Berlin from there and where you are now. And you would be able to have decent meals with Therese and Augustine which would cost much less than now.

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The idea of a magazine is not original with our American comrades. I have had that idea for ever so long. But what our people always forget is that subscribers never have or will maintain a magazine. Supposing \$2000 subs could be gotten that would mean \$2000 dollars a year. About \$175 a month. That would almost be the expense of the get up-of the publication. Where is the money to come from for the editor and the contributors? No, subscribers can not cover all the expenses. One must either have paid ads, or some other source of income, lectures as in the case of M.E.

Besides, I think it would be the height of folly to publish a magazine for America in any other but an English speaking country. One certainly needs an English atmosphere, or rather an Anglo Saxon atmosphere to make a publication interesting enough for an American audience. It for this very reason that I want to establish a footing here. If that were possible one could set out a magazine which would not be appropriate only for America but also for England. Such a publication would receive much more recognition in A. than if it came from Germany. It is certainly far fetched to get out a paper or magazine in a German speaking country for English reading people when there is a country at hand where one could publish something in its language and thereby reach all English reading peoples. At least that is my firm belief.

Two years ago the cheapness of printing in Germany might have been a reason for publishing things in English there. But now when the expense would certainly not be less, possibly even more, there is not even an economic reason why one should want to engage in a publication in Germany. However, as far as I am concerned, I would not dream of a magazine, or any kind of literature unless I could establish a channel for the circulation and sale of the printed matter, something like what we had in A, namely my own meetings. The next few months will prove whether that is possible or not. It remains to be seen.

Of course, my considerations or plans need not interfere with anything that you want to do. Only I should feel sorry if you were to bind yourself with something which could not be maintained for very long, and without the proper medium of circulation. And above all if you were to start anything extensive in Germany. But then, as you say, there is so much talk and ever so many plans and nothing definite.

A few people are coming together at the invitation of Doris Zuehlke to form a Committee that would arranged an English reception for me. Since Turner is going away and can do nothing, he suggested a few people who might. Among them is a comrade, an English woman who I understand is a splendid

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organizer. She was over to see me last night. She has done little in our movement of late, has been trying to establish Little Theatres. Fortunately she has not succeeded in that — like Fizzie she would be lost to the movement altogether. She has been particularly successful in the Trade Union movement. Anyway everybody speaks highly of her abilities. I liked her very much because she has a fine sense of humor and seems to be a hustler. She wants to help organize the reception and help in every other way.

Then there is another friend of Turners, also in the Trade Union movement, I have not met him yet, but he will be here Saturday. And there are several more, Weiss, the Therkessoff's, Dora who knows a lot of people and some others. I will see what Saturday will bring. And I am seeing a lot of people this week. Karl Walter who used to be on the Kansas City Star and contributed to M. E. I lunch with him Wed. The same day I will meet Rebecca West the writer who may help me with the literary lunch. And I am seeing the Therkessoff's Thursday. Between all of them I maybe able to pick out a few who are not living surprises. I hope so anyway. Oh yes, I am going to tea with Bertrand Russell the 20th, he will be in town then. He wrote me a very nice letter.

I made my debut before some of our Jewish comrades. They had a Fr. Arb. St. Banquet, God save the mark. Of course it had to be in a filthy stuffy place with the noise from the street that no one except myself could be heard. I spoke about the Fr. Arb. St. Those present were nearly all comrades out of the movement for years, what we call at home the All Righties, prosperous fat men with still fatter wives. But at least they did something for the Fr. Arb. St. They raised 25 pounds which is considered a big sum. You can judge the standards in England by that. And you can judge the poverty of our own comrades, I mean those who still belong to the workers by the following amusing incident. I was invited as a guest, so were Sophie Kropotkin and Milly. After the meal which was absolutely rotten, one of the organizers came to ask whether we can afford to pay for the supper, four shillings. Can you beat that? Of course they never paid four shillings for that feed, evidently the 25 pounds ~~was~~ collected for the paper was partly raised from the four shillings charged for the supper. That is an indication of the poverty of mind and pocket of the East End people here. Fine chance I will have to charge admission for Jewish lectures.

A Committee of Jewish comrades has arranged a reception for us for the 18th. I suppose it will be in the same filthy place though I have written Sabai to try for another restaurant, even if we only have a sup of coffee. I could not eat their grub of Saturday anyways. And I have written

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that the entire proceeds of that affair must go for the Russian comrades. I will make an appeal besides. I will use what you write me about poor Anna, Tcherniak, Moshne and our people in Russia itself. Perhaps you can send me the Bulletin by that time. Send it in Russian if it is type written.

I dare say M. was always greatly impressed with his own importance. Nothing so ruins people as power over the life and death of others which he certainly exercised not too humanely. His unfortunate position since he is out of R. must have made him more self-centered. It must be terrible for him, a man who knows only the sword. He is worse off than all the other refugees because so few people know or understand his part in the Revolution, nor was all of it particularly sympathetic, not to me anyway though. I do not deny his worth. Anyway, now M. is surrounded by enemies on every side, and without hardly any friends at all. It is a terrible situation. Yet I do not see what can be done for him. It is a hopeless task, isn't it? Well, we must do what we can. I have promised myself if I can gain a footing here and be in work I would devote much time and some of the proceeds for our people in R. If, if, I try not to lose hope or patience, but it is no easy job.

I wish the Jewish reception would take place before Turner goes there would be some money to send to R. Do you want to send the \$19 you got from Yetta Weinberg? Or do you need it for other purposes? Let me know right away and be sure to send the Bulletin or whatever you have to Turner.

I am seeing my new adventure, Pauline Curtiss, Tuesday, we are luncheon together. I will then ask her to cable to her firm whether they would take six or seven chapters of your book. Naturally you must have the right to select. If they should consent, you will pick out what you want to give them and you will instruct Fizzle to send them these particular chapters. I do not see why that should hurt your chances with a publisher. Quite the contrary. Especially, if we would be in a position to announce what house is bringing it out your book the syndicated stuff would only help advertise the book. I will ask Miss Curtiss to ask for a cable reply so we will know early next week. And of course, I will then immediately wire you. Wire will read, accepted prepare chapters. Of course if the United Newspaper Corporation refuses, there will be no need to wire. I do not think they will want to see the whole Mass, they will want an half dozen articles, ~~perhaps~~ that's what they wanted of me. We will see.

Yes F or P ought to go after a publisher who is to be paid, as I said before it is important that your book should be ready for sale right after the New Year, otherwise it will be too late into the Summer which would be suicidal.

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The Emma Goldman Papers

870923106

[Letter] 1[9]24 Oct. 6, London [to Alexander Berkman], Berlin / E[mma Goldman]. —
6 p. ; 26 x 20 cm.

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Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

5.

And in order to have the book ready early in Jan the publisher must proceed as soon as possible. This must be impressed upon Pauline and F. By the way, I have not yet written Henry A but I will either to night or tomorrow some time. I mean to ask him for a loan for your book which he is to turn over to Fitzie. You wrote me I should not ask Cohn for a loan. Do you mean you'd ask him yourself? Let me know dear because we must have some security if a publisher is to go ahead. I am glad you have written dear Benie Capes, he is such a darling. I could not keep my promise to send you his letter because I stupidly tore it up, it was by mistake. What was most interesting was his account of his visit in San Quentin, how he found Matt and the others. But he must have written you about them. Well, I am sure Ben will be able to help getting loans, from Goldman, Blum etc. And did you write Laverff and Margaret S.?

I heard Deering in his recital yesterday afternoon. The house was packed, alas, not for Deering but for the Irish cher. Mc Cormack. But then Deering had a good chance. He plays very well, but nothing like Revinsky, the latter is really a genius. Still Deering is good. I had only a moment with him after the concert. He said Sullivan was with him but that they would both be very busy all day to day and that they are going back to Paris tomorrow. Now, I may have word from Deering to see him in the morning, if I do I will ask Sullivan if he will read your Mas, will write you then to send it to him.

Dear old Sash, I had a very narrow escape of breaking my neck, rather an unpleasant way to get out of this rotten world of ours, isn't it? I flew down a flight of stairs and crashed right into a chest of Derises standing at the foot of the stairs. I banged my left shoulder and side very badly. But my skull is evidently very thick though I did bruise it badly. I have been somewhat crippled since, it happened last Thursday late in the evening. It was dark on the stairs and they are sort of creaked so I just slid down with a vengeance. Dear Deris was terribly frightened because for a few minutes I was quite dazed. But it is getting better now.

Appropos of Deris Zheek. She was at our house on Ruedeshtiaerstr one Sunday last Summer. She is the sister of Weiss, an old comrade. I first met her in 1895 when I came to England, she was then a glowing girl and belonged with the two sisters Rosetti to the Troch group/a paper they were publishing. Later she married Zheek a Russian revolutionary who lived once in America and then came to L. Beth Deris and he worked with Tcheretkov, the Tolstoyan. Zheek was the typical Ablemoy so Deris had anything but a happy time. She had to work to support the whole family, a boy and a girl. Zheek died and during the war her son whom she fairly worshipped, evidently committed suicide. Deris thinks it was an accident. He was found dead with a bullet in

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6

his head. The daughter who is now about 18 is typically English, terribly individualistic and cold. Quite unlike her mother who is typically Russian Jewish, warm hearted, hospitable and very devoted. Deris has remained very much the rebel and comrade, eager and interested in every vital question. But she works terribly hard, has a position and has recently acquired a big house to make a home for her daughter when she sends to an art school. Some people work terribly hard all their lives and never have anything.

My room at Deris is entirely too expensive even though it is very light and large overlooking Regent's Park. But it is insanity to pay \$8 weekly rent besides light and heat. She has a smaller room which will be vacant this week, I will take that. But even then I will have to pay \$6.75 a week, it will include light. Of course, I can get cheaper rooms, for about half. But for more than one reason it is important that I remain here for the present. The main reason being that I am absolutely free here which I would be nowhere else in a furnished room. Then too, Deris can help much, she knows so many people. And last but not least she is a devoted friend, and so affectionate. I need some affection I can tell you. My plan is to remain with Deris until I know whether I am going to settle in England. If I do I will look for a little Apt., if not I will return to Paris.

Dearest, the note from our Chinese comrade you must have received for me and forgotten. I certainly never saw it until this morning. Have you read it? What preface can I write for them? I know almost nothing about China; I mean our movement. Well, I will write our motto.

I wanted to ask you about my papers. Are you getting the Times and the Nation? I mean are they still coming to London? If they do I shall write to the Times and Nation and send the paper to you. I also the American news. Let me know about this.

The weather here is like yours in B, I should die if I did not keep busy running about all day. If I have nothing else I look in the shops. They have marvelous shops here, more elaborate and beautiful than in Paris and not much more expensive. Food is more expensive but not clothes. The wealth here is more apparent. But still more apparent is the poverty. I have seen nowhere so many disabled men, all for their country. Now they stand about in bands and play. It is heart rending.

Dearest, if this foggy day please you, I know not what will. Good night old dear Saks. I'd give anything to be able to see you and tramp about with you. I keep on wondering when I shall see you again.

Devotedly

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The Emma Goldman Papers

860115201

[Letter] 1924 Oct. 8, New York [to] Emma [Goldman, London] / Kate [Richards O'Hare]. — 2 p. ; 27 x 21 cm.

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Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

46 Ring St.
New York,
Oct. 8th, 1924.

My Dear Emma:

Your London address was mailed to yesterday evening and I am going to take time to write you if the world ever lets me.

I have been in New York about a month, living in Elvira Behre's house and having a glorious good time. The minutes that I send will give you some idea of my work. That you will be interested in it is without saying, and I want you to know that I feel that it is your work as well as mine, and that I am shouldering the heavier burden in doing it. I have a lot of petty officials have denied you the opportunity to serve this country and its people. If you were here now we would take a long walk of our fears — the prison labor contractors.

As it is we are really getting wonderful results. I have been able to get the American Federation of Labor out twenty-five percent, but I am pushing them slowly forward and will get it lined up fully within a few months, I think. I am also getting all sorts of religious and social service groups at work, and have, I think, made a real beginning of the end of prison contract labor. We have the prison contractors simply frantic, they don't know what to make of us. Always before they have been able to buy off any one who attempted to do any thing worth while in conducting a campaign against prison labor. They have offered us any amount of money, offered to have a job doing prison research work, which of course would never be published, and permit me to write my own expenses accounts and salary checks. They have tried to buy the magazine, and when all efforts failed in this direction they got some of detectives out tracing me from my birthplace to my home last night in a Greenwich Village restaurant, always trying to find out what I am up to in my history that they might use. Fortunately, as you know, I have always been a strictly respectable person and there is nothing that they can use.

The Federation of Labor of Chicago has distributed about 250,000 copies of this reprint up to October 1st. Other labor bodies are beginning to get into the campaign and we are also getting circulation among the farmers. The results are astounding. Merchants and jobbers everywhere are refusing to handle any good of which there is the slightest suspicion, and the advertised brands like "Big Yarn" and "Happy Home" are almost unavailable in many states. I confidently expect that two years will see the practical finish of the convict labor system as we know it.

Frank is in Chicago handling the campaign there. Dick, who is a splendid young man is down at Penna. Arkansas, the new location of Commonwealth College, handling the the W.F.L.D. office and attending college. Eugene, the handsome, bowen-eyed twin is with him. Victor, the less handsome but very boxing twin, who put the screen wire on our calls to keep out the rats, is in Chicago with Frank but will come on and join us here in a few days. Kathleen is also in Chicago, worked with us on the prison work until the Loch-Leopold case opened when she went to work for a Chicago newspaper covering the trial, doing sketches of the interesting people and writing special articles. She too wants to come on here, but I am not sure just what is best. I want both Kathleen and Victor to go back and attend college this winter, but they want their fling at the world first.

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[Letter] 1924 Oct. 8, New York [to] Emma [Goldman, London] / Kate [Richards O'Hare]. — 2 p. ; 27 x 21 cm.

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I have never been back to Jefferson City, and have kept in touch with the women only through others. I found that it made things terribly hard for any of the women who received letters, or even messages from me, so I have stayed away, refrained from writing and kept up my eternal battle against the prison system. I kept eternally at it until the politicals were released, then went to work to get a Federal institution for women, which I succeeded in doing last January, and now I am after the prison labor contractors. When they are eliminated I am going to stop saving the world, help build Commonwealth College and enjoy a green old age.

As I told you I am living with Elsie in a very charming Greenwich Village house, but have been too busy to see much of our mutual friends. Had breakfast one morning with Ellen Jones, which lasted till four in the afternoon, and have not just a few friends. Have not seen Stella, but will try to do so soon.

Please write me a long letter, hope there is some one with a Corona nearby, for I really want to hear from you very much. So many things have happened since we parted, but there will always be a tie between us, forged by the hell-fire of our prison experience that will not burn and fade.

With much love and best wishes I am as ever,

Yours truly,

Kate

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The Emma Goldman Papers

830720000

[Letter, 1924] Oct. 10 [London to] Powers Hapgood, London / Emma Goldman. —
2 p.; 28 x 22 cm.
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Location: Lilly Library.

E. G. Pershiser.
3, Titchfield Terrace.
Regent's Park. N. W. 8th.

Friday Oct. 10th. 1924

Dear Powers Hapgood.

Indeed I want to see you, not
only because you are William Hapgood's son and xxxxx
Hutchins nephew, but for your own sake. You see, Hutch
talked to me about you a great deal when he was in Ger-
many. I was delighted to hear that the younger Hapgoods
were getting close to the masses not merely in theory
but by actual labor with them. I had hoped I would
meet you. Your note to me was a great pleasure also

When you come to the city on Friday
at 10, 3, 11. I would like you to see, but I am
arranged to see an old American friend between four
P. M. and nine o'clock. But I shall be back at ten and
will be glad to see you. I am under the above name
and address. You can come to Titchfield Terrace either
by the underground to St John's Wood Road and then walk
a few minutes. Or you can get Buses, from Oxford Cir-
cus, 13, 53, 48, 2, or 26 also to St John's Wood Road.
When you get to 3 Titchfield Terrace knock loud and
several times. I am on the second floor and will hear you
only when I you do knock loud.

I am looking forward to seeing you. And thank
you for the letter.

Faithfully.

Emma Goldman

P.S. My typesetting is always
rotten. I see that you can
remain in London until late
Sunday. If you have no other
engagement on that day, I should
prefer to see you Sunday afternoon.
It would give us more time.
You could come at 3 P.M.

Hapgood Mss.
Manuscripts Department, Lilly Library
Indiana University, Bloomington, Indiana
1940

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[Letter, 1924] Oct. 10 [London to] Powers Hapgood, London / Emma Goldman. —
2 p. ; 28 × 22 cm.
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But if you have something for
Sunday I will see you to-
morrow evening. Perhaps you
will send me a wire, that
is if you are coming Sunday
address to just Kershney
3 Potchfield Terrace N W 8
I will leave the house tomorrow
at 3:30 P.M. I would like
to know Ben Webster, I am
to see you at 10 P.M. tomorrow
if I have no wire I will
know you are coming
at 10 o'clock if you

Hapgood Mss.
Manuscripts Department, Lilly Library
Indiana University, Bloomington, Indiana

The Emma Goldman Papers

870927195

[Letter, 19]24 Oct. 10, Nice [to Emma Goldman, London] / Frank Harris. — 1 p.; 21 x 27 cm.

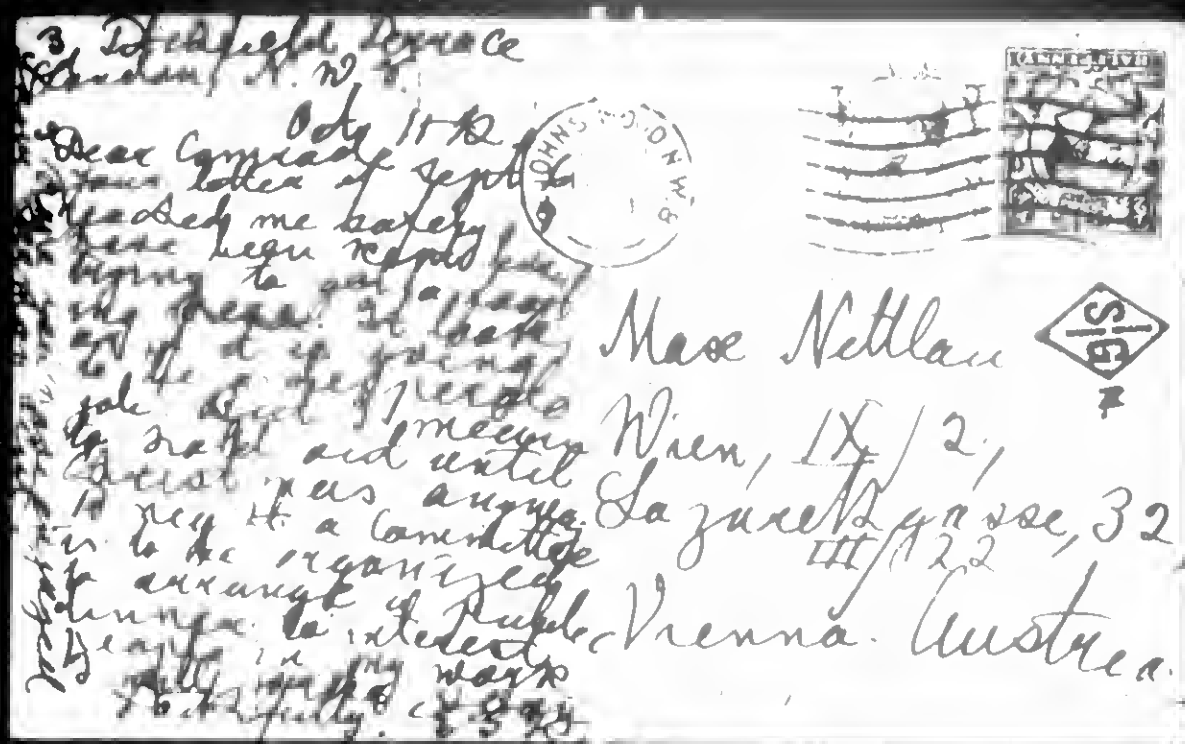
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Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

For The American Express Co. 10/10/24
1918
Mme du Congrès - Nice (a.m.) France.
My dear Friend, don't imagine it's casual
my silence; it has been work, I assure you.
Since the success of my "Oscar Wilde" in its
German dress, I've sold "The Bomb" also & now
"The Man Shakespeare" is being done & they've
asked me for my play "M.Y.M." Davenport.
And I've promised this week to send the 2nd
vol of "My Life" to the printer so as to have it
published before Xmas & to get some reviews
for the New Year. However, I didn't forget you.
I asked a great friend of mine, a very able &
charming rich woman, a Miss Schuster
mentioned with you in my "Portraits" to call on
you & help you in any way: I hope she has done
so: fancy Shaw & Lady Warwick both waiting
on me - d-d'm!
I've just received "The Narrow House"
by Evelyn Scott from Valentin at Marseilles.
A thousand thanks: who am I to pay for it?
I want to pay really so I send you herewith
a check for it. If not enough please
let me know & I'll send more. And dear friend, I

2
want those German books you told me about
more than I can say. My mind has had too
few elements for a long time & I want a
fresh start & as you so kindly promised
to get them sent to me, I've forgotten even
their names - please get them sent. C.O.D.
I know no Lecture Bureaus in London.
You must get at the public thru the Fabian
Society (Shaw & Sidney Webb why not write
Webb, saying I gave you his name: he's in
the government now & his wife too is an
able woman with popular sympathies.
I wrote to Ben Gillett the Labor leader
of the Dock workmen: fancy he has stayed
with me here for months at a time; but
he has not even had the courtesy to reply!
I remember long ago telling him that a Socialist
Labor leader was one who worked hard for other
in order to benefit himself.
Now I must shut up; but I give you
a big kiss & hug: don't lose heart; will
pull thru yet - Wee Yours Affectionately
Frank Harris
a good man
Now as of old men by themselves are pitied
For seldom Judas sold himself - no Christ!

890126127

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890126127

[Postcard, 1924] Oct. 11, London [to] Max Nettlau, Vienna / E[mma] G[oldman]. —
2 p. ; 8 × 13 cm.

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860515180

[Postcard] 1924 Oct. 12, London [to] Leon Malméd, Albany, N.Y. / E[mma] G[oldman]. — 1 p. ; 7 × 12 cm.

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The Emma Goldman Papers

840305792

[Letter, 19]24 Oct. 12, London [to] Arthur [Leonard Ross, New York] / Emma Goldman. — 5 p. ; 28 x 22 cm.

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8 E. Kensington
3, Woodfield Terrace
Regent's Park
London, N.W. 8. Oct 12/24.

Dear Arthur.. My typewriter is a bit of a lawbreaker and not wishing to keep your good letters in a box, I decided to improve my dreadful handwriting on paper. I am sure the deception of paper will be a pity for few who care. I will be a best of your friend and you will never get after this you will want to see me again.

Thank you dear Arthur for your kind offer to help me get back to "my" country. I am sure you could do anything in your power. Here is nothing you can do. At least I know of nothing. Perhaps you are wiser. I so let me be right by your wisdom. I can stand a lot of it.

Just now I am much more content in finding a footing in England. I am an my work "Creative Name" is a prospect are not very exhilarating do not mean that I could not get on here as a housewife as I have been so many as I can. But for a moment I shouldn't dream of living in England. It is much more important as what is very important to me - also much cheaper. When

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2
I say I am trying desperately to
get grounds here, I mean in a
practical way. And that is going to be
a hard. Already I was told that
there were no more in order to meet with
great difficulties, in the lecture field
especially. Everything seems to be
guaranteed in any and all sides of
all various organization stands in
order chance. I have been assured
that I could get lecture dates with
the Independent Labour Party and
other societies. But that is not satis-
factory. I must create my own
program.
If only I could hold out
here for six months, or more,
I could establish myself.
Americans in Engl. have succeeded
in every so many lines ~~in~~ which
English said couldn't be done.
Why shouldn't I with my experience
suffer the same I could. But the
trouble is the expense of living.
My London is dearer than Berlin.
Dec is certainly going some. Well
I have given myself until the end
of Dec. By that time I feel I should
find a place of people to work.
I shall go to the South of
France for the best of the winter
write something, I don't yet know
what.

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mean while a low tide day...
 grouped, to arrange a public...
 pack - la "wing" day the...
 Rebecca West, Bertrand Russell
 same other, not known English
 people etc - he agreed to speak
 in hoped that he did not...
 we had a chance to meet the...
 people who might be willing
 help me in the way of...
 mind. Pray that it does.
 I am Rebecca not waiting
 until Nov 13th. I am seeing people
 now. I met Rebecca West who is
 tremendously interesting as a writer
 personally. He was most gracious
 and at once volunteered to help
 me meet all sort of people. Of
 course Rebecca belongs to a circle
 so it is not surprising that
 he should be warm hearted and
 generous. You see what a Yiddische
 doctor I am, after all. I assure you
 there is a difference between the English
 the Jewish English temperament
 have already had proof of that.
 On 20th I am to have tea with
 Bertrand Russell. I met him in
 Russia a year, him very much
 as my father luck would have it
 etc. The new Spectator which seems
 to me very much more

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...an it does ⁴en people. The masses in England are certainly better informed in political matters and the politicians are not quite so completely ignorant as they are in the States. The political machine however, meeting not where each one loses his identity and his self directed way until the present contest for supremacy is over, I can do nothing for this reason that he did not go to the press until the 13th of Oct. an unlucky date - fortunately it is not a Sunday so more than people are expected.

Deane Miller is having quite a vague in Germany. I heard from him the day that his Oscar Wilde book made quite a furor & that his other books will now appear in a German edition. I am very glad. It was really up against it, with the English politically closed to him. His second volume is only now being published. I do not know when it will be done but I will see that a copy is put aside for you. I hope you will come to fetch it. I should have to see you again.

If you put me in your diary you may have the same fate as the contemporary portraits. The American edition was widely reviewed but the B. Portrait was never mentioned.

The Emma Goldman Papers

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Thank you just the same for wanting
to give me a place of honor in your
memory that is your dear, I
appreciate remaining in your memory.
I hope by this time you have
received my message by De. J. C.
and that you have seen Pauline
and that you can turn up and give
her my love. I am expecting
a letter from P.

Do write again when the
spirit moves you. Know that I will
always be glad to hear from
you!

Devotedly

Emma Goldman

I took the mechanical newspaper
~~picture~~ picture at Dorothy's. All the rest
were fine. Took Arthur D. sym
pictures with you, having to
read his terrible jaw.

The Emma Goldman Papers

870924397

[Letter] 1924 Oct. 16 [London to] Emma Goldman, [London] / Rebecca West.—
1 p. ; 16 × 12 cm.
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Enclosure 7224

16471

36.QUEEN'S GATE TERRACE, S.W.7.

October 16th, 1924.

Dear Emma Goldman,

I should like very much to have
you lunch with me somewhere in Town on the
morning of Saturday, the 18th. before going to
the Thanksgiving Service.

Every body has been so busy
with the Election that I have not been able to
get hold of any of them yet.

Thank you so much for sending me
"Contemporary Portraits" which I will return
when I have mastered it.

Yours very sincerely,

Thank you so
much for your letter

Rebecca West

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The Emma Goldman Papers

840305044

[Letter] 1924 Oct. 16 [London to] Emma Goldman, [London] / Rebecca West. —
1 p. ; 40 x 27 cm.
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INGTON 7285.

36. QUEEN'S GATE TERRACE, S.W. 7.

October 16th, 1924.

Dear Emma Goldman,

I should like very much to have
you lunch with me somewhere in Town on the
morning of Saturday, the 18th. before going to
the Thanksgiving Service.

Every body has been so busy
with the Election that I have not been able to
get hold of any of them yet.

Thank you so much for sending me
"Contemporary Portraits" which I will return
when I have mastered it.

Yours very sincerely,

and you so
and for your letter

Rebecca West

The Emma Goldman Papers

850208003

[Letter] 1924 Oct. 17 [London to Bertrand] Russell, [London] / Emma Goldman. —
1 p.; 27 × 22 cm.
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University. Institutional Location: Bertrand Russell Archives.

1444

Oct. 17th. 1924.

Dear Mr Russell.

I saw an announcement of Mrs Russell's candidacy. I understood at once that you will both be engaged in much work. I had intended to write you asking to postpone my visit when your letter came. Of course I am most anxious to see you, but not for worlds would I want to add to your work. It will therefore be quite alright to leave my coming until after Oct. 29th. Just let me know when I may come.

Some friends of mine are arranging a public dinner to "bring" me out. It is to be not a public function so much as an expression of men and women of their belief in the sacred right of political asylum, in which I know you believe deeply. Rebecca West and other outstanding men and women of London will participate. I know my friends mean to ask you to say a few words. I hope you will consent.

Please convey to Mrs Russell my best wishes for her success. I have no faith whatever in the political machine, but among those who do believe in it, I prefer naturally the people who will at least make an earnest effort to help the oppressed.

Cordially.

Emma Goldman

The dinner is to take place Nov. 13th.

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The Emma Goldman Papers

870924399

[Letter] 1924 Oct. 20 [London to] Emma Goldman, [London] / Rebecca West.—
1 p. ; 16 × 12 cm.

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Enclosure 7206.

16473

36.QUEEN'S GATE TERRACE, S.W.7.

October 20th, 1924.

Dear Emma Goldman,

About next Saturday - I wish we could lunch here but it is really impracticable for us to get out of our way as we have to be at St. Paul's Cathedral at half past two. Will you meet me at the Strand entrance to Gatti's at one fifteen?

I am not indulging ^{much} in election contests because I am very tired and I am saving myself for my own work so to read along your essays. I do look forward to seeing you again and wish I had not been so ready.

Yours very sincerely,

Rebecca West

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The Emma Goldman Papers

840305045

[Letter] 1924 Oct. 20 [London to] Emma Goldman, [London] / Rebecca West.—
1 p.; 40 × 28 cm.
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KENSINGTON 7285.

36, QUEEN'S GATE TERRACE, S.W. 7.

October 20th, 1924.

Dear Emma Goldman,

About next Saturday - I wish we could lunch here but it is really bringing you too much out of your way as we have to be at St. Paul's Cathedral at half past two. Will you meet me at the Strand entrance to Gatti's at one fifteen ?

I am not indulging ^{much} in election contests because I am very tired and I am saving myself for my own work so do send along your essays. I do look forward to seeing you again and wish I had not been so seedy.

Yours very sincerely,

Rebecca West

The Emma Goldman Papers

870925317

[Letter] 1924 Oct. 22, London [to] Emma Goldman, [London] / Prince Hopkins. —
1 p. ; 20 x 16 cm.

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15874
58 Bloomsbury Street,
LONDON W.C.1.

22nd October 1924.

Miss Emma Goldman,
c/o E.G. Korshner Esq.,
5 Titchfield Terrace,
Regents Park,
N.W.8.

Dear Emma,

I thought you would be surprised when I came round to the meeting that night ; it was no less a surprise to me to hear that you were in London. I was sorry not to see you but expect that we shall arrange a meeting before long. Just at present I am so pressed for time, that if you will forgive me I will postpone making a definite date for week or more, I will then write you again. Of course, you will be quite welcome to come and see me here, but I will save you that trouble by calling on you at your own address, which I am carefully noting.

By this same mail I am answering a letter of Harry Kelly and one from Peggy Tucker. I am telling them that I just missed seeing you a few nights ago but look forward to meeting soon, and I have said that friends report you as looking rather well. I hope that the last statement is quite correct.

Yours sincerely,

Prince Hopkins

The Emma Goldman Papers

870927033

[Letter, 1924] Oct. 25 [London to Stella Ballantine, New York] / E[mma Goldman].— 2 p. ; 25 x 20 cm.

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18781

Oct 25th.

Dearest, I wrote you a long letter Thursday. Now yours came of the 16th with clippings which I have not yet read. I can not understand why you should not have gotten no letters from me since the 25th or Sept. I think that is a mistake because you replied to two letters of mine, one that reached you in Roch and which you thought was very gloomy and the other when you reached N. Y. which I wrote about a week after I got here. This month I have written you a number of letters, certainly every week, they could not have gotten astray, what has become of them.

To night I can not write much because I am very tired. I spent the day with Rebecca West, we went to St Paul's Cathedral to see a silly performance of women from the medical profession giving thanks for their achievements. As I wrote S, the affair proved to me more than anything else that no headway of any consequence was made as far as modern ideas are concerned. The music was good that was something. After the circus Rebecca and I had tea and a long talk. She is certainly the most interesting and vital person I have met here in this month. I also met her sister, a barister and doctor, we had lunch together to day. Her sister is going to introduce me to some of the women who are supposed to do important work. Imagine her sister has embraced Roman Catholicism, strange thing. But she is charming and evidently an able person. Rebecca will speak at the dinner and is arranging a private affair at her house for me.

Then yesterday afternoon I spent with dear Mme Malmberg, she is so genuine, so warm hearted. I enjoyed being with her so much. She too will speak at the dinner. Thursday I am to have luncheon with her at the 1917 Club to which Nevison and a lot of advanced people belong. Mme Malmberg too wants to help all she can. She told me of two lecture bureaus who might book me that would be a great solution of all difficulties of which I have written you a few days ago. We will see darling.

Yes indeed I remember de Castros, I hope he will help, remember me to him please. I certainly hope you will have success. Dear, you say you are looking for a job, why do you not try to place some things of mine, it is as good as any work if you should succeed and it would not bind you so. I just wrote S to write you about it. He really is in despair. Yes I know about Alsberg and Baldwin, S sent me his letter, but the Civil Liberties league is such a wishy washy outfit, they want the impossible, documents from prisoners in R, affidavits and what not as if anything can be gotten in R? Well, S is writing Henry.

Rebecca told me that Estelle Langner is already in L. I will write her tomorrow. Your sister in law has of course not called, I expected as much. I see Harry has started a new business in Liverpool, I have a hunch that Harry is not such a great success as a business man. Which speaks for him rather than

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against.

Darling you write about somebody who is in Paris, I can not make out the name. Always when you write by hand you write so close and your letters run into each other, it is almost as bad as my scribs. Please write by machine and do get a ribbon.

I am so glad Polya Linder has arrived at last, it was some job having her on my hands, she was so unhappy and fretful. And the child looked bad. Give the Linder family my love.

Dearest I will write again when I have more time. I hope to be able to send you the announcements of the dinner then.

Good night dearest and lots of love.

I haven't
to re-creating
I got the manuscript
with Denise so do
not send me the re-
cord of the Martin

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The Emma Goldman Papers

870923102

[Letter] 1924 Oct. 25 [London to Alexander Berkman, Berlin] / E[mma Goldman]. — 7 p. ; 26 x 21 cm.

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8691

Oct. 25th. 1924.

Dearest Sash. I have just come back from the idiotic Thanks giving in St Paul's Cathedral. The affair showed me how little advanced ideas have really taken root. The Church was packed with women from the medical profession, praying to God ~~for~~ and expression gratitude for their achievements. A Minister delivered a silly stereotyped address on the goodness of the Lord and that he is everywhere in science as well as in heaven. Really it was awful. All that after years and years of effort on the part of the finest minds. Then we are surprised that anarchism has taken no root. I am inclined to think that not one single truly worthwhile idea has taken root in the vast mass. It is most disheartening. The only worthwhile thing about today was the music. St Paul's Church has a marvelous ~~organ~~ organ.

I was with Rebecca West. Today was my second visit with her. I like her very much, she is the most interesting and advanced person I have met so far. I do not know where she got hold of it, but she read your memoirs and wanted to know all about you. So we talked of you. I am sure your ears must have burned.

And now I am in a chilly room, the penalty ~~from~~ *for* living with a friend. If I were in an ordinary rooming house I could make a kick and demand that my room be looked after and provisioned for heating. But being with Doris who works all day, I have to submit. I managed to get a few iron bars to fix up the rotten fire place they use here, so I am at least able to have a coal fire until I get time to go to the Gas Co. But it is just my rotten luck to have come here where there is not a soul to attend to my ~~thing~~. The trouble about the fire place is, it warms only one part of your body at a time, just now I am sitting with my back to the so called fire, you can guess what part it is warming. However, I have decided to write you to night if I have to work until midnight. Another trouble, I have a neighbor now so I can not work late. Well, I will see how far I can get.

I have already written you what I think about your letter to Alberg. I repeat it is pretty strong but well deserved. It won't hurt him to get hell, though that will not change the American, or rather Anglo Saxon psychology which is essentially weak and timid, afraid to dare stand out against public opinion, or some popular idea. Of course there have been exceptions, but they are only proving the rule. On the whole the Anglo Saxon people seem to me a cowardly lot where popular ideas are concerned. And Bolshevism is popular at the present time and will be for many years to come. Anyway, I think your letter is alright.

It is another matter about the job. I think you should accept it. But you must make it clear that you do not promise the impossible. You can get affidavits from people deported from Russia who can be reached, but you certainly can not get sworn testimony from those who are in Soviet prisons. No

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Re body asked such testimony from Propotkin when he wrote the "Error of Russia". The data it gave was taken for granted and the matter raised in Parliament and acted upon by Conservatives and Radicals alike. And it is less difficult to get testimony under the Tzar than it is now. All you can promise is that you gather material from Bolshevik sources, if that is not enough, of course you can not take the job. But if that is what is wanted you ought to accept it. I had a letter from Stella to day, dated the 16th wherein she said that Alaberg told her he is sure the Baldwin group will come through with the amount you asked for and that he was to see Baldwin the next day. You certainly should have had a definite reply since. But they move slow. Well, dear S, I strongly urge that you should accept the job if the demand you made is gratified, and that you should make it perfectly plain just how much you hope to give.

Stella writes that P. hasn't given her the story when she wrote the letter, but that when she got it she would do her utmost. She writes that rather than to go to Lasky, she means to go to Ben de C. who holds a very big position in the film world. Do you remember him? Anyway he knows us both and Stella justly feels that he would be interested and would be willing to help place the story. Let us hope so dear. As to whether it might hurt if the story appeared in a magazine. It might. I suggest that you wait a while. For magazines there is always time. If it is accepted you would never get more than \$500, whereas, if it should be accepted for the film the sum would of course be considerably more. Let us wait a little longer, I am sure Stella will try her very best. While I am on the question of stories, I want to say that I could not now send any elaborate suggestions for the prison story, Not until the dinner is over. I am having my hands full trying to suggest to the committee which seems to have not the slightest idea how to go about. Two valuable weeks have already been lost. The restaurant was booked only to day, a small place and a high priced one at that. Some idea European people have about organizing affairs. That is another thing I will find hard to get used to. However, I will jot down thoughts on the prison story as they come to me, and if I get a free day next week, I will try to get them together. If not the week after next.

I am going to send you the paper Kate O'Hare and her husband are publishing, it is devoted entirely to her campaign against the contract prison system. Some sensational stuff, Hearst is not in it. The way her book published by Knopf is advertised, you'd think it was the only work on prisons ever written. I must really sent for it, just to see the stuff the A. public loves. Well, it is the only way to get along in life. And we who do not know this way, or are not willing to use it must expect to die by the wayside. It just makes me frantic when I think that a work like yours should hardly be known, and the stuff Kate can write should be piled to the very sky. It is the same about our work on Russia. The thrash that is being published about Russia. Who will know about your book or mine? A handful of people. It is enough to make one weep.

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3

Dear old Sasha, you got in to a habit of saying that we will not agree. Something like the habitual liar who sometimes tells the truth, no one believes him. It is true that we do not agree on everything, but even when we do agree you insist it is from different reasons. You seem to enjoy not to agree with me, or to keep the belief that we do not agree. It happens that in the question of the drama, we certainly do agree. In fact it is hardly necessary to dwell on it, my work on the Social Significance of the Drama should certainly protect me against the charge that drama isn't deep if it isn't social. Do you have to tell me that Sasha dear? But a play maybe very deeply social and yet a great work of art. The Power of Darkness for instance is deeply social yet nothing Shaw has written is as artistic. The Nightlodging is social, yet that too is very artistic. Nearly everything Tchekhov has written is social, but what of Shaw can compare with Tchekhov? In other words, Shaw is certainly social but he is so obviously the propagandist that he ceases to be the artist. Perhaps I can express my point better when I say that propaganda changes, but the human all too human remains forever. In this sense Shakespeare will live forever, Shaw will not. Yes I know what Tolstoy said about Shakespeare, but Tolstoy himself disapproved his own point, I mean his contention that Lear for instance is not real, hence not art. Tolstoy was the modern Lear, he proved by his action how very real and human Shakespeares ~~zaxix~~ grasp of Lear was. And he proved it in many other ways. The moment Tolstoy became the mere propagandist he ceased to give lasting works. There is no getting away from it.

Dear, it is very difficult to suggest anything to you these days, you have a ~~del~~ market on everything. I realize that you are in a depressed state and that you are very discouraged. So am I. I know as well as you dear that our movement is shot to ~~pieces~~, that our people are inefficient, that it is not enough to point out the evils of Bolshevism merely. Yet if one has even the least faith left one must do something for it. Point out new ways? By all means, I have attempted that in the concluding chapter of the book. I feel that it is vital to create a new approach to the whole question of revolution and violence. To create new ethical values ~~and new~~ to employ new methods that may harmonize with the ideal. I told you when I wrote my book that it is that which I cared more than anything else. In fact I told you that in Russia when the dreadful callousness to human life and ethical values rushed in on me. You had no ~~understanding~~ no understanding for that then though I am certain you do now. Anyway there are new ways to point out, if only one could find an outlet. I know it will be bitter hard to come forth with new ways so long as the outside believes that the Bolsheviks are the voice of the Revolution and that Revolution must always mean mere scene shifting. Is that any reason why one should not try?

However, I understand your state of mind dear, and for your sake I wish deeply that you had the means to "retire" to the place you'd like best, Italy or Southern France and that

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8694

4.

you might write, but I do not believe for one moment that you would be content if you could do that. The hapless people in Russia, and the wrongs you'd meet in Italy or wherever you'd be would keep calling upon you to do something. Perhaps I am mistaken. I only know I will never find peace to lead a retired life, not even if I had the means for it. I must and I will make an attempt here to get back to the work. Heaven knows I do not love England any more than you, or the English. But "prejudice" against a country or a people" is certainly no argument. I am sure you do not really mean it to be that. It is another matter when one is bound even by a wretched living as the forty you are now earning. I realize that you can not and should not give that up until you have something more substantial or securer. Besides, I see nothing here for the present even for myself, let alone any combined efforts.

To be sure I am getting people and everybody want to help. But help what? The people who are likely to help me in work on the Russian question will not help me either in the work on anarchism, or any phase connected with it. And those who would help me with the latter, are themselves so steeped in the Russian spook that they would not move a finger to help me in that. Yesterday, I saw a manifesto gotten up by the agents of Moscow, a manifesto calling on the intellectuals of England to help the intellectuals of Russia. That manifesto is signed by the best known names in England, Bertrand Russell is among them. Now Russell knows that there are damned few intellectuals left in Russia, that the very term has become discredited and has been made hateful. Yet he signs such a thing. And he is not the only one. Now how can a man like that help me in work about Russia? I feel certain he will not. That is just the rub, the help I can get will be from the opposition to the whole line of revolutionary effort, help I will not be able to accept. Yes, this is the difficulty a thousand times more than whether we can or can not point out new ways, the fact that Bolshevism has gotten under the skin of advanced people and that they are loath to do anything against it, while those who have not been infected by the poison, belong to the reactionary gang with whom one can not affiliate. This is also the reason for the attitude of Baldwin and his group, and this attitude is the most difficult thing to overcome. Frankly I am not at all hopeful of my chances here.

What an idea of saying that Owen might help? The man covers fifteen miles a day as an inspector for some firm for which he barely gets enough to live on. He is exhausted at the end of the day. All he can do is to write for Freedom. After all the man is nearly seventy if he is not that already. What can he do? And there is no one else, no one who could give his time and energy without some compensation, and unless something is either backed by a group of people who have some money, or so organized that it can pay for itself, nothing will come of my efforts. However, I saw Mme Malmberg yesterday. I think I wrote you about her before. She is an old Finnish revolutionist, a friend of Rose and Anne Strunsky, and Stella's, she lectured in A extensively. She now lives here. She tells me there are two lecture bureaus here, one in London the other in Liverpool. She thought it maybe possible to get them to book me in lectures on

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5

Russia, she will find out. That would suite me more than any thing else, especially as a begining, it would relive me of all responcibility, give me a steady income and make it possible for me to organize effective work for the Russian politicals. I wonder whether either of the lecture bureaus will want to book me. I will look into that as well as to many other things. But always and forever many things will remain impossible for me which Mrs Malmberg or any one else can easily do. For instance, I could have disposed of several articles on Russia to the Chronicle, I was approached by them. But the paper belongs to Lloyd George. And of course, my article would have been used against the Labor Party and the Russian Loan, I mean now during the Elections. Of course I had to refuse. That makes my chances much more difficult than any one else. And that will confront me all the time, I am sure.

Dearie, I did not say that your book was a diary, or that all of it is in diary form. I told Miss Curtiss ~~sixth~~ that you had kept a diary and that the data you have in your work is therefore more authentic than if you had drawn on memory. Any thing wrong with that old chap? She simply did not understand and wabled that it was in diary form. I hope F will take the chapters that you want the United Newspaper Corporation to have to them. Nothing may come of it but it is worth trying. I wish you would have directed Curtiss Brown to send your Mss to me. I could use it here. For instance, I could get Rebecca West to read it and possibly write something about it which may create interest. If you have not yet directed C, B to return the Mss to you let me have it. I am really entitled to have one copy don't you think? The last I heard from Pauline is that she was to see Vladeck, for was it Cahn in re your Mss. and that F and Alsberg had \$600 promised for the publication of your book. I hope they are going to find a publisher.

Dear you are too hasty about Turner. He spent Wednesday evening with me and we had a long talk. He is really most anxious to do all he can while in Russia, he asked me to write out a memorandum of the most important cases for him to take up. It is true that he will be tied by his co-delegates especially as he does not know the language and must depend upon one of the interpreters who is a friend of his, to help him while in Russia. You are quite right in asking why people go to R, if they are not given the time to make thorough investigations. That is the luck of the Moscow gang that no one is given a chance to take the time. The mission to which Turner belongs goes primarily as fraternal delegates to the R, T, I. Mind you it was postponed when Moscow learned that the mission could not come now. Then the mission is to be split up, some are to go to the country, some to remain in Petrograd and Moscow. John is going to try for the latter, as he wants to get at the industrial side. But it is certain that he will get damned little, except that he is a very keen man and can not easily be deceived. Anyway, I am going to prepare the memorandum from the suggestions Sanya sent me, to insist on seeing Maria Weger who is now in Moscow, to insist upon the charges against Baron and the renewed percecution of Rubintchick, and I will add the request of Steinberg that he trys to see Spirdonova

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and Ismailowitch, anything else you want me to add you still have time to send it. I will see John again Monday, he is going with me to be registered. I have decided to do that before any publicity is started. And Dorad and I will have a little evening for John before he goes when I will again have a chance to see him. He asked me to write you that he is anxious to be of help and that he will try his best, but that he himself realizes he will not be able to do much because of his lack of the language. I know he is sincere.

What you say about H.W.'s efforts and the one Juror is correct, still H.W. does accomplish something. If I ~~made~~ mistake not he told me that the other Jurors were gotten but it was this one who held out the longest. I really do not remember exactly. I will ask him when I write. I too doubt whether any thing will help Mooney, the case was killed when the labor gang got hold of it. But it is tragic that the man should waste away when nearly everybody now knows he is innocent.

Dearie do not start with H. K, he is busy with his land scheme, has the real estate mania and he will do nothing Stella is the one, she writes she intends to look for some work. She might as well join with us. I wish you would write her, you know how much you really mean to her. I too will write her.

You will be interested in the news that Havel has collected some money for a paper. I inclose his letter if he has not already written you. Send it back to me. I could not now write an article. Between my correspondence and my running about to meet people I am kept busy all day until 12 at night. The type writer is especially hard on my neck and back and try as I may I do not get ~~xxx~~ ahead fast enough. I wonder what H will make out of the paper. He has abilities if he will only keep sober. But that is a vain hope isn't it? Well, if the paper will be worth while we should really help him, don't you think?

I do not see Sabel, I saw him only at the F.A.R. St. affair and last Saturday and I was at their place once. They live too far and are busy during the ~~even~~ day and I have no time evenings. But you need not worry about the Bulletin, Sabel does not know the people I wanted it for. By the way, better send me fifty if you have them printed, I hope ~~they~~ will be done soon. I must have them, for Hapgood in the mining district and for a lot of people here.

You know the Jewish saying "Er wachoben gute Kinder" if he is falsely accused. I am sorry I charged the photos to your ladies. One is Anne Cohn which he sent you two years ago, I remember it now. And I did not know that the other is Senyas. You might send it to him. The poor kid after working as a common laborer for awhile poisoned his hand and ear, his hand had to be operated on, and he is in the hospital. Mollie is again the sole supporter. You can imagine how they live. I wrote Pauline to try and raise some money for her from the woman who admired her so. P. wrote she got in touch with Kate O'hare and that something will be done. The martyrdom of our people in connection with R.

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7 ~~text~~terrible

is terrible.

Well this is more than a magazine, it is a book, you will have to take a day off to read it. But I prefer to do it ~~all~~ all in one sitting than write you in piecemeals. But now I must close.

Dear, dear Smash, whether we agree or not you will continue to be dearest to me even if not so near now. In fact, I think our friendship wonderful just because we do not always agree. That it has ~~endured~~ endured all these years in spite of it is the miracle, and since miracles happen so seldom, our friendship to me is really the most vital thing in my life. So there.

Devoted love. *cg*

Yes send me Sinclairs latest achievement, I can not imagine him doing anything of dramatic value, I saw several of his plays many years ago they were the limit. But perhaps the Volksbühne would take it? You do not mean to say that Saint Joan was given in B, only once. That is impossible dear, you had better watch the papers, and do go to see it, it is the greatest thing Shaw has written.

Margaret Sanger Milly tells me has already sailed back to A. Did I write you that Prince Hopkins is here? I had a letter from him. I understand he is studying medicine here. I have no idea how true it is. What is Levine doing and how is Mary? Give them my affectionate greetings and also to dear old George S.

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The Emma Goldman Papers

870924403

[Letter] 1924 Oct. 2[8?], London to] Emma Goldman, [London] / Rebecca West. —
1 p. ; 16 × 12 cm.

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Manuscript 725.

16477

36, QUEEN'S GATE TERRACE, S.W. 7.

October 20th, 1924.

Dear Emma Goldman,

I have fixed up my room for the
November 10th, 1924. Lady Rhonda, Mrs Archdale and
some others will be there and I shall be free what-
ever comes, though I hope to see you before that.
I shall be glad to see you and I shall be glad to
see you and I shall be glad to see you.

Yours truly,

Rebecca West

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The Emma Goldman Papers

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[Letter] 1924 Oct. 2[8? London to] Emma Goldman, [London] / Rebecca West. —
1 p. ; 39 × 27 cm.
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EXHIBIT 7285.

36, QUEEN'S GATE TERRACE, S.W. 7.

October 20th, 1924.

Dear Emma Goldman,

I have fixed up a dinner for you on November 10th, with Lady Rhonnda, Mrs Archdale and some others, so will you keep that date free whatever comes, though I hope to see you before that time myself and will write you a line as soon as the Election is over.

Yours very sincerely,

Rebecca West

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The Emma Goldman Papers

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[Letter, 1924 Nov.? London to unknown recipient (enclosure)] / [Emma Goldman]. —
1 p. ; 26 x 20 cm.
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*will interest
you*

Lou Bastidon,
Quartier Saint-Jean,
Grasse, FRANCE.

November 20th.

Dear Mrs. Goldman,

I came to-day across a cutting in an English newspaper, which gives a brief summary of the public denunciation of Bolshevism which you made in London. I am no longer young enough to write easily to people whom I do not know personally, but I cannot keep down the burst of passionate relief that I feel. I am a French writer, known in my country for my advanced Socialist opinions, and less than three years ago I was deported, by the British Military police, from Constantinople to Russia on account of my Bolshevik sympathies. I spent over three months in Russia, seeing things from the 'underneath', and when I came back to Europe, I wrote a book in French (which I afterwards translated into English under the title of "My Adventures in Bolshevik Russia") about what I had seen with my own eyes. Every one of my beliefs and ideals was smashed in that hell of tyranny and injustice, and I too have done - and will always do - my best to cry out aloud in European countries the fiendish sufferings and the monstrous despotism that the Bolsheviks have inflicted upon the Russian people. I have the intensest conviction that no independent writer, either in France or in England, who has visited Russia since the Revolution, has properly understood or properly described the real state of affairs in that land, and I want to tell you here that I wish you most ardently success in your courageous and truthful campaign against a gang of men who have shown neither competence, nor justice, nor sincere self-sacrifice in their abominable administration of a crushed nation.

Yours cordially,

Odette Keun (Madame).

I must tell you this again: I do not know whether the independent writers who went to Russia were stupid, or misinformed, or fascinated by mere texts, or simply afraid, but I do know that they never went to the core of things, and that not a single vivid picture has come from their brains or their pen.

The Emma Goldman Papers

870924398

[Letter] 1924 Nov. 3 [London to] Emm[a] Goldman, [London] / Rebecca West. —
1 p. ; 16 × 12 cm.

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Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

Envelope 7205.

16472

36, QUEEN'S GATE TERRACE, S.W. 7.

November 3rd, 1924.

Dear Emma Goldman,

I fear I shall have to alter the date of the dinner to the 11th instead of the 12th., as Lady Bismarck, Mr. Ellis and Mrs. Arnold can only come on that evening. I am so sorry to change but it is the only time they can all manage.

Yours very sincerely,

Theresa West

want to take you to tea with an most
promising woman artist - but I'll let you know
about that later.

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The Emma Goldman Papers

840305047

[Letter] 1924 Nov. 3 [London to] Emm[a] Goldman, [London] / Rebecca West. —
1 p. ; 40 × 27 cm.
Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the Tamiment Library, New York University.

KENSINGTON 7280

36, QUEEN'S GATE TERRACE, S.W. 7.

November 3rd, 1924.

Dear Emme Goldman,

I fear I shall have to alter the date of the dinner to the 11th instead of the 12th., as Lady Rhondda, Dr. Ellis and Mrs. Arnold can only come on that evening. I am so sorry to change but it is the only time they can all manage.

Yours very sincerely,

Rebecca West.

want to take you to see with an most

promising woman artist - but I'll let you know about that later.

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The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1924 Nov. 4, London [to] Emma Gold[man, London] / Prince Hopkins.—
1 p. ; 20 × 16 cm.

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Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.*

38 Bloomsbury Street,
LONDON. W.C.1.

15873

4th November 1924.

Miss Emma Goldberg,
C/O E.G. Kerzhner Esq.,
3 Titchfield Terrace,
Regents Park. N.W.8.

My Dear Emma,

I thank you very much for your letter of the 28th October and should now like to say that if the date is convenient to you, I shall be very happy to call next Wednesday afternoon about half past three o'clock.

The evening of the 12th of this month is unfortunately not a good one for me, there is just a possibility that I might be able to get round quite late, but this rather knocks the chance of my accepting your invitation to speak.

I can well understand that your experiences since we last saw each other have left pretty deep wounds.

Until Wednesday then,

Yours sincerely,

Prince Hopkins,

per A.M.S.

The Emma Goldman Papers

870920237

[Letter] 1924 Nov. 5 [London to Emma Goldman, London] / David Soskice. —
2 p. ; 20 x 16 cm.
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Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

5030

TELEPHONE NO.
RIVERSIDE 882.

5, GIRDLE ROAD,
BROOK GREEN,
W. 14.

Nov. 5th 1924,

Dear Mr. Kershner

Thank you for your letter
with enclosures. I am writing for
some tickets to Miss Everett and I
have also given the circular to several
friends, some of whom I hope will
attend the dinner.

I have read the Bulletin with
interest and also received
a Bulletin in French published by
the Russian S.A.s dealing with
the same subject and finally,
yesterday, the Russian paper "Dni"

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published in Berlin, which gives an account of the shooting
in the Salovki a year ago.

We Russians understand all the circumstances of
the situation and are horrified when reading or hearing
of it; but I feel sure that foreigners, especially
English people will not be strongly impressed. I will
explain to you the reasons when we next meet.

Could you come on Sunday next at

d.c.c?

With kind regards from my wife and myself
I am

Sincerely yours,

David Soskice

5030/A

The Emma Goldman Papers

850702119

[Letter] 1924 Nov. 5 [New York to] E[mma] G[oldman], London / H[arry] W[einberger].— 2 p. ; 28 x 22 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the Yale University Library. Institutional Location: Harry Weinberger Papers, Department of Manuscripts and Archives.

Nov. 5, 1924.

M. G. Kershner,
3. Mintonfield Terrace,
Regent's Park,
London, N.W.1, B.

My dear M. G.: Since I have gotten back between straightening things out, doing something in the campaign, and getting my appeal in shape, I have had a more or less hectic time.

I send you herewith some copies which speak for themselves. I think the newspapers are mistaken about dropping all publicity as the thing that is keeping Mooney in jail is not the pressure on the Governor who does not want to be forced, but the powers that be who put him in jail in the first place.

I have been invited down to the Mexican celebration of Labor's annual meeting across the border and then to be a guest at the inauguration of the new president, General Obregon. This all would be fine to bring pressure on Governor Keff and the new Governor McArgenson, to release Mangel and Cline and the others, but unless the Committee up here can raise funds to have me go it will be out of the question. What with the cost of my appeal which will be argued in the Court of Appeals in December by Judge Samuel Hoebury, formerly of the Court of Appeals, and my European trip, I certainly am short of cash and do not know what the money as I did the first time I went down there even though it was finally paid back. Unless the case has publicity and someone pushing on it, money is very difficult to raise, especially on a case as old as the Mangel & Cline case, but I do have hopes that even if I do not go to Mexico, I may have publicity and resolutions passed etc. through Roberto Heberlein.

You state that the Nation never reviewed your book. I was under the impression that they did. I will try to get it in mind with the new book comes out to insist that there be a review. I have called Doubleday & Co. up and they say that the book will be published November 14th. It is too bad that your book is not being published in England at this time because the question whether England is to recognize Russia etc. at this time, would cause a good deal of comment and discussion.

I met Rebecca out with Lawrence Longley in the recollection is correct. The provocation for a moment. I have not read her books but perhaps I will look them up and read them though I have read about her. I think your idea of having a

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E. G.

-2-

Nov. 5, 1924.

dinner and then start your lecturing is a good one.

According to reports, it seems Coolidge has swept the country, the La Follette carried some of the States, and the reaction is in the saddle and riding herd.

Hurriedly yours,

HW:AD
Enc.

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The Emma Goldman Papers

810519179

[Letter] 1924 Nov. 6, London [to] Roger Baldwin, New York / E[mma] G[oldman]. —
5 p. ; 28 × 17 cm.

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and Tilden Foundations. Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Papers, Rare Books and Manuscripts Division.

3, Titchfield Terrace, London, NW. 8.

November 6 1924.

Mr. Roger Baldwin,
100 Fifth Avenue,
New York City.

Dear Roger Baldwin, —

I have your letters of June 20th and September 15th, also the Memorandum drawn up by our friend H. A. I admit that your letter was 'not easy to answer without considerable feeling' on my part. But that is not the reason why I have not written. There are other reasons, not the least among them my stay in Paris, and my effort, since reaching England, to gain a footing here.

First about Paris: It was the first time in seven years that I felt free to breathe and to move about. The effect was quite extraordinary. It seemed that all the burdens I have carried since the earthquake which overtook my life and work in America, in 1917, had suddenly sunk into nothingness; and that life with all its fragrance and beauty had taken hold of me. That lasted for seven weeks, glorious, never-to-be-forgotten weeks! However, since I came to England, the burdens are again upon me. My visa is for a year, I take it. The other day when I registered, there were no questions asked and there was much less red tape than either in Germany or France. But what the authorities will do when I become active is quite another matter; and I must become active if I am to continue life at all. I have, however, got to the point of not caring really. Sooner or later I must put it to a test whether I can take root in any particular spot. I prefer to do it here -- not because I am enamoured with England ~~so much~~, but because it is a country which speaks my language and which, at least traditionally, has a greater amount of liberty than in any other country. So I am determined to stick it out.

Meanwhile, friends here have arranged a dinner for me for the 12th of this month, at which Edward Carpenter, Bertrand Russell, Rebecca West and a number of others are to speak. The dinner may give me the kind of backing that I need to live and work in this country. Later, I mean to lecture extensively on Russia. The two difficulties confronting me here are, first, the question of making a living. As I understand it, people in England are not used to paying admission to lectures. You see, everybody is in a groove here, belongs to some society, group, organisation or club, and these institutions provide the intellectual food -- whether digestible or not -- to the public at large, free of charge. I am therefore inclined to think that I will not be able to support myself through lectures. On the other hand, it is certain that I will not be able to earn enough by my pen. I have never learned to do ordinary journalistic work; the stuff I write, as the New York World once informed me, 'is too high-brow', and the stuff that the Press wants I cannot write. Besides that, in my case situations crop

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Mr. R. Baldwin,

- 2 -

November 6, 1924.

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That does not mean that I have particular faith in the Labour Party. I think it is composed of politicians, perhaps a little bit more advanced than the other politicians, but, on the whole, it will do no more than any other political organisation. But it stands, in theory at least, for progressive ideas. For this very reason I cannot let myself be used by the reactionary forces. You see, then, how great the difficulty will be.

Another difficulty is the fact that free-lance work is almost unknown in England. As I have already mentioned, everybody seems to be in a groove. Whatever work done, is done by organisations. For one who is an outsider to expect success, especially on individualistic lines, I mean without the backing of an organisation, is impossible I am told. But I have tried so many impossible things in my life, that I mean to try this one too. If only I will be able to hold out long enough and to get some backing from a few friends in America, I think I will be able to make it go. In any event, I mean to try very hard. It is not only because of a livelihood; it is much more a question of life and death for me whether I can take root and become active again, or whether I am to continue the rest of my days as a living corpse without any aim or purpose in life. You see how urgent it is that I try to make the impossible possible.

Yet these are not all the difficulties I will have here. The main obstacle will be the confusion and superstition prevalent in England about Russia. In that respect I think it is like America, where Radicals and Liberals alike have been mesmerised by the hypnotic spell of Moscow, or rather by the myth foisted upon the world by Moscow. It is not that so many people believe in the myth; it is that few people have the courage to stand out against a popular tide. And Bolshevism is a popular tide. It has caught the fancy of the mob, and you know yourself how difficult it is to swim against such a tide. Yet here, too, I am determined to go ahead. I consider the Russian situation the most important in the world today. The necessity of shedding light on the situation, of freeing it from all the superstition and hypocrisy it involves is to me of the utmost importance, and I mean to devote whatever life and strength are left me to that purpose.

This brings me to your letters. You say in yours of June 15th, "We are not dealing with matters of attitude." That is just it, dear Roger Baldwin. The trouble is that all those who refuse to face the facts of Russia are dealing with nothing else but attitudes. Their emotions have blinded them to such an extent, that they are utterly unable to listen to any critical analysis by people who speak, not from hearsay, but from actual experience and knowledge. When you say, however, "that no one has yet offered any evidence which can be recognised as competent in any court", you are putting yourself in the position of the average Catholic, to whom no amount of data and historic facts as regards the crimes committed by the Catholic Church will be convincing or "evidence recognised as competent in any court".

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Mr. Roger Baldwin,

- 3 -

November 6 1924.

Now, listen, dear boy: We sent you a list of a thousand names of Soviet victims in prisons, concentration camps and exile. This list is only a very small part of the many thousands who have been incarcerated, starved, tortured, or even shot. The list was signed by every organisation outside of Russia of different political opinions. Yet it seems that this list is not sufficient "evidence recognised as competent in any court".

Again, Henry Alsberg, who certainly cannot be accused of very extreme social ideas, a man cautious almost to the point of self-obliteration, a man who has been in Russia four or five times, has studied conditions carefully, brings you a report about the terror going on in that unfortunate country. Evidently, neither you nor the rest of your friends in the Civil Liberties Union have believed Alsberg's word, else you would not say that no one has given such material as would stand as competent in any court. Besides that, we have repeatedly sent bulletins giving actual cases, names, circumstances of people hunted, persecuted and tortured in Russian prisons, and still you insist that no one has given sufficient "evidence recognised as competent in any court".

Instead, your organisation sends a man like Dr. Ward, not knowing the Russian language, one as naive in the nature of the Soviet Government as a new born babe, and you imagine that his report would have a greater chance to be considered as competent in court than anything we have sent you until now! I understand that Dr. Ward has already given his "report", which consists of the preposterous declaration that there is remarkable friendliness between the Russian prisoners and the Russian Government. Verily, preposterous does not express the outrage committed by Dr. Ward in making such a statement in face of the horrors going on in Soviet prisons.

When Tolstoy wrote to the Czar protesting against the Terror in Russia, did any one in or outside of Russia question his veracity? Did they ask for such facts that would be considered as competent in any court? When Kuropotkin wrote his "Terror Under the Czar", did any one question his facts and data? Yet neither Tolstoy nor Kuropotkin were in a position to quote "sworn affidavits by prisoners in Russia itself", yet I assure you it was infinitely less difficult to get such sworn testimony under the Czar than it is now. Under the Czar, political prisoners could correspond with the outside world, receive publications, books, be visited by their friends, etc. They had a status in the public mind at any rate, which no one dared to question, no, not even the Czar's henchmen. They were respected and revered by their friends, even though they were hated by their enemies. Now why then should your organisation doubt the material sent you and the people who, whatever else may be said against them are known to have been in the revolutionary movement for wellnigh a lifetime, and have fought for their ideal at the expense of all else. I suppose you will say that it is because Russia today is a workers' experiment. There lies the whole secret of the difficulties confronting any one of us who are eager to shed light on the fate of the unfortunate Russian political victims. This myth, this terrible superstition that Russia is a workers' experiment and that such things as existed under the Czar cannot possibly be true under the present regime must be exploded. Well, dear boy, you will have to emancipate yourself from that belief. I know it is difficult; it took me 15 months although I was on the spot, know the language, and certainly was able

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Mr. Roger Baldwin,

- 4 -

November 6, 1924.

to see the things going on day by day. And yet it was difficult to emancipate myself from the stupid belief that the workers in Russia are really the Government and that it is they who are trying a new social experiment. And because it took me so long, I haven't it in my heart to be very angry with you or many like you who have not been in Russia, and cling to the fetish of the workers' experiment. The only difference between -- let us say, Bergmann and myself and you and your group is this: that we stuck to Russia when there was at least a semblance of a revolutionary experiment; you people continue to stick to it long after the Revolution has been emasculated and a more merciless system of autocracy and despotism established than existed under the Czar.

Here is the Soviet Government on its knees before the reaction of the world, paying homage to the Fascist Mussolini, recognised by the Catholic Church and the Pope in Rome, accepted by the most capitalistic apologists. Here is Russia, exploiting, robbing and browbeating the workers, filling its prisons, suppressing every breath of life and thought, and yet you people hate like hell to let go of your fetish! How long, dear Roger, are you going to wait? Until all the Russian politicals in the prisons and concentration camps, in Solovetsky and in other such ultra-Socialistic burial places are going to die out? Until not one man or woman of ideas will be left in Russia? It almost seems so to me.

If, therefore, I am roused at this weak-kneed, naive dabbling in the fate of the Russian politicals, it is not because of "an attitude", to quote you, but because I know the facts, facts crying to the very heavens, and not neared by you or many who belong to your group.

So far as the Memorandum is concerned, I must say that I am even more impatient with H.A. for drawing up such a document than with you. At least, it can be said in your justification, that as you have not been in Russia, you cannot know the facts so well as H.A. who has been there repeatedly. Surely, nothing but childish naivete and ignorance could induce a man like H.A. to suggest certain points in the Memorandum which he knows utterly impossible to be gotten. Or is it that for lack of revolutionary tradition, the Anglo-Saxon, or, let us say, men and women in England and America, remain for ever so childish and naive? Why, you people show the same revolutionary knowledge as Woodrow Wilson in regard to foreign diplomacy. Everybody was surprised that the man knew nothing of the secret treaties when he came to Europe. Yet, here you are yourselves in revolutionary movements and still continue in utter ignorance of the secret treaty of the Soviet Government to exterminate men, women and children for opinion's sake! I must say, I have no patience with such lack of revolutionary experience or training! I was particularly amused at the third point in the Memorandum, which speaks of

"Present powers of the GPU and other police organs. Method of juridical procedure in political cases. Method of arrest, question of bail (if any), accessibility to council, how long prisoner to be detained without trial, nature of trials, who convicts (either with or without trial), nature of sentences allowed, death sentence, exile, deportation etc. This should be gathered from the Press, decrees, published laws, etc. and affidavits of persons having actually been through the mill as to how these laws work in practice."

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Mr. Roger Baldwin,

- 5 -

November 6, 1924.

How on earth E. A. expects any one to get this evidence, is beyond me. Surely he must know that one could not even get it if one were in Russia, not alone to get it being outside of Russia.

In your letter of June 20th you say, "I share your general view of the Bolshevik Government in relation to the Revolution, but I do not share your analysis of its effect on revolutionary thinking and organisation." I do not quite understand what you mean by that. Do you mean the effect of the S. G. on revolutionary thinking and organisation? If so, I wish to say that the Soviet Government with its experiment and method has had a most deteriorating and disintegrating effect both on revolutionary thinking and organisation. In fact, it has poisoned the whole Social and revolutionary movement. It has inculcated distrust, espionage and cynicism in the ranks of the masses unknown since the days of Jesuitism; it has discredited everything of any value ever fought for by revolutionary men and women the world over. To my mind, it has perverted revolutionary thinking and organisation.

But, as you say, this is a thing which cannot be discussed at length in a letter. I hope some day you and I may get together and thrash the matter out. You see, I have faith in you. I think your trouble is that you are too timid, therefore paralysed by the particular atmosphere that you happen to be in. But fundamentally, I know, you are sincere and willing to listen to reason and to believe in the integrity of your opponents. I hope we may meet soon.

I am glad to hear that you are writing a book on Kuroptkin. I certainly should love to see it before it is published. By the way, it will interest you to know that Frank Harris is preparing a portrait of Kuroptkin and that I sent him quite a lot of material of my own reminiscences of the great old man.

There are many things more that I would like to write you about, but I shall have to refrain for the present; maybe some time later. I am always glad to hear from you.

Affectionately,

E. G.

Give my regards to H. A.
Tell him that I am very anxious
to know what he did with the
article. Tell him to write to Len, or
let me know

The Emma Goldman Papers

870820123

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6998

3, Titchfield Terrace, London, NW. 8.

November 6, 1924.

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100 Fifth Avenue,
New York City.

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November 4, 1924.

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7000

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- 3 -

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Again, Henry Alsberg, who certainly cannot be accused of very extreme social ideas, a man cautious almost to the point of self-obliteration, a man who has been in Russia four or five times, has studied conditions carefully, brings you a report about the terror going on in that unfortunate country. Evidently, neither you nor the rest of your friends in the Civil Liberties Union have believed Alsberg's word, else you would not say that no one has given such material as would stand as competent in any court. Besides that, we have repeatedly sent bulletins giving actual cases, names, circumstances of people hunted, persecuted and tortured in Russian prisons, and still you insist that no one has given sufficient "evidence recognised as competent in any court".

Instead, your organisation sends a man like Dr. Ward, not knowing the Russian language, one as naive in the nature of the Soviet Government as a new born babe, and you imagine that his report would have a greater chance to be considered as competent in court than anything we have sent you until now! I understand that Dr. Ward has already given his "report", which consists of the preposterous declaration that there is remarkable friendliness between the Russian prisoners and the Russian Government. Verily, preposterous does not express the outrage committed by Dr. Ward in making such a statement in face of the horrors going on in Soviet prisons.

When Tolstoy wrote to the Czar protesting against the Terror in Russia, did any one in or outside of Russia question his veracity? Did they ask for such facts that would be considered as competent in any court? When Kuropotkin wrote his "Terror Under the Czar", did any one question his facts and data? Yet neither Tolstoy nor Kuropotkin were in a position to quote "sworn affidavits of prisoners in Russia itself", yet I assure you it was infinitely ~~more~~ difficult to get such sworn testimony under the Czar than it is now. Under the Czar, political prisoners could correspond with the outside world, receive publications, books, be visited by their friends, etc. They had a status in the public mind at any rate, which no one dared to question, no, not even the Czar's henchmen. They were respected and revered by their friends, even though they were hated by their enemies. Now why then should your organisation doubt the material sent you and the people who, whatever else may be said against them, are known to have been in the revolutionary movement for wellnigh a lifetime, and have fought for their ideal at the expense of all else. I suppose you will say that it is because Russia today is a workers' experiment. There lies the whole secret of the difficulties confronting any one of us who are eager to shed light on the fate of the unfortunate Russian political victims. This myth, this terrible superstition that Russia is a workers' experiment and that such things as existed under the Czar cannot possibly be true under the present regime must be exploded. Well, dear boy, you will have to emancipate yourself from that belief. I know it is difficult; it took me 15 months although I was on the spot, know the language, and certainly was able

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The Emma Goldman Papers

870820123

[Letter] 1924 Nov. 6, London [to] Roger Baldwin, New York / [Emma Goldman]. — 5 p. ; 25 x 20 cm.

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Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

7001

Mr. Roger Baldwin,

- 4 -

November 6, 1924.

to see the things going on day by day. And yet it was difficult to emancipate myself from the stupid belief that the workers in Russia are really the Government and that it is they who are trying a new social experiment. And because it took me so long, I haven't it in my heart to be very angry with you or many like you who have not been in Russia, and cling to the fetish of the workers' experiment. The only difference between — let us say, Bergmann and myself and you and your group is this: that we stuck to Russia when there was at least a semblance of a revolutionary experiment; you people continue to stick to it long after the Revolution has been emasculated and a more merciless system of autocracy and despotism established than existed under the Czar.

Here is the Soviet Government on its knees before the reaction of the world, paying homage to the Fascist Mussolini, recognised by the Catholic Church and the Pope in Rome, accepted by the most capitalistic apologists. Here is Russia, exploiting, robbing and browbeating the workers, filling its prisons, suppressing every breath of life and thought, and yet you people hate like hell to let go of your fetish! How long, dear Roger, are you going to wait? Until all the Russian politicals in the prisons and concentration camps, in Solovetsky and in other such ultra-Socialistic burial places are going to die out? Until not one man or woman of ideas will be left in Russia? It almost seems so to me.

If, therefore, I am roused at this weak-kneed, naive dabbling in the fate of the Russian politicals, it is not because of "an attitude", to quote you, but because I know the facts, facts crying to the very heavens, and not hears by you or many who belong to your group.

So far as the Memorandum is concerned, I must say that I am even more impatient with H.A. for drawing up such a document than with you. At least, it can be said in your justification, that as you have not been in Russia, you cannot know the facts so well as H.A. who has been there repeatedly. Surely, nothing but childish naivete and ignorance could induce a man like H.A. to suggest certain points in the Memorandum which he knows utterly impossible to be gotten. Or is it that for lack of revolutionary tradition, the Anglo-Saxon, or, let us say, men and women in England and America, remain for ever so childish and naive? Why, you people show the same revolutionary knowledge as Woodrow Wilson in regard to foreign diplomacy. Everybody was surprised that the man knew nothing of the secret treaties when he came to Europe. Yet, here you are yourselves in revolutionary movements and still continue in utter ignorance of the secret treaty of the Soviet Government to exterminate men, women and children for opinion's sake! I must say, I have no patience with such lack of revolutionary experience or training! I was particularly amused at the third point in the Memorandum, which speaks of

"Present powers of the GPU and other police organs. Method of juridical procedure in political cases. Method of arrest, question of bail (if any), accessibility to council, how long prisoner to be detained without trial, nature of trials, who convicts (either with or without trial), nature of sentences allowed, death sentence, exile, deportation etc. This should be gathered from the Press, decrees, published laws, etc. and affidavits of persons having actually been through the mill as to how these laws work in practice."

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7002

Mr. Roger Baldwin,

- 5 -

November 6, 1924.

How on earth H. A. expects any one to get this evidence, is beyond me. Surely he must know that one could not even get it if one were in Russia, not alone to get it being outside of Russia.

In your letter of June 20th you say, "I share your general view of the Bolshevik Government in relation to the Revolution, but I do not share your analysis of its effect on revolutionary thinking and organization." I do not quite understand what you mean by that. Do you mean the effect of the S. G. on revolutionary thinking and organization? If so, I wish to say that the Soviet Government with its experiment and method has had a most deteriorating and disintegrating effect both on revolutionary thinking and organization. In fact, it has poisoned the whole Socialist and revolutionary movement. It has inculcated distrust, espionage and cynicism in the ranks of the masses unknown since the days of Jesuitism; it has discredited everything of any value ever fought for by revolutionary men and women the world over. To my mind, it has perverted revolutionary thinking and organization.

But, as you say, this is a thing which cannot be discussed at length in a letter. I hope some day you and I may get together and thrash the matter out. You see, I have faith in you. I think your trouble is that you are too timid, therefore paralysed by the particular atmosphere that you happen to be in. But fundamentally, I know, you are sincere and willing to listen to reason and to believe in the integrity of your opponents. I hope we may meet soon.

I am glad to hear that you are writing a book on Kuropotkin. I certainly should love to see it before it is published. By the way, it will interest you to know that Frank Harris is preparing a portrait of Kuropotkin and that I sent him quite a lot of material of my own reminiscences of the great old man.

There are many things more that I would like to write you about, but I shall have to refrain for the present; maybe some time later. I am always glad to hear from you.

Affectionately,

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The Emma Goldman Papers

870920241

[Letter] 1924 Nov. 7 [London to Emma] Goldman, [London] / David Soskice.—
1 p.; 15 × 11 cm.
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Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

5037

TELEPHONE NO.
RIVERSIDE 882.

5. GIRDLE ROAD.
BROOK GREEN,
W. 14.

Nov. 7-1924

My dear Mrs. Goldman,

Very well, it will do, come on Monday
about 7pm. We shall both be very
pleased!

I have seen today Mr. Weinstein who
is the President of 1917 Club. I suggested
to him that you should be invited
to speak at the Club. He is in
Sympathy League and promised to
submit the proposal to the Club
Committee. However, he said
there will be a strong opposition
to it. We remain on Monday
Yours sincerely
David Soskice

The Emma Goldman Papers

870927198

[Letter] 1924 Nov. 10, Nice [to Emma Goldman, London] / Frank Harris. —
1 p. ; 27 × 21 cm.

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Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

770 The American Express Co.
NEW YORK FRANCE
November 10th, 1924

My dear dear friend,

I have read your letter of the 28th. with the greatest interest and all about your visits to Miss Schuster and am so glad you like her. She is really lovable. I have written to you in answer to every letter you have sent me and my message to you for your dinner is "that all great people are punished more or less by the mediocrities." You have been punished more than most which in my opinion is the measure of your greatness. If they punished you for your true-heartedness, they would have sent you to the electric chair long ago. Now what else am I to say except that I will wire something like this to you on Wednesday so that you get it for the dinner, but if not take this for the message "Those whom he loveth he chasteneth".

Nellie sends her love - I will tell her about not having written to you.

Ever yours.

Frank Harris

The Emma Goldman Papers

870920099

[Letter] 1924 Nov. 13 [London to Emma Goldman, London] / Stan Harding. —
2 p. ; 25 × 20 cm.

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MUSEUM 9979.

4769

35, DEVONSHIRE STREET,
THEOBALD'S ROAD, W.C.

Thursday Nov. 13th
1924

Dear Madam,

I want so much to meet you.
May I? — We have mutual friends —
Bertrand Russell and others — but
I think the fact that we both took
our degree in disclusion in Moscow
in the same year will be a sufficient
introduction!

I went to Russia in 1920 as
correspondent of the N. Y. World and
was condemned to death three days
after reaching Moscow on a false
political charge made against
me ^{by} an Anti-Bolshevik Secret
Sewell agent who systematically
falsely denounced radicals in her
assumed role of Ekekest-informer.

I am wondering if I could be of
any service to you while you are

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870920099

[Letter] 1924 Nov. 13 [London to Emma Goldman, London] / Stan Harding. —
2 p. ; 25 × 20 cm.

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Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

4770

in this country. My flat is over
the Poetry Book shop which you
may know. A telephone message is
bound to reach me before ten thirty
in the morning - after that if I
am out there is no one to take a
message. Please tell me when
I may come to see you, or when
you will do me the pleasure of lunching
with me.

Yours very faithfully
Stan Harding

P.S

You may possibly have heard something
about my case for after it had been
raised 24 times in Parliament the Soviet
paid me £3000 damages, but in case
you haven't, I enclose a summary of the facts.

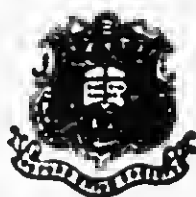
The Emma Goldman Papers

861114041

[Letter] 1924 Nov. 13, Oxford [England to Emma] Goldman, [London] / [Charles] Wright Thomas. — 7 p. ; 17 × 11 cm.

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Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

5174



My dear Miss Goldman:

After the
wonderful experience at
your dinner yesterday
evening, we four American
exonians who were present
felt that we could
express our gratitude in
no better way than by
inviting you to speak to

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5175



The American Institute at
Oxford. He accordingly
suggested this to the
Executive Committee of the
American Club, and the
President has asked me
to write you. Our
program for this term
is still, except for
next week-end; we shall

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5176



It was intended if you
could be good enough
to week to the club
on either Friday or
Saturday evening of next
week, preferably on
Saturday, since that is
our regular meeting-night.
We shall most, of course,
be coming for your

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5177



Traveling expenses and
entertainment in Oxford.
There are over two
hundred Americans here;
and we shall be proud
to welcome you as one
of us, not also as one
who has escaped that
bondage of nationality in
thought which so mingles

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5178/

find so precious in
the pursuit of truth.

We are trying this
year to put the American
Club on a more
intellectual basis; Mr.
Frederick Russell
delighted us with an
address last week. And
if you will make to

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[Letter] 1924 Nov. 13, Oxford [England to Emma] Goldman, [London] / [Charles] Wright Thomas. — 7 p. ; 17 × 11 cm.

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Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

5178/2



to me next week we
shall count this time
I have been indeed
a rich man.

I cannot close
without again expressing
to you my sincere
appreciation of last
evening and with
that the love that

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5178/3

...will be kind enough
to give to others the
great pleasure that
I have had.

Sincerely yours,
Fright Thomas,

Pembroke College,
Oxford,
November 3 1924.

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The Emma Goldman Papers

870923086

[Letter, 19]24 Nov. 15 [London? to] Emma [Goldman, London] / [unknown author] A
Member of British Fascisti. — 1 p. ; 19 × 18 cm.

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Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

To She whom they call

Nov. 15th. 24.

" RED EMMA "

8638

Sister! When I read (only yesterday) your burning denunciation of the cruelty and hypocrisy of the BOLSHEVIE GOVT. of RUSSIA, I said "This Woman is the INSTRUMENT whom the SUPREME BEING has raised up for the salvation of the unhappy masses of RUSSIA! When I read the last accounts of the terrific cruelties tortures and starvation and outrages on women and children (from eye witnesses), their beating by the CHEF of prisoners and hostages with iron bars, till they were cut in half! of which there (~~more~~) are PHOTOS by eye witnesses, I dared not view..... I fell on my knees and prayed the GOD of OUR FATHERS "That for CHRIST'S sake he would send INSTRUMENTS to put an end to a HELL upon earth conducted in lies and hypocrisy upon an innocent and suffering people." All these bloody Revolutions and mad destructions recoil in like manner. Here, there is no such EXCUSE, ENGLAND has ever sheltered the unfortunate, You are now protected by the same laws and liberties of GREAT BRITAIN, Sister! join your eloquence to the BRITISH FASCISTI which knows no class, no politics, no race, no Head but JESUS the FRIEND of MAN—who tells us all to "Do unto others, as you would be done by— " BRITISH FASCISTI is determined NO COMMUNISTS shall rule this COUNTRY— and you will see they will get driven out of RUSSIA. The "WRITING IS ALREADY ON THE WALL!"

A MEMBER of BRITISH FASCISTI.

Enclosed papers and addresses.

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The Emma Goldman Papers

861114038

[Letter] 1924 Nov. 16, Oxford [England to Emma] Goldman, [London] / [Charles] Wright Thomas. — 8 p. ; 17 x 22 cm.

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Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

all of us who stay away from
America long enough to look at
her dispassionately cease to care
for some things in her make-
up; but for her truer and
finer self, the enduring and
human things, we come to
love her, I know, better than
those who loudly challenge
our hundred-percentism.

You will find Americans of all
sorts at Oxford, but more
I think, of our kind; and
they will be glad to know
you, and I'm sure you will
enjoy seeing them.



Oxford,

Nov. 16, 1924.

My dear Miss Goldman:

Your very kind
letter coming yesterday made me
very happy to learn that we
should be able to hear you
Saturday. And for myself, it
was very, very good to find
that one who has faced the
realities of life does not hold
it against youth that we
idealize and dream perhaps
impossible things. I think

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I wired you yesterday as soon as we had definitely decided on Saturday as the night. I have waited until today to write so that I could tell you something of our arrangements. First, in regard to the train service, I am giving you the hours:

Saturday (Paddington to Oxford)

Leave 9:45 a.m. — arrive 1:08 a.m.;
10:45 a.m. — 2:38 (slow train);
1:45 p.m. — 3:04 p.m.; 3:18 p.m. — 5:25 p.m.
(slow train); 4:45 — 5:55.

Sunday (Oxford to Paddington)

Leave 7:43 a.m. — arrive 10:10 a.m.;
11:11 p.m. — 2:40 p.m.

There are a few other slow trains from London to Oxford on Saturday; but only these two from Oxford to London on Sunday.

The Sunday service is very poor; I am sorry, but the Great Western is to blame.

Evening of 7:43 is not too early to leave (or 2:40 p.m. not too late to arrive), we should prefer to have you speak Saturday. On Friday we should be able to get only a

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to see something of this
delightful place, I should be
very happy to "show you
around"; in which case,
the sooner you arrive the
better. As you know, Oxford
students live under the
most nearly unarchical
collegiate government in the
world; our time is our
own, and on Saturday
it is yours.

The meeting of the American
Club will begin at eight-
thirty. However, Professor



5164
say small place, and we don't
want your audience to be
cramped. But if the train
service makes it inconvenient
for you to reach Saturday,
we shall certainly change the
date to Friday; will you wire
at our expense if you wish
us to do so?

As to arriving at Oxford,
please make that according to
your own convenience and
pleasure. If you would like

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and Mrs Morison (Prof.
Morison is an American,
formerly of Harvard, now
Harnsworth Professor of American
History in Oxford) have asked
that you have dinner with
them at their home. The
hour, I think, will be seven.
So that will be the "official"
start of your visit.

We shall make arrangements
for you to stop at the
Mitre Hotel on High Street.
If you will let me know

when to expect you, I shall
be at the station to meet
you.

As for your talk, we want
you to speak on whatever
subject you wish. The one
you suggest, "Education
and Culture in Russia,"
would be excellent. However,
we (and especially myself) do
not wish you to feel
narrowly confined to these
two phases. All of us are
interested in Russia of today,
and I might frankly add,

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about will be the best
subject. The less announce,
I think, only that you
will speak on Russia.
Unless you wish us to
state a more definite subject.
Then you may state your
limits at the beginning of
your talk. There is, of
course, the time limit;
our addresses usually last
some forty-five minutes.
But again we do not
wish to limit you. It is



5166
ignorant of her true condition.
As students we are concerned,
of course, with her Educational
and Cultural aspects; but we
are also interested in other
things — the condition of her
people, the practices of her
government, her political
thought, her intellectual classes,
the individual under the
society, and so on. So that
you may feel sure that
whatever you want to talk

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usual for members to be permitted to ask questions of the speaker after the address; not reciting, however, but questions for information. Unless you do not wish it, you will probably be asked questions for a few minutes. It is our rule also that none of the proceedings is given to the Press. You will find an audience, I think, not uncritical,

5167
but somewhat; I believe a majority of us were supporters of the Labour Government, and there is among us a willingness to hear any question discussed. I might add, that while I have used the term "address", the spirit of the occasion is never that dignified, but is, like most American things, very informal.

I cannot think of any other details that might

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So of interest. I fear the
length of this has already
bored you.

Mine is one of my
loves, too, and Kreisler in
particular. I supposed you
noticed that French
"patriotism" forced him to
cancel an engagement
to play in Paris on
Armistice night? In art,
at least, we might

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forget our prejudices.

All of us are looking
forward to Saturday and
I'm sure we shall have
a great evening. By
myself I feel inspired
to express our gratitude
to you for consenting
to break into your
busy life to speak
to us; I must leave

5169
that until you are
among us.

Sincerely yours,

Wright Thomas.

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The Emma Goldman Papers

850702120

[Letter, 19]24 N[ov.] 17, London [to] H[arry] W[einberger, New York] / E[mma] G[oldman]. — 6 p. ; 28 x 22 cm.

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Dear H. W. at last, a letter London N° 17-24
from you. I waited many months for it
and now that it has arrived, I can not
reply to it as I would like. For one
thing my type writer is in repairs. Before
me they do them worse not only in
many I paid 50/- about 3 months
ago for using my machine. And
now I have to pay 30/- to do it all
over again. I wonder how much more
I will have to pay. Until I have it
I must confine myself to a few
few things. I have been writing my
Grand so much since I took the
type writer to the London people, my
right arms hurt badly. Still, I
write you the report of only the briefest
things. I should like to say, Page 12
I heard from them a week ago. But
he had, well he paid the 14/- that
means it is out. I suppose I will
get one or two copies by next week.
I must have at least 40 copies
each of the 1st & 2nd volumes as quickly
as possible. They want to charge
me 150/- less the usual price. But
is that enough as regards the
1st volume, until it is printed
for the second. Since they have
stood no expense has been
made me for a copy of the
1st & 2nd volumes when I need
the copies, not for resale but

The Emma Goldman Papers

850702120

[Letter, 19]24 N[ov.] 17, London [to] H[arry] W[einberger, New York] / E[mma] G[oldman]. — 6 p. ; 28 × 22 cm.

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for reviews. Please see them right
away & get the best terms you can
I must have copies as soon as
they can reach me.

(2) It looks as if I will give you
papers of kindred an English published
things. The time in English for the
papers of such a kind was never
better. My plan therefore is to
import, edit & bind them here
Doubleday says did give rates
an edit, but in as much as I
want to handle the work myself
perhaps you say some
language work them. Let me know
the best terms you can get
for 500 sheets each of the volumes.
Nobody here will pay 14 sh for
the 2 volumes but by kindling
them in one I will be able to
sell it cheaper.

make I understand that
I am creating a market for
my book. I could have sold 300
at the dinner alone. And now
a big meeting is planned at
Queens Hall or some such place
I am sure many copies could
be sold there. And once I have
a start I may turn English papers
you see, my coming here at

The Emma Goldman Papers

850702120

[Letter, 19]24 N[ov.] 17, London [to] H[arry] W[einberger, New York] / E[mma] G[oldman]. — 6 p. ; 28 x 22 cm.

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This time has given me a marvelous
 change of work and life. In a way
 I feel rather excited. I should
 have preferred if the Party were
 to have had all been settled. But
 the election made the decision
 as the L.P. has brought the unpleasant
 to the fore again. The Conservatives
 are only too eager that I should
 go on with my political work
 about it. In fact that may even
 save my stay here. I do not have
 to tell you that I have not found
 such a situation. In the other
 hand I am not going to be
 by on the question of it. I
 begin my work, people will
 soon see that my premises
 removed by world's fear that
 of the Conservatives. Anyway
 am going ahead my own way
 and I will need my work
 as far as I have met a lot
 of English Radical people who
 want to help me to keep
 busy day. I am to meet people
 of the L.P. Alfred Allen, Henry
 Punsbury, & others. They all feel
 that have been denying the truth about
 Russia and proven their neck
 during the election. Many of them
 now want to read the truth on
 the subject. It may even be that
 the policy of the Daily Herald

The Emma Goldman Papers

850702120

[Letter, 19]24 N[ov.] 17, London [to] H[arry] W[einberger, New York] / E[mma] G[oldman]. — 6 p. ; 28 × 22 cm.

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will be suggested. Anyway I may get
be 2 & I just want you to know that
D. and I maybe able to get articles
accepted.

Meanwhile I have had to
turn down 2 offers for articles —
one for a series. But it was
during the election & the articles would
most assuredly been used against
Salmon. I declined. Then the people
wanted an article for last Sunday
But that is a terribly yellow sheet
I declined that too. I did have
one article to be London
Illustrated News, a weekly magazine
on the style of Nique. I saw some
proofs for day. And now the
Sunday Times wants an article
Here maybe later. You can
see the possibilities if my heart
I only had it. Rather luck
But as the work has only started
I will be able to push the work
and not at 14 so.

By dinner the 12th was a
great success. I am inclosing
clippings. Stella has the best
of Wedgewood was great. Have
you met him? He is a single
Dace. What is his about Brainerd.
Surely he does not ask for any
articles on the 2 volume after he

The Emma Goldman Papers

850702120

[Letter, 19]24 N[ov.] 17, London [to] H[arry] W[einberger, New York] / E[mma] G[oldman]. — 6 p. ; 28 × 22 cm.

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muddled the whole thing. Instead
of being made to pay damages
he has the advantage of asking
a share in the new book. Well,
can only hope you are off
has not been my job. Not only should
Brainard not be given royalties
when even his own money back
he should get none at all of
the 2 volume. The criminal negli-
gence in his office, completely
killed the chances of effecting
book. I wish you would my
guess this in Brainard. I
the way, has he suddenly recovered
I thought he was always ill. I
is someone else making claims
for him. Dear Harry, I know
you are a fighter so I do
not have to impress upon you
the need of resisting any en-
croachment of Brainard on the second
volume.

I certainly hope money will
be raised to enable you to go
to Mexico & do something for
Rangel & Clipe. These unfortunate
men seem almost entirely for-
gotten. America is so careless
when it comes to rescuing any
one out of the clutches of the law

The Emma Goldman Papers

850702120

[Letter, 19]24 N[ov.] 17, London [to] H[arry] W[einberger, New York] / E[mma] G[oldman]. — 6 p. ; 28 x 22 cm.

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Everywhere else, political, have been
 dress to amnesty, only not in "free"
 a. Now with duhard knowledge safe
 on the white horse, less than ever.
 It is disheartening.

By the way, I understand that
 wrote old George Selles now in
 Germany that you mean to pro-
 ceed with my case. I am sure
 there must be a misunderstanding
 since you say nothing about
 the matter to me. In any event I
 want nothing done in the case.

It would be a waste of time
 and money with a reaction swept
 into office. Besides, if I can remain
 in England, I am not concerned in
 the end. There is so much to
 do here, if only I can remain.
 Say nothing about it, old man.
 But I am going to try very hard
 to remain.

Regina West is wonderful.
 She not only has brains but
 knows how to use them. Her speech
 at the dinner was perfect and
 inspiring. She is of great help to
 me. You certainly ought to read
 her papers, especially "The Return of
 the Soldier". It is the finest piece
 of writing I have read in a long
 while. I must close for the night.
 Ever yours, E. G.

The Emma Goldman Papers

870920245

[Letter] 1924 Nov. 17 [London to] Emma [Goldman, London] / David Soskice.—
1 p. ; 17 × 13 cm.
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Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

5043

TELEPHONE NO.
802 HANOVER ST.

5. GIRDLE ROAD,
BROOK GREEN,
W. 14.

Nov. 17-1924

Dear Emma,

We shall be delighted to have you
with us on Friday next at 7.30 pm to
have some cold supper and afterwards
to meet a few friends.

I believe an article in the Illustrated
News will not interfere with appear-
ing in other periodicals, - one must
make use of every opportunity.

With kind regards from us all

Yours sincerely

David Soskice

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The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1924 Nov. 19 [London to] Emma Goldman, [London] / Josiah C. Wedgwood. — 1 p. ; 18 × 12 cm.

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Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

16401
12 Beaufort House,
Beaufort Street,
Chelsea,
S.W.3.

19th November 1924

Dear Comrade,

There are only three classes of members in the House of Commons. Those who disapprove of the Soviet Government because it has established a "new order"; those who disapprove of it because it has destroyed the old order, and those who approve of it because it has destroyed the old order. The only class you want to see is the first one, and I am the only member of it. I am no good as an introduction to the second class and third class would not meet you. I will, however, do what I can.

It is so good of you to speak so appreciatively of the little I was able to do the other night. My wife and I both enjoyed the affair immensely.

Both your letters reached me all right. The House of Commons is quite safe, so far as I know.

Yours very sincerely,

Josiah C. Wedgwood

Miss Emma Goldman,
3 Tichfield Terrace, N.W.8.

The Emma Goldman Papers

870924032

[Letter, 1924] Nov. 20, St. Jean, France [to Emma] Goldman, [London] / Odette Keun. — 2 p. ; 27 × 21 cm.

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Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

Lou Bastidon, Quartier Saint-Jean, Grasse¹⁵⁹³⁰,
France, November 20th

Dear Mrs. Goldman,

I came to-day across a cutting in an English newspaper, which gives a brief summary of the public denunciation of Bolshevism which you made in London. I am no longer young enough to write easily to people whom I do not know personally, but I cannot keep down the burst of passionate relief that I feel. I am a French writer, known in my country for my advanced Socialist opinions, and less than three years ago I was deported, by the British military police, from Constantinople to Russia on account of my Bolshevik sympathies. I spent over three months in Russia, seeing things from the 'underneath,' and when I came back to Europe, I wrote a book in French (which I afterwards translated into English under the title of "My Adventures in Bolshevick Russia") about what I had seen with my own eyes. Every one of my beliefs and

The Emma Goldman Papers

870924032

[Letter, 1924] Nov. 20, St. Jean, France [to Emma] Goldman, [London] / Odette Keun. — 2 p. ; 27 × 21 cm.

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Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

ideals was smashed in that hell of tyranny¹⁵⁹³¹ and injustice, and I too have done — and will always do — my best to cry out aloud in European countries the fiendish sufferings and the monstrous despotism that the Bolsheviks have inflicted upon the Russian people. I have the intensest conviction that no independent writer, either in France or in England, who has visited Russia since the Revolution, has properly understood or properly described the real state of affairs in that land, and I want to tell you here that I wish you most ardently success in your courageous and truthful campaign against a gang of men who have shown neither competence, nor justice, nor sincere self-sacrifice in their abominable administration of a crushed nation.

Yours cordially,

Odette Keun (Madame)

I must tell you this again. I do not know whether the independent writers who went to Russia were stupid, or misinformed, or fascinated by mere texts, or simply afraid, but I do know that they never went to the core of things and that not a single vivid picture had come from their brains or their pen.

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 1924] Nov. 20, St. Jean, France [to Emma] Goldman, [London] / Odette Keun. — 1 p. ; 25 × 20 cm.

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Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

15952

Lou Bastidon,
Quartier Saint-Jean,
Grasse, FRANCE.

November, 20th.

Dear Mrs. Goldman,

I came to-day across a cutting in an English newspaper, which gives a brief summary of the public denunciation of Bolshevism which you made in London. I am no longer young enough to write easily to people whom I do not know personally, but I cannot keep down the burst of passionate relief that I feel. I am a French writer, known in my country for my advanced Socialist opinions, and less than three years ago I was deported, by the British military police, from Constantinople to Russia on account of my Bolshevik sympathies. I spent over three months in Russia seeing things from the 'underneath' and when I came back to Europe, I wrote a book in French (which I afterwards translated into English under the title of "My Adventures in Bolshevik Russia") about what I had seen with my own eyes. Every one of my beliefs and ideals were smashed in that hell of tyranny and injustice, and I too have done — and will always do — my best to cry out aloud in European countries the fiendish sufferings and the monstrous despotism that the Bolsheviks have inflicted upon the Russian people. I have the intensest conviction that no independent writer, either in France or in England, who has visited Russia since the Revolution, has properly understood or properly described the real state of affairs in that land, and I want to tell you here that I wish you most ardently success in your courageous and truthful campaign against a gang of men who have shown neither competence, nor justice, nor sincere self-sacrifice in their abominable administration of a crushed nation.

Yours cordially,

Odette Keun. (Madame).

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The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1924 Nov. 21, London [to] Powers Hapgood, [Rome?] / E[mma] G[oldman].— 1 p. ; 28 x 22 cm.
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London Nov. 21st.

Dear Powers Hapgood.

1924
 Thanks for your letter. I will be very glad to see you but I can not say at this moment when it is to be. Give me your London address, I will write you so you can find my letter on your arrival. The thing is this, I would very much like to spend part of Thanksgiving with you, not that I have particular reason to be thankful for, but that I always loved this particular American holiday. And I know your people would be glad if we could spend Thanksgiving together, do you not think so? But I have a tentative engagement for that evening and I am terribly busy during ~~xxx~~ the day of the 27th. However if I find I can not see you Thursday, I will arrange our meeting for Friday.

We will discuss the point of ~~Mrx~~ and other matters when I see you. How wrong Marx was is best proven by the Marxian experiment in Russia, certainly the Bolsheviki are much more consistant Marxians than the Marxians outside of R.

There seems to be some misunderstanding somewhere in your part of the country. I had a letter from an old comrade — a man absolutely dependable as to the truth, who writes that Mr Bassett boasted of having had a letter from me asking him to arrange meetings for me. Now you write that Anarchists have asked the Communists to arrange meetings for me under their auspices. If I did not know how utterly lacking most Communists are in veracity I would not be quite so sure that either Mr Bassett or some of his comrades are spreading ridiculous rumors. Now, it is certain that I have not corresponded with Mr Bassett, if he has written me, the letter has failed to reach me. At any rate he has nothing from me asking him to arrange lectures. And it is equally certain that no sane Anarchist would ask Communists to let me speak under their auspices knowing that I would be critical to them. It is the same old dishonest methods the C, ~~w~~ will use. I am sorry that I have to speak that way about your friends, but I have dealt with them, and I know their proud ~~boast~~ boast, t.w, that truth, honesty, keeping a promise, respect for personality are all Bourgeois superstitions. Well, I have no desire to let the Communists arrange anything for me. And I must ask you to ask Mr Bassett not to make statements he can not prove.

I am looking forward to meeting you again.

Sincerely.

EH

Hapgood Mss.
 Manuscripts Department, Lilly Library
 Indiana University, Bloomington, Indiana

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The Emma Goldman Papers

870820117

[Letter] 1924 Nov. 24, New York [to] Emma Goldman, London / Roger Baldwin. —
2 p. ; 27 x 21 cm.

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Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

ROGER N. BALDWIN

100 Fifth Avenue,
New York, Nov. 24, 1924.

Miss Emma Goldman,
3 Fitchfield Terrace,
London, N.W., England.

My dear E.G.:—

Your letter of November 6th deserves a much more careful reply than I can give you in the midst of the business which has accumulated during a two-weeks trip in the West; but I cannot let it go without acknowledgment, though I cannot give you a fitting reply.

It is so good to know about you from yourself. I have heard from others, but I have needed this word from you to be assured of the real facts.

I am so anxious to see you active in the kind of work you can so magnificently do that I am venturing to write to my friend, Harold Laski, suggesting that he and some other of our friends avail themselves of your services on the lecture platform.

In regard to the one practical matter in hand, namely the treatment of political opponents by the Russian Government, let me say that Berkman seems to have the study pretty well in hand. You don't quite seem to get the point. I could go ahead with the list of Politicals and the other material in hand and make a fair showing among radicals and others opposed to the tactics of the Russian Government, but I could not get very far. In order to make a case against all the misrepresentation and prejudice, we have got to be loaded with an abundance of material which is dispassionately stated, so accurate that it cannot be challenged, and so comprehensive that it will give a fair picture of the entire situation. To date nothing of the sort has been done, and it is useless to try to go to the press or to liberals with the material in hand. That is why we felt that the situation justified both delay and a heavy investment of time and money.

I think you underestimate the importance of this kind of work. I hope my approach to it has not been dictated by any degree of timidity. I am not by nature timid, but I am cautious when it comes to making statements of fact which I cannot back up. I know how difficult it was to get the facts about American political prisoners across to any but the radical public. It took months of hard work to collect and distribute documentary evidence of unimpeachable character. It is a much harder task with the Russian situation.

Dr. Ward's reports on Russia are quite the most illuminating material I have seen. They are fairer in tone, more complete in their statements of fact, and more documentary in their supporting evidence. He did not say, as you have heard, that there is remarkable friendliness between Russian Politicals and the Russian Government. His

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[Letter] 1924 Nov. 24, New York [to] Emma Goldman, London / Roger Baldwin. —
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E.G.--2

6985

statement was a complete but dispassionate indictment of the system of political terrorism.

Outside this particular field of persecution, I view the Russian situation as much more complicated and much more significant from a revolutionary standpoint than you. I haven't time now to go into details except to say that in the rebuilding of a national economy there are practical problems of immense difficulty which cannot be solved by revolutionary theories. I have been through three years of an effort to apply the principles of autonomous local control in producing coal, coke and chemicals in Kuzbas, Siberia. I was, as perhaps you know, indicted last year for my participation in that work. I have been through every phase, argument and practical problem that surrounds making the wheels of industry go with the utmost possible participation of the workers themselves.

From my contact with that one experiment I am not prepared to make any sweeping declarations regarding the compromise with capitalism. On two points only I am quite clear about the internal policies of Russia:

1- That the persecution of opponents is not only wholly unnecessary but destructive of revolutionary progress, not only because it kills off those whose contributions are most needed, but because it imposes the temper of tyranny on the ruling class;

2- That the centralization of power in the hands of a bureaucratic government is having the same effect of killing off those spontaneous experimental growths toward communal production and distribution which alone seem to me an enduring basis of economic stability, in which the individual can find his widest freedom.

I know that any discussion which covers as wide a range as this cannot be carried on by letter, but I am confident that the points of substantial agreement can be found between us on the particular matter we have in hand.

With warmest greetings,

Ever, affectionately,

Roger Baldwin

RNB/EN

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830720002

[Postcard, 1924] Nov. 25 [London to] Powers Hapgood, [London?] / E[mma]
G[oldman]. — 2 p. ; 9 × 12 cm.

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Location: Lilly Library.*

Nov. 25th. 1924

Dear Powers Hapgood. You are a de
voted friend and I like you for it.
Yes we can spend the evening of Thurs
day together. Perhaps it will be best
if you come right up to me about six
P. M. We can then decide where to
go. I am awfully busy now, so can
not write more. We will discuss
everything else when we meet.

EG

Hapgood Mss.

Manuscripts Department, Lilly Library
Indiana University, Bloomington, Indiana

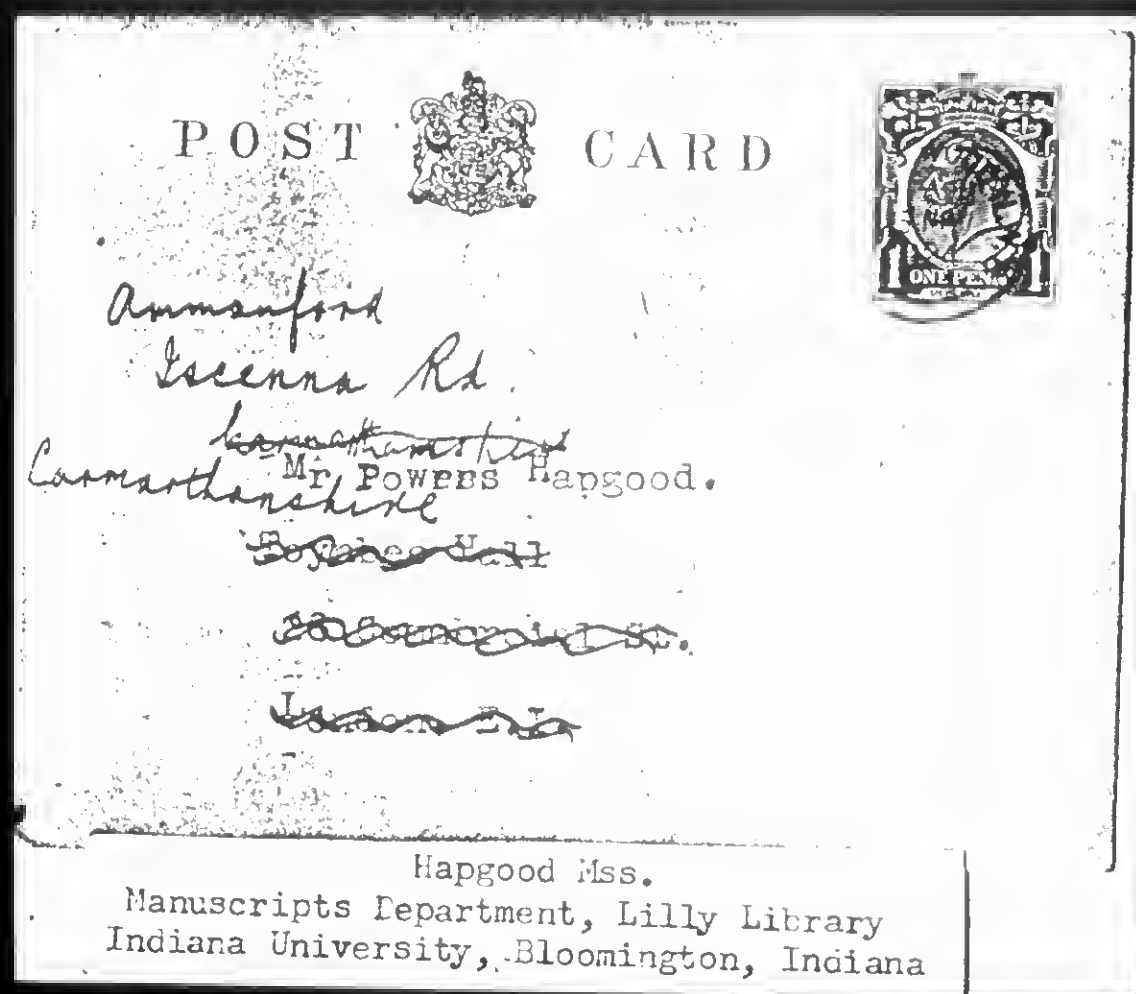
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[Postcard, 1924] Nov. 25 [London to] Powers Hapgood, [London?] / E[mma]
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The Emma Goldman Papers

870923118

[Letter] 1924 Nov. 25 [London to unknown recipient] / [Emma Goldman].—
1 p.; 26 × 20 cm.
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Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

8726

Nov. 25th, 1924.

Dear Friend,

I have been kept so busy since the dinner that I am only now finding time to write to all those who came to bid me welcome to England's shore. I cannot tell you how much the splendid gathering and beautiful spirit of the memorable evening has meant to me. You see, when I decided to seek asylum in this country I did so with much misgiving. I had hardly thought myself known in England. I knew the difficulties that will be confronting me in the attempt to gain a footing in a strange land.

And I also knew the opposition I am likely to encounter in the work which I consider of utmost importance — an honest and fearless analysis of the intricate Russian situation. You can understand, therefore, how deeply I was touched by the splendid reception given me this month. I thank you for it.

I am, you are interested in the further steps I mean to take to lay my knowledge about Russia before the English people. One of these is the meeting at Queens Hall to take place right after the New Year. It is proposed to make the affair self-sustaining by having admission to the stalls and boxes and leaving the balcony free for those people who cannot afford to pay for admission. Unfortunately, there is a considerable initial expense — from sixty to seventy-five pounds. And not having an organization to back the venture I must ask the friends who came to the dinner and who have shown much keen interest for co-operation and help. May I count on you? Please let me know at your earliest convenience what way you feel you can help me to make the proposed venture a great success.

Cordially,

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870920215

[Letter] 1924 Nov. 26, London [to] Emma [Goldman, London] / [author unknown]. — 1 p.; 23 × 19 cm.

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Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

4993

WINCHESTER HOUSE,

OLD BROAD STREET,

LONDON, 26-го Ноября 1924г.
E.C.

Дорогая Эмма.

Очень радъ былъ Вамъ, когда вы писали. Только сегодня
мнѣ удалось переговорить съ Гуренко. Мы совместно съ нимъ
согласны дать гарантию на 5 ф.ст. для вашего митинга въ Queen's
Hall. Надѣюсь, что другіе ваши друзья гарантируютъ по частямъ
остальное. Сообщите, какъ идутъ дѣла.

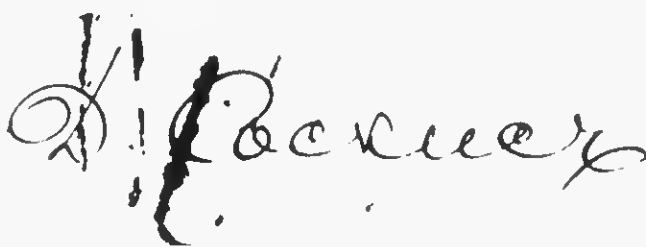
Фамилия русскаго, съ которымъ вы познакомились — Николай
Васильевичъ Макаровъ. Адресъ: Roland House, Roland Gardens. S.W.7

Тел. Kensington — 2951.

Звоните лучше

по утрамъ.

Вашу руку



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The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1924 Nov. 26, London [to Emma] Goldman, [London] / [Lady] Rhondda. — 1 p. ; 25 × 18 cm.

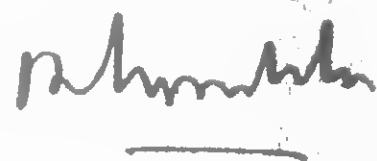
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Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

November 26th, 1924.

Dear Miss Goldman,

It would give me very great pleasure if you would come and dine with me one evening. Are you by chance free on Thursday, December 11th, at 8 o'clock? If you are able to come I should like to ask one or two people who I knew would be much interested to have the opportunity of meeting you.

Yours sincerely,



Miss Goldman,
3, Titchfield Terrace,
Regent's Park,
N.W.1.

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The Emma Goldman Papers

861114037

[Letter] 1924 Nov. 27, Oxford [England to Emma] Goldman, [London] / [Charles] Wright Thomas. — 2 p. ; 17 x 22 cm.

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and those of us who
were happy enough to be
able to entertain you
will long remember last
week.

I am very happy to
know that Miss West is
willing to speak to us.
Of course, my hope that
she would do so was
entirely personal, since I
am not an official of the
American Club. But if



Oxford,
Nov. 27, 1924.

My dear Miss Goldman:

Your letter of
Monday was most welcome.
I was relieved to know that
you were not late for
the Kreidler Concert. Believe
me the pleasure of your
visit was ours; I have
heard nothing but good
comment on everything.

The Emma Goldman Papers

861114037

[Letter] 1924 Nov. 27, Oxford [England to Emma] Goldman, [London] / [Charles] Wright Thomas. — 2 p. ; 17 x 22 cm.

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persuasion can have any
effect upon the new
officers to be elected Saturday,
we shall certainly ask
him for a vote; that
will have to be next time,
of course.

The collection for the
Russian Students at the
meeting amounted to
£ 7-4-9. I am sending it
to you with this letter.
I have, for convenience,
included your expenses

(£1-3-6) in the same
money order. I wish we
could have given more.

Mr. Barber is writing you
concerning the European
Student Relief Fund in
Oxford.

I am sure we are not too
late to help in the meeting
at Queen's Hall; I shall
send our contribution as
soon as I can see the
other men. I am most happy
to be able to help in a good
cause; the more so, for my
gratitude to you for the great
initiative "left" your visit brought
to us. Sincerely, Wright Thomas.

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1924 Nov. 28 [London to] Sanya, [Paris (fragment)] / [Emma Goldman. — 1 p. ; 30 × 20 cm.]

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Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

Nov. 26th. 1924.

12232

My dear Sanya.

I did not mean to reward evil for evil. I did not intend to keep you waiting for a reply as long as you made me wait. In fact, I was getting worried about you, I thought you might be ill (so I write S. to find out what is the matter. Then your letter came. I wanted to write at once, but I have been so busy since the dinner not a minute could I find to write you, the other friends in Paris, or my people in America. Well, I have determined to write you to day no matter what happens. I mean to write you a whole book and not having the time to repeat all of it to the others, I am making copies of this letter to send to Mollie and Senya, as well as Cornelissen and Minna Lewisoim. By the way, has she looked you up? I have no idea where she lives, but he gets her mail at the American Express Co, do drop her a line. She is one of our best workers in the States. I am anxious she should meet a few of our worth while people in Paris.

The dinner Nov. 12th was a much greater success than I had anticipated. For one thing there were 200 diners and at least fifty who came for the speeches. But more important was the spirit. I must say it was a surprise to me as I did not think myself much known in England. Wedgwood made an excellent chairman, Russell spoke beautifully, and Rebecca West was marvelous. About her later.

I am sending you a copy of my address show it to the others as I can not afford to send more than one to Paris. I do not have to tell you that my reference to Russia was nothing short of a bomb explosion. I suppose most of the people here had no idea what my stand on Russia is, what I said came therefore, as a surprise. That some were shocked and chagrined, I do not have to tell you. I had some old comrades I used to know in Glasgow tell me that my remarks knocked the bottom out of them. But that can not be helped. I mean to press the matter to the bitter end because I feel it is the highest time that there be light on Russia from our point of view.

Of course, the Conservatives rejoice, nothing better could have come to them than my declaration of treating the Russian situation. But that was to be foreseen, nor can I let this stop me. If I do we will never be able to represent our side as regards Russia. For it is certain that there will always be reasons which will work in behalf of the Moscow outfit and against the truth. You may believe me when I tell you that I feel most uncomfortable having to talk about R, now with the situation created here partly by the stupidity of McDonald and mainly by the lying sheet, the Daily Herald. That has broken the neck of the I, L, P and has swept reaction into the House of Commons. I must go ahead and stress the revolutionary point of view in my criticism of the Bolshevik regime, the rest may take care of itself. With that in view I have consented to giving the Sunday Times three articles and the Illustrated News one. I inclose copy of the latter. You will see I have used part of the Bulletin. The stuff in the Times is from my book, so there is no need sending it, except the last article which I will bring up to date and will again use part of the Bulletin to show what is being done with the Politicals in Russia.

And now we are planing a meeting in Queen's Hall for the middle of Jan. We think we can make it self supporting by an admission charge for the stalls and orchestra seats, leaving the two upper balconies free for the workers who can not afford to pay. We are also getting up a provisional committee which is to consist of Mrs Cobden Sanderson, Wedgwood, Russell, Rebecca West and some

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The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 1924] Nov. 28 [London? to] Emma [Goldman, London] / Rebecca West.—
1 p. ; 28 × 17 cm.

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15, ORCHARD COURT,
PORTMAN SQUARE, W.1.
WILSON 3608.

Nov. 28.

Dear Emma,

I am so sorry I was obviously harassed the other night when you were here, but at midnight we had to telephone for the doctor because I was having an attack of internal pain which rose to a crisis. Please forgive me and try again another time.

About the lectures. I was lecturing for the Universities and for various English Societies so I had no manager or agent. I received no pay. I cannot suggest anything but the usual agents like Massie, who, I believe you have already tried, but I warn you as I have done before that the lecture is not an English institution. The English care really only for highly specialised lectures on concrete national problems and I am sure you would not get any audience to listen to lectures on the drama, unless it was some very elementary dramatic society, and they wouldn't want anything as advanced as yours. I am sorry to be so discouraging, but there it is!

Do look in again when you are coming up to town as we are on the direct line of transport.

Yours ever,

Rebecca

(Rebecca West)

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Invoice] 1924 Nov. 29, Garden City, N.Y. [to] Emma Goldman, [London] /
Doubleday, Page & Co. — 1 p. ; 18 × 25 cm.
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Nov. 29th 1924

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870924426

[Letter] 1924 Nov. 29 [London to Israel] Zangwill, [East Preston, England] / [Emma Goldman].— 1 p. ; 26 × 16 cm.

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16516

29th., November, 1924.

My dear Mr. Zangwill,

It is only now that I am able to express my gratitude to all those who have been good enough to attend the dinner of welcome to me and to those who have sent greetings, you being among the latter.

I am deeply grateful for the very kind words you have written. Yes, I am an Anarchist, not the popular kind, I hope. I represent the ideas of Peter Kropotkin, the man with the great heart and the heart of a child. I assure you that I am not anything ~~that is~~ dangerous as I have been described to be. But then everyone who stands out for liberty and principles and is unwilling to compromise, has ever been dangerous. Do you not think so? The fact that I was imprisoned for Anti-War activities rather than pro-War work is not the only paradox in this Christian World of ours. People are sent to prison for lesser evils than mine, especially in my erstwhile adopted country - the United States. I realise that England too was most severe against her men who loved the ideal of "Thou Shalt Not Kill" more than the empty formulas by which all States are held together, but it was left to America to be most cruel in dealing with her anti-War protestors.

It was really by mere chance that I was given only two years. To be sure it was the limit I could have been given at that time. Three months later the Espionage Law went into effect which sent people to prison for from 5 to 20 years. You see then that mine was a lucky star.

I have no idea what the authorities of this country will do to me. Frankly, I am not worried. I have come to the point where I must test my right to come spot on this earth. In that I ~~shall~~ have the assistance of the fine men and women in England. *Y.A.*

While we have never met I flatter myself to know you better than you know me. I have the advantage of having read your works, some of which I loved very much. I hope I may have the pleasure of meeting you while I am here.

I am deeply sorry to hear you are suffering with insomnia. I know from personal experience how dreadful this is and how it undermines one's health. I do hope you have found some relief since you wrote your kind note to the dinner. My friends are contemplating a meeting at Queens Hall sometime in January which will give me an opportunity to lay the facts as I found them in Russia before the English public. I will let you know the exact date later. I shall be very happy indeed if you will be able to attend that affair.

Sincerely yours,

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The Emma Goldman Papers

840305038

[Letter] 1924 Nov. 29 [London to Israel] Zangwill, [East Preston, England] / [Emma Goldman].— 1 p. ; 37 x 24 cm.

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29th., November, 1924.

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Sincerely yours,

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 19]24 Nov. 30, London [to Emma] Goldman, [London] / Bertrand Russell. —
1 p. ; 20 × 14 cm.

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Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

28196

31 Sydney Street
London S.W. 3



30. 11. 24

Dear Miss Goldman

I quite realize what a rush
you have been living in. So have we, or
we should have tried to find out whether
you had a spare moment. Could you
come to luncheon on Tuesday (2nd)
at 1.30? We shall be so glad if

you can. My wife is very often away
spinning, but will be at home then.

Yours sincerely

Bertrand Russell

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870919119

[Letter, 1924? Dec.?] Berlin [to] Emma [Goldman, London] / Agnes [Smedley]. —
10 p. ; 21 × 17 cm.
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Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

Berlin - Halensee 11566
Westfälische str. 61
bei Ottendorf

Dearest Emma:

I watch you as you flit
about from one country to
another. And now I read your
controversy with Guy Aldred, — the ass.
He is an ass on his reply
to you, Sasha & Rucker would
have more to it.

But my immediate purpose
in writing you is to send
to you a young man whom

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2

11567

we brought to you some two
years ago. He will present this
letter. He — Bakar Ali Mirza —
is not in our movement,
actively; he is a student, of
science, and he studies quietly
in his own way and he
studies our movement and is
one with us in spirit. So
much is he one with me,
at least, in spirit, that I
love him deeply and devotedly.
Therefore I send him to you
with the request that you

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[Letter, 1924? Dec.?] Berlin [to] Emma [Goldman, London] / Agnes [Smedley]. — 10 p. ; 21 × 17 cm.

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3

11568

make it possible for him to
study the movement in London.
If you would do anything
for me do it instead for
Bakar and feel assured
that I appreciate your actions
even more than if you did
them for me personally. You
are a person who understands
people aside from their
propagandist possibilities, who
knows the value of the human

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10 p. ; 21 × 17 cm.

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4

11569

soul, and to whom love is a
great constructive force. For
these reasons I send Bakar
to you.

Now for other matters. I
know you are too busy to
write me. Thank God - the
dear old Gent - that you
are in London where you can
at last do some work. I
wish I could follow your
activities more closely. It
gives me joy to know that
after months in Germany you

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10 p. ; 21 x 17 cm.

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5

11570

are at last able to become
active.

Will you please have
Freedom sent to us here,
also all the small leaflet
publications. I believe they cost
but a penny or so a leaflet.
I'll ask Bakar to pay the
necessary sum.

We have moved to a
new address. Our life has
been far from pleasant during

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[Letter, 1924? Dec.?] Berlin [to] Emma [Goldman, London] / Agnes [Smedley].—
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11571

the past nine months. We
are carrying burdens too heavy
for any human beings. I am
often too tired spiritually,
to face the future. You
know also my inner struggle
which takes the joy from life.
I have now taken a loan
from an American organisation
and am under written pledge
to return to America in January
or February if by that time
I am not able to begin the

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[Letter, 1924? Dec.?] Berlin [to] Emma [Goldman, London] / Agnes [Smedley]. — 10 p. ; 21 x 17 cm.

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I
repayment of the sum. So I¹¹⁵⁷²
expect to leave here about the
end of January. I don't suppose
it will matter much where I
go, since "wo ich hin nicht,
da ist glück." It is impossible,
of course, but I should love
to pass through London to give
the place the "once over" and
to see you, - and Bakar, of course.
But such things lie in the
realm of fancy only. I do not
return to America with any
great joy. Unlike my own race,

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[Letter, 1924? Dec.?] Berlin [to] Emma [Goldman, London] / Agnes [Smedley]. —
10 p. ; 21 x 17 cm.

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11573

too long have I lived among
people given to some sort of
spiritual quest, such as the
Indians — and Jewish women.
Even you, Emma eternally
beat your breast in search
of something which is not.
This searching distinguishes many
Jewish women who are not
revolutionaries in our sense of the
word. It distinguishes many
Russians, a few Indian men —
and the bacillus has caught
me. Perhaps it is a spiritual
quality — perhaps a disease! At
least I have it, and the open

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11574

I
road, with ~~any~~ worlds possessions
wrapped up in a red bandana,
~~is more~~ and the world as
my home is more to my
taste than a carpeted room,
a telephone and a beefsteak
dinner. Oh well, niche vo. (!).

Chatto is as well as usual,
but nervous and tired. He is to
start psycho-analytic treatment
soon with the most famous
analyst in Germany. He translates
for the Syndikalist and has two
students of English. The rest of
the time he walks about the

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[Letter, 1924? Dec.?] Berlin [to] Emma [Goldman, London] / Agnes [Smedley]. — 10 p. ; 21 × 17 cm.

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11575

streets on errands for Indians who
aren't worth the moments of his
time. "Doing constructive work" he
calls it. So be it. I have
given up judging people — lest I
myself be judged.

I'm sending you one of my
recent articles from the magazine
~~Pole~~ "Archiv für Politik und Geschichte".
As you see, I use an Indian name.

My love to you, dearest
Emma. And please, as you
love me, love Baker whom I
send to you.

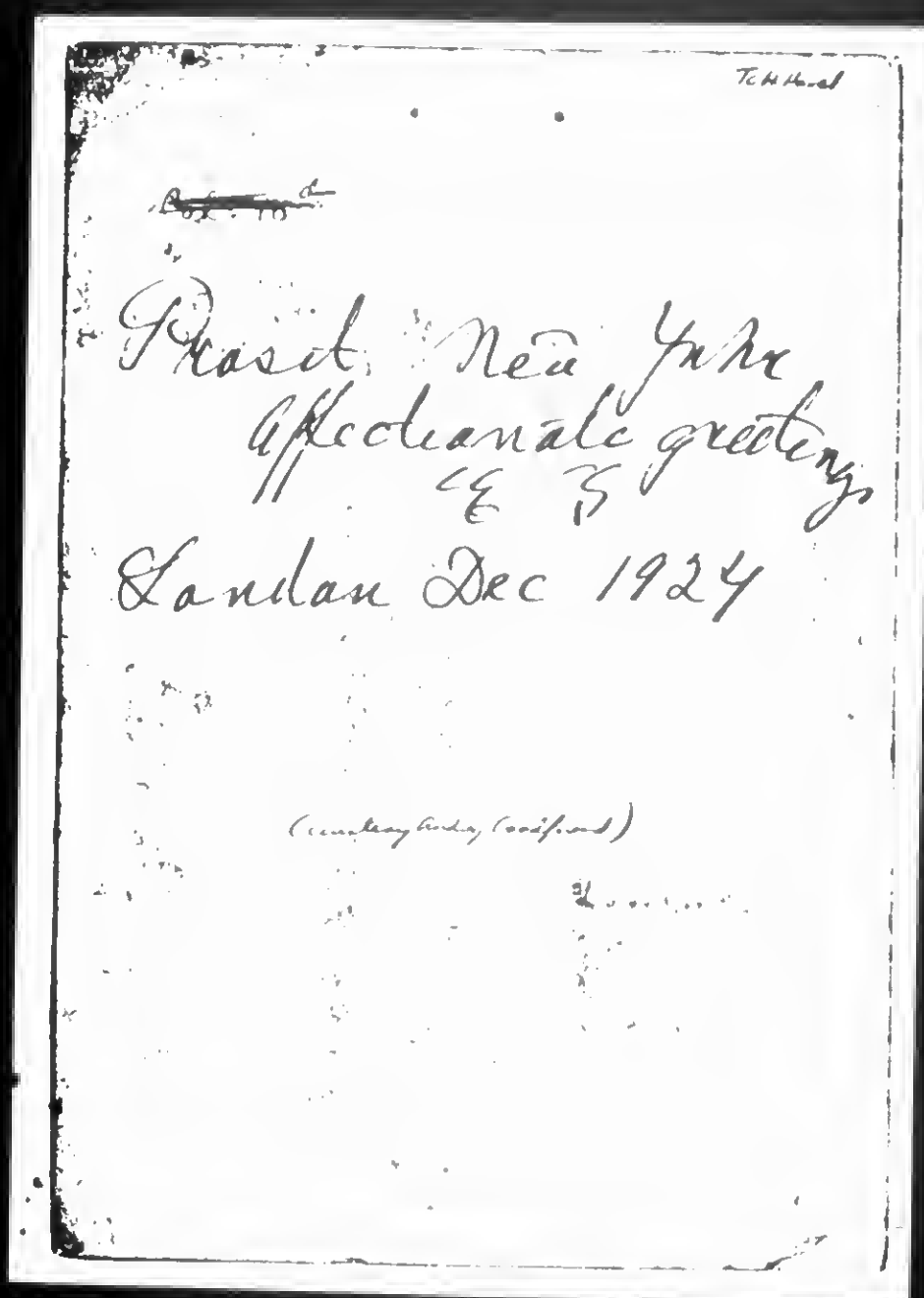
Agnes.

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880615207

[Greeting card] 1924 Dec., London [to Hippolyte Havel] / E[mma] G[oldman].—
2 p.; 14 × 10 cm.

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[Greeting card] 1924 Dec., London [to Hippolyte Havel] / E[mma] G[oldman]. —
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870930156

[Letter, 1924 Dec., London to] Ellen [A. Kennan, New York (fragment)] / E[mma] G[oldman]. — 1 p. 33 x 22 cm.

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Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

2.

18743

the workers. I certainly do want to impress upon them that Bolshevism wherever it would be tried would inevitably lead to the collapse of the Revolution and the appalling political conditions that exist in Russia today. Wish me luck, my dear.

I daresay that Stella is very enthusiastic about my chances here. It is true I have been received much better than I had expected but I am not deceived by the reception. I find most of the English people I have met exceedingly hospitable but so aloof and remote from the pressing questions of our time and the issues which mean so much to me, that I am not surprised at their lack of response to anything serious, and while I do not object to meeting people socially, it means so much waste of time to me unless I can find some support in the work I wish to do, and that is just the very thing that I am doubting.

However, I have given myself another few months time to test my possibilities in England. If I fail I shall probably retire somewhere to write my autobiography. Life is more expensive here and not sufficiently vital to me that I should want to remain in England for the mere pleasure of it. But then I have no plans, I live from day to day.

Thank you dear for sending me "Fire & Flint". I am very glad to have it just because it was written by a negro. Anything of interest that you are reading send to me when you are through. I really must begin to take stock of what is being produced in America. I have never felt so ignorant of the cultural efforts of writers in the States as I do now.

Apropos of cultural efforts, I have been asked by Collier's to write an article showing up "the good points" in America which I ought to be able to see better after my European experiences. I wrote back that I could be glad to write an article if I could also point out the evil and reactionary sides of the country. Much to my surprise I received a rather nice letter, copy of which I enclose. I have written the article but have not the slightest idea whether it will be accepted. If it is you will have a chance to read it.

I have written Kate Richard O'Hare a long letter, and have enclosed copies of letters which I received from people here and also a copy of a letter I have written to Roger Baldwin. Ask her to let you see these letters, they will interest you.

Where is Mrs. Scott. I feel terribly for her. I had a letter from her last May which I have not yet answered. I want very much to write her but am not sure whether it would be at the old address. Will you send to her address by return mail and if you should happen to write her remember me very kindly to her and ask her to be patient with me. I really do mean to answer her interesting letter.

Dear dear Ellen, I often think of you and wonder whether you are coming abroad again soon. You know that I would love to see you do you not? With all good wishes for the New Year

Devotedly,

Dear, I had I am afraid my Reg
caption of letter I had intended to
enclosed a copy of letter to let
you know that I sent it.

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860522040

[Photograph] 1924 Dec., London [to] Leon Malmé, [Albany, N.Y.] / Emma Goldman. — 2 p. ; 18 × 18 cm.

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[verso of photograph]

to Leon Malméd
My old friend and comrade
I give this as a loving
Christmas gift
Emma Goldman

London
Dec. 1924

The Emma Goldman Papers

830720010

[Postcard] 1924 Dec., London [to unknown recipient] / Emma Goldman. —
2 p.; 13 × 33 cm.
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Manuscripts Department, Lilly Library
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To Give You
Greeting this Christmas
&

Wish You Every Happiness
in the New Year

Cordially
Emma Goldman
London. Dec 1924.

The Emma Goldman Papers

830720010

[Postcard] 1924 Dec., London [to unknown recipient] / Emma Goldman. —
2 p.; 13 × 33 cm.

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755, BOSTON ST., BOSTON, MASS.
SERIES B I.



Three Cottages

Rembrandt

The Emma Goldman Papers

870927032

[Letter, 1924] Dec. 1 [London to Stella Ballantine, New York] / E[mma Goldman].—
5 p. ; 26 × 21 cm.

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13726

xMax Dec. 1st.

Darling, I got your short note of Nov 13th with clippings in closed. I wanted so much to write you immediately, but I am so overwhelmed with work I do not even take time to rest up. I wonder what will come of all the efforts I am now making and the people I am seeing. I was never more busy with "social" functions in my life. As I wrote Sasha to day, so far these stunts are only having this much good that I do not have to cook for myself, or eat alone, two things I so hate. I am being fed like a regular Yeschivve Bocher. It seems there is no other way of getting at people in this country, except at meals, so I must bow to the English habit or not see the people I want at all.

Going out to lunch eons, teas and dinners taken an awful lot of time, but even more than that does keeping up a large correspondence when one has to write all on one's letters alone, and is such a bum typewress as your old Tante is. I tried Rebecca's girl, but she can not take dictation on the machine, or stenograph notes, she merely copy's for Rebecca. I had to give her up. Now I have one who can at least take shorthand, but she is engaged during the day and I am engaged evenings, I can have her only for Saturday afternoon which is of very little help, still it is something. Doris Zhook is a marvel, she helps me with the articles, but she works all day and is tired to death when she gets home, besides, she runs a rooming house. Well, I will try my new girl who was with me Saturday, she maybe able to give me one evening during the week. I simply am swamped with mail and can make little headway by myself.

As I have written Basie a long letter in reply to hers, and also Moll and Pauline, besides the one I wrote you about the dinner, you ought to have a fairly wide account of all that happened so far. Since then I have spoken before the American Students Club at Oxford. I met such delightful boys there, it was really a treat, as I wrote one of them, it felt like coming back to mine own. I also met Prof and Mrs Morison, charming people both of them. He is exchange Prof. of History. Such a wide awake, fine spirit. I saw largely about the woeful conditions of the students in Russia who are in prisons and concentration camps. I made no appeal for funds, but Prof. Morison gave me a check for 20 pounds for them, and several boys of the Club raised 7.4.9. You can imagine I was happy to be of some help to the unfortunate students in the Socialist Republic. Now Rebecca tells me that the Cardiff University asked her when she was there, if I would come to lecture. I said yes, you bet. Well, I am exchanging compliments with Rebecca, I got her to consent to speak to the American Students Club when the next term opens.

The interest displayed at the dinner and the desire

The Emma Goldman Papers

870927032

[Letter, 1924] Dec. 1 [London to Stella Ballantine, New York] / E[mma Goldman]. —
5 p. ; 26 x 21 cm.

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13727

of people to meet me need not make you think that everything is going to be smooth for me. I can see already, that it is one thing to invite me to dinners and another to be of actual help in the work I want to do. To illustrate, I sent out thirty letters last week to the people who attended the dinner and left their names. I wrote them about the proposed lecture in Queen's Hall that we mean to make it pay for itself, but that the initial expenses will be rather high, the Hall alone costing sixty five pounds. I had three replies so far, one from two Russians who pledged five pounds towards the expenses, one from Miss Schuster who sent the fabulous sum of two pounds, and one from a newly discovered cousin of mine, I do not yet know how I came to this honor, wrote he would help me personally, but he is opposed to my critical attitude on R, hence could not help with the meeting. Of course, I declined his personal help with thanks. You see then dearie that English people are not anything as generous as Americans, and that if I want to carry the meeting through, I will have to put up the initial expenses from the money I will get from the ~~Times~~ for my three articles.

Of course, there are our own comrades who will help I am sure, a letter to them goes out Wed, everything moves so slowly here, it takes a week to get a letter muddled. But whether I get support or not the meeting must take place. First it will be my only chance to get before the workers from my own platform and in a direct way. I must have the meeting to introduce myself as a speaker. I do not know whether I wrote you that the best lecture bureau here, Christy's said they would book me if they could hear me first. They said they must know what space my voice can fill and the quality of my delivery. I do not blame them. Well, the Queens Hall meeting is to be my chance at an "examination" I hope to goodness I will "pass" Because if Christy's would book me it would solve a hundred problems, the main being relief from the ordeal of arranging lectures without any one to help me. And of course it would enable me to be independent of any payment for lectures which I want to give to our own people. A comrade in Wales wants to arrange fifteen lectures for the miners. You must then pray for me that Christy's will like my lecture if the Queen's Hall meeting comes off.

I have been asked by the International News service to write three articles of 700 words each, two dealing with Russia, one with the outlook for Revolution in the U. S. They offer only five guineas an article which is little enough, but for the three I will get 15 guineas, £75. As I can not afford to lose such a sum, I have consented. Fortunately, it will not mean new material about Russia, and the short article on A, will not take long. Of course, I must pay Doris a substantial price for her help, still it is worth while. It will relieve you darling, mine, and Roland &axe from having to deprive your dear selves to feed me, for a time anyway.

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13728

2

To day I have received a letter from the Editor of Colliers asking me for an article about America of 2,500 words for which they are ready to pay \$400. But the article has strings as you can well imagine. I will quote the most telling passage of the managing editor so you will understand.

"It has occurred to us that from your vantage point you might see conditions and institutions in the U. S. which compare favorably with those of the old world. I shall not expect you to believe that perfection has been achieved in this country. We have no such beliefs ourselves. But in contrast with the conditions of society, politics, humanity in Europe, do we not have our good points?" *should*

It is not difficult to see that the man was influenced by the rubbish written about me in American editorials which no doubt has led him to the conclusion that I now see America's superiority to the rest of the world. He has one coming. I am writing him to day that I am quite willing to point out the good in America little as there is, if I may at the same time write about the damnable things. Of course, he will not agree. Yet that is the only way I will write much as I should love to earn the 400 dollars. If he had offered me a million I should have to refuse if ~~that~~ I am to gloss over things. Not for your dear Tante, is it darling?

Rebecca West's agent is trying to place a few articles for me about the Heroic Women in Russia, the Destitute Children and some other original stuff. I hope he succeeds more than anything else I am so anxious to bring the plight of Spirdonova and the others before this country. Anyway, whether the man succeeds or not, I mean to have a meeting on that subject, Rebecca, Lady Rhonnda and her group and the Women's Freedom League will help, they are all interested in the women politicals in Russia.

I am having dinner with Lady Rhonnda the 11th. I have not seen her since we met at Rebecca's and I got very little of her there, she seems very shy and reticent. I hope I can get at her when I meet her at her own house. She may be sufficiently interested to help with ~~that~~ some publicity about Spirdonova.

Last week I met Lady Warwick at last, nothing but nobility as you see. I can see why King Edward favored her, she must be all of sixty five and she is still a great beauty. She promised to help a lot, to get her leading socialists together so I can present some of the facts on R before them. And she also promised to help with the Queen's Hall meeting, but as she seems a very emotional and easily impressed woman, I am not depending on her promises too much. She did warm my heart though when she asked about my own needs and comforts.

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Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

13729

she is the first one to ask me that. I think it is thoughtful of her. Oh, I forgot, she invited me to her country home if I want quiet and rest to write. She is a dear though I rather think she has more heart than mind. I do not object, there is precious little heart in the world.

Tomorrow I am going to Bertrand Russell's for the first time. He spoke beautifully at the dinner, but I have had no chance so far to talk to him and get his point of view on Russia. He married his secretary since I saw him in R and together they managed to bring two heirs into the world. Some activity, eh?

Tomorrow I am also going to meet an American woman married to an English man, she is a Rochester girl, used to know our David well and also knows Miriam, her name now is Mrs Hay, her former name Taylor. She did suffrage work in Roch. I am to have dinner with her and her husband tomorrow evening. I want to know what she is like.

To complete the day, I have asked Estelle Healey to have tea with me. It maybe that Estelle is too busy with her new man, I know she is very busy finding a house. I can not say she has shown too much eagerness to see me. But it maybe due to the above reasons. Anyway, I have asked her to take tea with me tomorrow. I do want to know her for your sake dearest, since you wrote me she is a particular friend of yours. But I can not run after her, can I dear? Well, I hope she will let me see her tomorrow.

Darling you wrote me a month ago that the Rand school is sending my Essays, they have not come. Is there no way of rushing them? By the way, they must have sold a lot of copies because Keell tells me he alone got 200 from them for which he paid. What has become of all that money. Surely they are not now going to charge you for the binding when they must have made considerable on what they sold. I wish dear you would see them again, I absolutely must have copies, I have a golden chance now to dispose of many. And it will be best if you will ship me all the sheets you have left, send them to Keell, he will have them bound for me. Why should they lay around in A, when I can sell them here. Please, please see about them.

And my book on Russia, am I ever going to get copies. The 12 chapters must be out two weeks, why do I not have a copy yet? I wrote Harry to see that D. P ship me fifty each of the first and second volume. I need these only for some people in Europe. I am going to try one more publisher, if I fail I will have sheets of the two volumes sent here. I am sure I will have a great chance of selling many, once I begin to lecture. I must ask you to get in touch with Harry, or Doubleday, Page.

many have been tried
they refused

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The Emma Goldman Papers

870927032

[Letter, 1924] Dec. 1 [London to Stella Ballantine, New York] / E[mma Goldman]. — 5 p. ; 26 × 21 cm.

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Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

13730

3

You can imagine my joy when Sasha wired me that Liveright had accepted his book for publication. I do think it an outrage that he insists on eliminating the last chapter, still it is well S, consented. He can get the eliminated part published in a brochure and sell it separate, the very fact of it having been rejected by Liveright will help to sell it and advertise the book. Dear F, had her hands full, she must feel happy with her success. I congratulate her.

Last Friday I saw Sauve Soris for the first time, they were gone from R when I came there, what I saw was only imitation. I was enchanted with the beauty and color of the different pictures. It is rather tiresome to hear Mr Bailef speak broken artificial English, he is funny enough, but too much of the showman. I am also going to see the Daglieff Ballet I saw it last with Aline Barnsdale in the Century theatre. It seems ages since then. There is really nothing else to see hear, the stage is really as Rebecca said dead in England. But one can hear a lot of Musik in L, only I have no time. I did however squeeze in Kreisler, took Rebecca to hear him, it was her first time, she was enchanted, naturally. I should have loved to hear him again yesterday, but I was engaged all day. Then I heard a young Jewish pianist together with R, she played a wonderful composition of Bloch. If ever you have a chance you must hear it.

I got a letter from the Nation saying they can find my subscription nowhere on their books. Well, fact is I have never subscribed myself, but I used to get it regularly while in Berlin, I thought Stewart Kerr had subscribed. He may have done so under Kershner while they may have looked under E G, call them up to find out. Can you not send me the magazines you are reading yourself? I would like to know what is doing in A. I do not get the Sunday Times either. Send me something to keep me abreast.

I am so glad O'Neill is coming into his own, I have asked Pauline to send me a set of his plays, I may get a chance to lecture about his work here. I am particularly keen on getting Desire under the Elm. From the reviews it must be tremendous. See Pauline and if she has not yet done so would she send me all the plays and some biographic notes about O'Neill? I saw him once at the Brevourt, so sorry we never met. But I seem to know him from all Saxe (who adores him, writes me about him, and Pauline and you.

Dear old Ted, I am a pig, have never answered his letter. I will some day come down with a megille. Give him my love, tell him I am so glad he has found the vehicle he needed to show his talents. And Ian, how is he? Hug him for me. Say, you have some striking sister, I did not know Ruthie looks quite as distinguished, some class to us. I will write her too.

Embrace you lovingly. E

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The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1924 Dec. 1 [London to] Edward Carpenter, [Guildford, England] / [Emma Goldman].— 1 p. ; 24 × 16 cm.

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Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

18688

1st., December, 1924.

Dear Edward Carpenter,

It was a great disappointment to me not to have you of all people at the dinner of welcome. While we have never met, I have always known and loved you for your beautiful support and your great work to free men from economic and spiritual bondage. I have read nearly everything you have written and have always hoped that I may meet you some day. You cannot imagine how I have looked forward to the dinner but of course I realise that in this time of the year it is taking considerable risk for you to travel and to be out in the night air, for this reason alone I do not mind you not being with us on the 12th. of this month. I do want to meet you though, perhaps you will let me come up to you some day. Tell me how long a journey you are from London, and when you would like to have me, I will arrange to come though I am rather crowded with work just now.

I am sending you a copy of my short address at the dinner, that, more than the reports, will give you an idea what my main purpose is.

I do not know what your attitude is to the Bolshevik movement, I only know that the majority of people outside of Russia are unfortunately in a sort of trance from the hypnotism of Moscow. I feel therefore that light and intelligent critical analysis of the situation is of the greatest importance to the world to-day, and I have determined to undertake the task though I know that I shall meet with almost super-human difficulties. Already I have been made to feel that I shall be reviled by some of my own comrades, and shall be claimed by the re-actionary forces which I have fought all my life, but neither can stop me from my chosen path to do my utmost to awaken the minds and the hearts of thinking people in this country to the tragedy and woe of the men and women being done to death in Bolshevik prisons and concentration camps. The enclosed circular will give you a few of the instances.

The next step that I mean to take is a lecture in Queen's Hall sometime during January that will give me an opportunity to lay the facts as I found them in Russia before a large number of people. We mean to leave 700 seats free for workers who cannot afford to pay for admission and charge for the rest of the house to cover expenses. Unfortunately the initial expenses will be rather high, the Hall alone costing £65, but I am not worried because I feel that all those who are interested in the truth about Russia from a Revolutionary point of view will help to the best of their ability. In connection with the Meeting it is my intention to organise a committee of well known men and women who would keep up systematic work and give assistance to the incarcerated political prisoners of Russia. Something like the Friend of Russian Freedom used to be. I wonder if I can count on your name even if you will not be able to help at the work.

Hoping that I may hear from you soon.

I remain,
Yours faithfully,

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The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1924 Dec. 1 [London to Havelock] Ellis, [Channel Islands, England] / [Emma Goldman]— 2 p. ; 24 x 16 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the International Institute of Social History.
Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

15745

1st., December, 1924.

Dear Mr. Ellis,

It is only now that I am able to express my gratitude to all those who have been good enough to attend the dinner of welcome to me and to those who have sent greetings. I cannot tell you how much the splendid gathering and beautiful spirit of the memorable evening has meant to me. You see, when I first decided to seek asylum in this country I did so with much misgiving. I had thought myself hardly known in England. I knew the difficulties that would be confronting me in the attempt to gain a footing in a strange land. I know too, the opposition I am likely to encounter in the work which I consider of utmost importance - an honest and fearless analysis of the intricate situation. You can understand therefore how deeply I was touched by the splendid reception given me this month. Whatever the difficulties and hardships before me I feel I shall be able to bear them now that I have been made to feel such warm sympathy and fellowship - I thank you for it.

I know you are interested in the further steps I mean to take to lay my knowledge about Russia before the English people, one of them is the Meeting at Queen's Hall to take place right after the New Year. It is proposed to make the affair self-supporting by charging admission to the stalls and boxes and leaving the balcony free for those people who cannot afford to pay for admission. Unfortunately there is a considerable initial expenses - One Hundred Pounds. And not having an Organisation to back the venture I must ask those friends who have been to the dinner and have shown such keen interest for sympathy and co-operation.

I have been in England several times and want to meet you so much. I have never had the chance or time, but I hope I shall have the privilege now.

I have known you for many years by your great work. It will interest you to learn that I have carried your ideas and your pleas for human rights all over the United States, into the Industrial Centres and wherever I came to lecture. In that way I was able to make you known to thousands of people who otherwise would not have had the chance of reading your works. You see therefore that you are not a stranger to me although I am a stranger to you.

I hope that you will let me come to see you some day and to thank you personally for all you have done for me in my development.

Yours sincerely,

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Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

24521

15746

... ..

1992 10 10

Collier Land
 Carnegie
 W. H. Deane

1924

1. The first step in the process of the development of the new system of the management of the company is the identification of the company's mission and vision. This is the foundation of the company's strategy and the basis for the development of the new system of the management of the company.

1997, 1998, 1999, 2000, 2001, 2002, 2003, 2004, 2005, 2006, 2007, 2008, 2009, 2010, 2011, 2012, 2013, 2014, 2015, 2016, 2017, 2018, 2019, 2020, 2021, 2022, 2023, 2024, 2025, 2026, 2027, 2028, 2029, 2030, 2031, 2032, 2033, 2034, 2035, 2036, 2037, 2038, 2039, 2040, 2041, 2042, 2043, 2044, 2045, 2046, 2047, 2048, 2049, 2050, 2051, 2052, 2053, 2054, 2055, 2056, 2057, 2058, 2059, 2060, 2061, 2062, 2063, 2064, 2065, 2066, 2067, 2068, 2069, 2070, 2071, 2072, 2073, 2074, 2075, 2076, 2077, 2078, 2079, 2080, 2081, 2082, 2083, 2084, 2085, 2086, 2087, 2088, 2089, 2090, 2091, 2092, 2093, 2094, 2095, 2096, 2097, 2098, 2099, 2100, 2101, 2102, 2103, 2104, 2105, 2106, 2107, 2108, 2109, 2110, 2111, 2112, 2113, 2114, 2115, 2116, 2117, 2118, 2119, 2120, 2121, 2122, 2123, 2124, 2125, 2126, 2127, 2128, 2129, 2130, 2131, 2132, 2133, 2134, 2135, 2136, 2137, 2138, 2139, 2140, 2141, 2142, 2143, 2144, 2145, 2146, 2147, 2148, 2149, 2150, 2151, 2152, 2153, 2154, 2155, 2156, 2157, 2158, 2159, 2160, 2161, 2162, 2163, 2164, 2165, 2166, 2167, 2168, 2169, 2170, 2171, 2172, 2173, 2174, 2175, 2176, 2177, 2178, 2179, 2180, 2181, 2182, 2183, 2184, 2185, 2186, 2187, 2188, 2189, 2190, 2191, 2192, 2193, 2194, 2195, 2196, 2197, 2198, 2199, 2200, 2201, 2202, 2203, 2204, 2205, 2206, 2207, 2208, 2209, 2210, 2211, 2212, 2213, 2214, 2215, 2216, 2217, 2218, 2219, 2220, 2221, 2222, 2223, 2224, 2225, 2226, 2227, 2228, 2229, 2230, 2231, 2232, 2233, 2234, 2235, 2236, 2237, 2238, 2239, 2240, 2241, 2242, 2243, 2244, 2245, 2246, 2247, 2248, 2249, 2250, 2251, 2252, 2253, 2254, 2255, 2256, 2257, 2258, 2259, 2260, 2261, 2262, 2263, 2264, 2265, 2266, 2267, 2268, 2269, 2270, 2271, 2272, 2273, 2274, 2275, 2276, 2277, 2278, 2279, 2280, 2281, 2282, 2283, 2284, 2285, 2286, 2287, 2288, 2289, 2290, 2291, 2292, 2293, 2294, 2295, 2296, 2297, 2298, 2299, 2300, 2301, 2302, 2303, 2304, 2305, 2306, 2307, 2308, 2309, 2310, 2311, 2312, 2313, 2314, 2315, 2316, 2317, 2318, 2319, 2320, 2321, 2322, 2323, 2324, 2325, 2326, 2327, 2328, 2329, 2330, 2331, 2332, 2333, 2334, 2335, 2336, 2337, 2338, 2339, 2340, 2341, 2342, 2343, 2344, 2345, 2346, 2347, 2348, 2349, 2350, 2351, 2352, 2353, 2354, 2355, 2356, 2357, 2358, 2359, 2360, 2361, 2362, 2363, 2364, 2365, 2366, 2367, 2368, 2369, 2370, 2371, 2372, 2373, 2374, 2375, 2376, 2377, 2378, 2379, 2380, 2381, 2382, 2383, 2384, 2385, 2386, 2387, 2388, 2389, 2390, 2391, 2392, 2393, 2394, 2395, 2396, 2397, 2398, 2399, 2400, 2401, 2402, 2403, 2404, 2405, 2406, 2407, 2408, 2409, 2410, 2411, 2412, 2413, 2414, 2415, 2416, 2417, 2418, 2419, 2420, 2421, 2422, 2423, 2424, 2425, 2426, 2427, 2428, 2429, 2430, 2431, 2432, 2433, 2434, 2435, 2436, 2437, 2438, 2439, 2440, 2441, 2442, 2443, 2444, 2445, 2446, 2447, 2448, 2449, 2450, 2451, 2452, 2453, 2454, 2455, 2456, 2457, 2458, 2459, 2460, 2461, 2462, 2463, 2464, 2465, 2466, 2467, 2468, 2469, 2470, 2471, 2472, 2473, 2474, 2475, 2476, 2477, 2478, 2479, 2480, 2481, 2482, 2483, 2484, 2485, 2486, 2487, 2488, 2489, 2490, 2491, 2492, 2493, 2494, 2495, 2496, 2497, 2498, 2499, 2500, 2501, 2502, 2503, 2504, 2505, 2506, 2507, 2508, 2509, 2510, 2511, 2512, 2513, 2514, 2515, 2516, 2517, 2518, 2519, 2520, 2521, 2522, 2523, 2524, 2525, 2526, 2527, 2528, 2529, 2530, 2531, 2532, 2533, 2534, 2535, 2536, 2537, 2538, 2539, 2540, 2541, 2542, 2543, 2544, 2545, 2546, 2547, 2548, 2549, 2550, 2551, 2552, 2553, 2554, 2555, 2556, 2557, 2558, 2559, 2560, 2561, 2562, 2563, 2564, 2565, 2566, 2567, 2568, 2569, 2570, 2571, 2572, 2573, 2574, 2575, 2576, 2577, 2578, 2579, 2580, 2581, 2582, 2583, 2584, 2585, 2586, 2587, 2588, 2589, 2590, 2591, 2592, 2593, 2594, 2595, 2596, 2597, 2598, 2599, 2600, 2601, 2602, 2603, 2604, 2605, 2606, 2607, 2608, 2609, 2610, 2611, 2612, 2613, 2614, 2615, 2616, 2617, 2618, 2619, 2620, 2621, 2622, 2623, 2624, 2625, 2626, 2627, 2628, 2629, 2630, 2631, 2632, 2633, 2634, 2635, 2636, 2637, 2638, 2639, 2640, 2641, 2642, 2643, 2644, 2645, 2646, 2647, 2648, 2649, 2650, 2651, 2652, 2653, 2654, 2655, 2656, 2657, 2658, 2659, 2660, 2661, 2662, 2663, 2664, 2665, 2666, 2667, 2668, 2669, 2670, 2671, 2672, 2673, 2674, 2675, 2676, 2677, 2678, 26

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The Emma Goldman Papers

840305021

[Letter] 1924 Dec. 1 [London to Havelock] Ellis, [Guernsey, Channel Islands, England] / [Emma Goldman]. — 1 p. ; 30 x 25 cm.
Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the Tamiment Library, New York University.

1st., December, 1924.

Dear Mr. Ellis,

It is only now that I am able to express my gratitude to all those who have been good enough to attend the dinner of welcome to me and to those who have sent greetings. I cannot tell you how much the splendid gathering and beautiful spirit of the memorable evening has meant to me. You see, when I first decided to seek asylum in this country I did so with much misgiving. I had thought myself hardly known in England. I knew the difficulties that would be confronting me in the attempt to gain a footing in a strange land. I know too, the opposition I am likely to encounter in the work which I consider of utmost importance — an honest and fearless analysis of the intricate situation. You can understand therefore how deeply I was touched by the splendid reception given me this month. Whatever the difficulties and hardships before me I feel I shall be able to bear them now that I have been made to feel such warm sympathy and fellowship — I thank you for it.

I know you are interested in the further steps I mean to take to lay my knowledge about Russia before the English people, one of them is the Meeting at Queen's Hall to take place right after the New Year. It is proposed to make the affair self-supporting by charging admission to the stalls and boxes and leaving the balcony free for those people who cannot afford to pay for admission. Unfortunately there is a considerable initial expense — one hundred pounds. And not having an Organisation to back the venture I must ask those friends who have been to the dinner and have shown much keen interest for sympathy and co-operation.

I have been in England several times and want to meet you so much. I have never had the chance of time, but I hope I shall have the privilege now.

I have known you for many years by your great work. It will interest you to learn that I have carried your ideas and your pleas for human rights all over the United States, into the Industrial Centres and wherever I came to lecture. In that way I was able to make you known to thousands of people who otherwise would not have had the chance of reading your works. You see therefore that you are not a stranger to me although I am a stranger to you.

I hope that you will be able to see me some day and to thank you personally for all you have done for humanity and development.

Yours sincerely,

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The Emma Goldman Papers

811022061

[Letter] 1924 Dec. 1 [London to] H.G. Wells, Dunmow [England] / [Emma Goldman]. — 1 p. ; 26 x 21 cm.

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Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

81-10-226
1st., December, 1924.

My dear Mr. Wells,

It is only now that I am able to express my gratitude to all those who have been good enough to attend the dinner of welcome to me and to those who have sent greetings.

I am glad that you, too, believe that "free speech, liberty of discussion is worth law, order and communism". Indeed I believe that there can be no order in the world, and certainly never communism, which is not thrust down peoples' throats at the point of a gun, unless we have free speech and liberty of discussion. These are the things I fought for all my life, and because I found not the slightest vestige of these fundamental elements in Russia, I had to take a stand against the conditions as I found them. I am not at all unaware of what is awaiting me in trying to illumine the Russian situation from a point of view of one who has been there nearly two years and knows the language, but I shall have to go ahead regardless of friend and foe as I always have in critical moments of my life. I console myself with the knowledge that my motives are of a Revolutionary nature and that my quarrel with Bolshevism is not because it is too Revolutionary, but because it has never been Revolutionary at all, in other words my critical attitude is due to the fact that I found a terrible abyss between the Russian Revolution the ideals of the people and what is now known in the world as Leninism.

I hope I shall be able to meet you when you return to London and to let me talk to you about things in Russia which only one could say who lived there.

Yours sincerely,

Mr. H.G. Wells,
Easton Glebe,
Dunmow. Essex.

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The Emma Goldman Papers

870925205

[Letter, 19]24 Dec. 3, Guildford [England to] Emma Goldman, [London] / Edward Carpenter. — 1 p.; 14 × 9 cm.

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Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

15600
Millthorpe, Moulton, Guildford
3 Dec '24

Dear Emma Goldman

Pleased to get your letter proposing to come down here. I wd. be glad to see you but am generally busy in the mornings.

If you arrange to call here about 3.0 any day, it wd. be all right, but you wd. have to give notice beforehand lest I shd. be out.

This house is 5 or 7 minutes walk from the station (Guildford), on going up Marsden Road, and the journey takes about one hour, from Victoria Stat. London.

Yours v. truly

Edw. Carpenter

The Emma Goldman Papers

870924383

[Letter] 1924 Dec. 3, San Francisco [to] Emma [Goldman, London] / C.E.S. Wood. —
1 p. ; 22 × 17 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the International Institute of Social History.
Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

1020 BROADWAY
(RUSSIAN HILL)
SAN FRANCISCO
Dec 3 - 1924

16448

Dear Emma - About a month ago
Kitty was found dead in her bed.
Heart failure - Siry wrote me - That is
all I know - and I cannot write about
it - Kitty. My little Kitty.

I tried to locate you but could not -

I have a letter from Norman Ewer
complaining that you have not
kept faith with him - Instead of
a quiet student in the British Museum
you have become a public propagandist.

I am sure you have something
to say in the matter - Why not
take it up directly with him -
London Herald -

I am too soul weary to write
more - C.E.S. Wood

The Emma Goldman Papers

861114039

[Letter] 1924 Dec. 4, Oxford [England to Emma] Goldman, [London] / [Charles] Wright Thomas. — 2 p. ; 18 x 22 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the International Institute of Social History.
Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

5170

The majority of its members
are distinctly of the anti-
Evolution type. We have
asked Miss Hest to come
on January 21; and I am
very grateful to her for
saying a good word to
her for us. We are looking
forward to her visit with
great expectation.

However, I would to ask
your advice on a more
difficult matter. We are
very, very anxious to have



Oxford.

Dec. 4, 1924.

My dear Miss Goldman:

I have delayed
writing Miss Rebecca Hest
about speaking to us, until
the new officers should
make some definite plans.
I am fortunate, as the new
Librarian, in being one of
the Executive Committee; and
I am glad to say that

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The Emma Goldman Papers

861114039

[Letter] 1924 Dec. 4, Oxford [England to Emma] Goldman, [London] / [Charles] Wright Thomas. — 2 p. ; 18 x 22 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the International Institute of Social History.
Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

Mr. Leonard - has come
to me with the report
that he is still
in London. He
has repeatedly refused to
speak to Emma in Oxford.
I wonder if you could
suggest some means of
approach that might
be successful? If it
is not going to work
perhaps you would
like some one of your

5171
friends might arouse
his interest sufficiently
to cause him to accept.
I shall arrive in London
Monday afternoon and will
leave for Paris early
Tuesday morning - probably.
Will you drop me a note, care
of T. M. Sutz, 33 Royal Crescent,
London W. 11., giving your
suggestions? If I could do
anything personally I should
be glad to remain in London
a few days - anything to
get George B!!

Sincerely,
H. Wright Thomas

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The Emma Goldman Papers

870924385

[Letter, 19]24 Dec. 4 [London to Emma] Goldman, [London] / Florence Wedgwood. — 2 p. ; 14 × 9 cm.

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Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

11
16451
at the end of 4. XII. 24 12. Beaufort House.
Chelsea, S.W.3.
Dear Mrs Goldman
Colonel Wedgwood expects
to get home to supper on
Friday night 7.30. But in
case he should be late
again, would you care
to come to breakfast
tomorrow^{Friday} morning, 9.15 a.m.
& be sure of him? I often
ask people who "must see
him without fail", to join
us at breakfast & if not
too early for you, I think
it would be the most satis-
factory plan. On the other
hand, you may be engaged, or

The Emma Goldman Papers

870924385

[Letter, 19]24 Dec. 4 [London to Emma] Goldman, [London] / Florence Wedgwood. — 2 p. ; 14 × 9 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the International Institute of Social History.
Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

16452

prefer to come in the evening.
Will you do just which
'suits you best? Our
Telephone number is ~~Ken~~ 6976
But there will be no one
at home today between 6 p.m.
& 10.30 p.m.! If you come
to breakfast, it is not
necessary to let us know,
& if you don't turn up then,
I shall expect you at 7.30
so do not bother about
a reply.

Kindest regards

Yours sincerely
Florence L. Wedgwood.

The Emma Goldman Papers

811022042

[Letter] 1924 Dec. 4, East Preston [England to Emma] Goldman, [London] / Israel Zangwill. — 1 p. ; 26 × 21 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the International Institute of Social History.
Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

81-10-2242

STATION: ANGMERING.
TELEGRAMS: ZANGWILL EAST-PRESTON.

FAR END,

EAST PRESTON.

SUSSEX.

4th December, 1924.

Dear Miss Goldman,

You did nothing stupid, for your address was duly stamped upon your interesting letter. I thank you for your sympathy with my insomnia. It has cut off my public appearances since my return from America in February; and although I am committed by official positions to one or two things, my doctor is against my undertaking even those. Although I have suffered for my opinions, I am afraid if I had had to undergo the suffering in the concrete physical form to which you were condemned, I should no longer be here. I knew Prince Kropotkin well. He was almost a neighbour of mine; and I am quite ready to believe that your views have been misrepresented. I know only too well the degeneration of America from her ideals. And as for Bolshevism: I published a play - not yet performed - two years ago, the title of which, "The Forcing House", will show that I shared your view in anticipation. But I discounted many of the things I had heard from reactionary sources - though, if I had read the appalling Bulletin you enclosed, or had heard your personal experiences, I should have written more strongly.

In conclusion, let me express the hope that, since the British Government has let you in, it will let you remain. I do not know whether you were born, or ever resided before, in London; but even the Home Secretary said the other day that before expelling people the Government considered whether there was any other country that would receive them. I expect that so long as your activities remain constitutional, and you express yourself against violence, you will be let alone. At any rate, I am glad you are not without friends.

Sincerely yours,

Israel Zangwill

The Emma Goldman Papers

840305039

[Letter] 1924 Dec. 4, East Preston [England to Emma] Goldman, [London] / Israel Zangwill. — 1 p. ; 32 x 26 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the Tamiment Library, New York University.

STATION ANGERING.
TELEGRAM ZANGWILL EAST PRESTON.

FAR END.

EAST PRESTON.

SUSSEX.

4th December, 1924.

Dear Miss Goldman,

You did nothing stupid, for your address was duly stamped upon your interesting letter. I thank you for your sympathy with my insomnia. It has cut off my public appearances since my return from America in February; and although I am committed by official positions to one or two things, my doctor is against my undertaking even those. Although I have suffered for my opinions, I am afraid if I had had to undergo the suffering in the concrete physical form to which you were condemned, I should no longer be here. I knew Prince Kropotkin well. He was almost a neighbour of mine; and I am quite ready to believe that your views have been misrepresented. I know only too well the degeneration of America from her ideals. And as for Bolshevism: I published a play - not yet performed - two years ago, the title of which, "The Forcing House", will show that I shared your view in anticipation. But I discounted many of the things I had heard from reactionary sources - though, if I had read the appalling Bulletin you enclosed, or had heard your personal experiences, I should have written more strongly.

In conclusion, let me express the hope that, since the British Government has let you in, it will let you remain. I do not know whether you were born, or ever resided before, in London; but even the Home Secretary said the other day that before expelling people the Government considered whether there was any other country that would receive them. I expect that so long as your activities remain constitutional, and you express yourself against violence, you will be let alone. At any rate, I am glad you are not without friends.

Sincerely yours,

Emma Goldman

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4th Floor, Water Marc.

[illegible]

The following information was obtained from the files of the Federal Bureau of Investigation:

[The rest of the document contains several pages of extremely faint, mostly illegible typed text.]

[illegible]

1. The first of these is the fact that the
2. second of these is the fact that the
3. third of these is the fact that the
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9. ninth of these is the fact that the
10. tenth of these is the fact that the

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There are still, about 700,000 people in the

Гомма

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Emma

The Emma Goldman Papers

870920244

[Letter] 1924 Dec. 6 [London to Emma Goldman, London] / David Soskice. —
2 p. ; 18 × 27 cm.

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Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

letter submitted again the pro-
posal to the Committee. This time
the Committee decided that Mr
Newman should meet you at the
Club next Tuesday and discuss the
matter. So told me the Secretary.
I have not seen yet Newman
since. Have you received an
invitation for next Tuesday?

Yours sincerely

David Soskice

5. Girdlers Road 5041
Musk Green W.14
Dec. 6-1924

Dear Friend,

Please excuse me for the delay in
answering your letter. I was very
busy this week, and besides I was not
sure that you expected an answer.

Of course, once Dr. I. and myself have
guaranteed to you £5 for the expenses
in respect to the Queen's Hall Meeting.
I meant that whenever you may
call on me I will send you by return
of post the £5. When do you want
it?

As to the wisdom of risking a £100
on a Queen's Hall Meeting, I have

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my doubts about it. I believe it
much more useful to arrange
ten or twenty Meetings in different
parts of London at a cost each
of £5 to £10, than to have one mee-
ting in Queen's Hall at a cost of £100.
Why not arrange Meetings in
Chelsea, Hammersmith, Kentish
East End, Lewisham etc in the
Town Halls, also in Cannon Hall
Essex Hall, Fabian Society
Hall, various Club Halls,
Ethical Society Hall etc.

The whole would cost not
more than £100, and the
result would be infinitely
more important.

When can you come to see us?

As to the Meeting at the 1917 Club
Newman met a blend in the Com-
mittee when the proposition was submitted
to the Club's Committee. It was
declined, as the Communist
members declared that your
lecture would cause riots.

Hearing this I talked to
many members of the Club
and to Newman, and the

The Emma Goldman Papers

870924381

[Letter] 1924 Dec. 6, Dunmow [England to Emma Goldman, London] / Frances Warwick. — 1 p. ; 20 × 16 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the International Institute of Social History.
Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

Telephed. 19 Dunmow.

16446


Easton Lodge.
Dunmow.

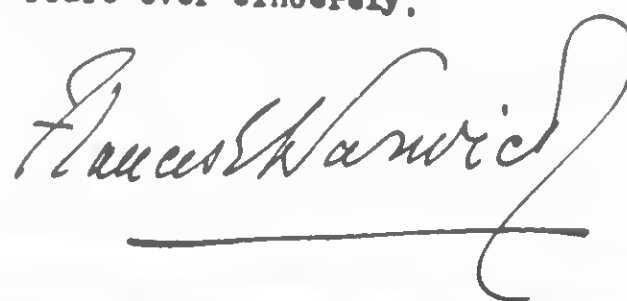
6th December 1924.

My dear Comrade,

I have your letter, and quite agree with you as to the doubtful report that we shall get from the delegation now in Russia, but I only thought you ought to know the reason given me for not immediately helping you, from the Labour headquarters at Edoleson Square, and my letter was just to give you this reason.

I am glad the meeting in Queen's Hall is not to take place until well on in January, and I hope you will let me help you with a small gift towards expenses, but, honestly, I am extremely afraid of moving in order to play into the hands of reactionaries, with a counter-revolution, which it only requires to bring back a Czar to the Russian throne, (of course with a "constitution" now properly formed!) but I imagine you are not wanting to hasten this?

Yours ever sincerely,



The Emma Goldman Papers

870924235

[Letter, 19]24 Dec. 7 [London to Emma] Goldman, [London] / [Lady] Rhondda. —
2 p. ; 18 × 14 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the International Institute of Social History.
Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

TELL I.Y.I. KEMMING

15 Chelsea Court
S.W. 1.

~~CHART COTTAGE 16238
SEAL CHART
NE. SEVENOAKS
RENT~~

7-12-24

My dear Miss Goldman

I am so glad you can come to
dinner on Thursday — I meant to
write sooner to thank you for your kind
note but was busy this week — are
you by chance free either this Wednesday
afternoon (Dec. 10th) or the next one
(Dec. 17th) & if so will you come to
tea at my flat on which even day

The Emma Goldman Papers

870924235

[Letter, 19]24 Dec. 7 [London to Emma] Goldman, [London] / [Lady] Rhondda. —
2 p. ; 18 × 14 cm.

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Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.*

16239

Suits you best & we can have a
comfortable talk by ourselves —

Yours sincerely

Rhondda

The Emma Goldman Papers

870924231

[Letter] 1924 Dec. 8, London [to Emma] Goldman, [London] / [Lady] Rhondda. —
1 p.; 25 × 18 cm.
Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the International Institute of Social History.
Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

TELEPHONE NO.
KENSINGTON 3448.

34, 48

16234

15, CHELSEA COURT,

LONDON, S.W.3.

December 8th, 1924.

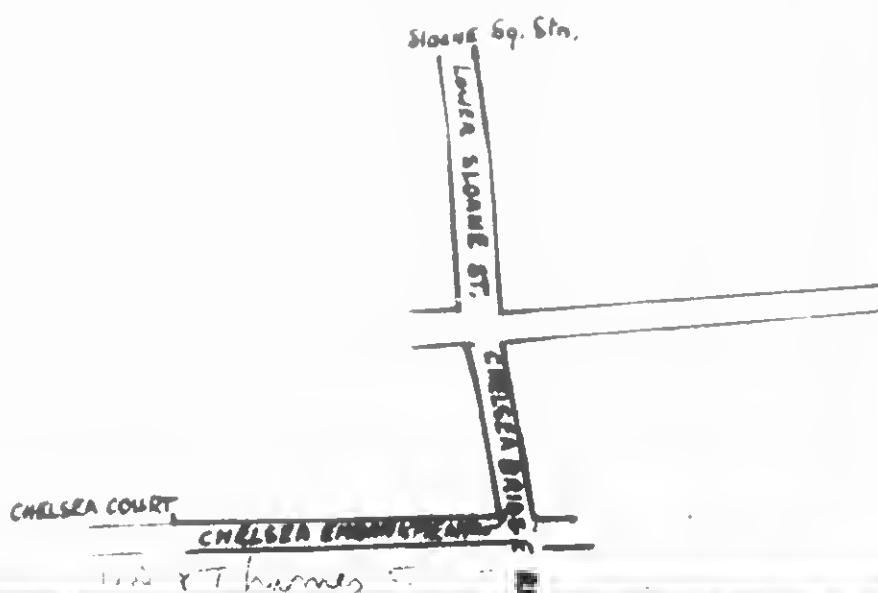
Dear Miss Goldman,

I think the best way for you to get to my flat
would be to come by tube from Baker Street to Sloane Square, as I
am afraid there is no bus which would bring you direct. Chelsea Court
is about three-quarters of a mile from Sloane Square Station. When
you come out of the station walk to the end of Lower Sloane Street,
and right along Chelsea Bridge Road (which is immediately opposite
Lower Sloane Street) to Chelsea Embankment. Turn to the right, and
Chelsea Court is a few minutes walk along the Embankment, ^{just after} ~~a little~~
~~you come to the end of the gardens.~~
~~way past the entrance to Chelsea Hospital.~~

Yours sincerely,

Rhondda

Miss Goldman,
3, Fitchfield Terrace,
Regent's Park,
N.W.8.



The Emma Goldman Papers

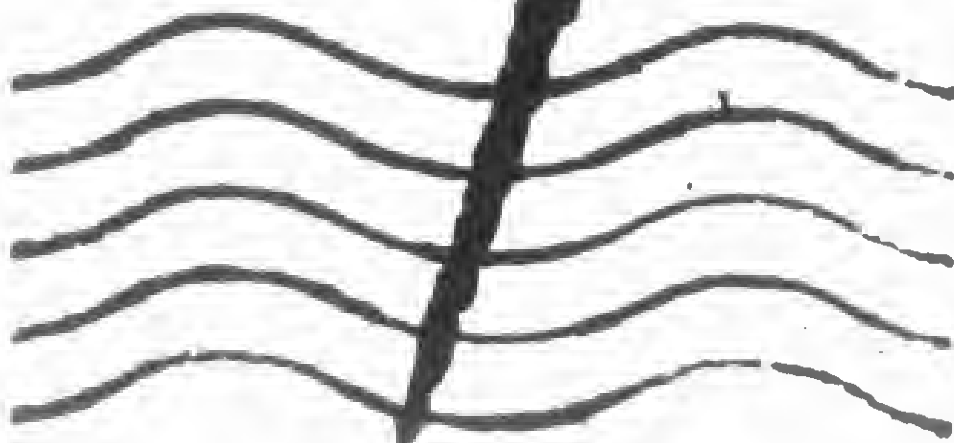
840305037

[Envelope, 19]24 Dec. 8 [London to] Emma Goldman, [London] / [Rebecca West]. —
1 p. ; 19 × 30 cm.
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RECEIVED W.J.

3. 15 PM

8 DEC 24



3. 15

8

Mr Emma Goldman

3 Titchfield Terrace

St. John's Wood.

N.W.

The Emma Goldman Papers

870919220

[Letter] 1924 Dec. 9 [London to] Ben Capes, Chicago / Emma [Goldman]. —
2 p. ; 29 × 22 cm.

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Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

9th., December, 1924.

My dear Ben,

It always seems to be the fate of our letters to be like ships in the night. I am sure that yours is on the way here, yet I do not wish to wait until it arrives. First because I have an opportunity to write to you now, and secondly because I want this letter to reach you in time for the holidays. How I wish I were rich enough to send you some beautiful gift, I am sure I would if I could turn my affections into gold, but nobody pays anything for affections, and as I have no means of my own, you will have to be satisfied with my wish rather than with the deed. I do wish and hope that this holiday will give you some joy, you have had a miserable time last year, I am hoping that this will not be the case this Christmas and New Year. When you will enjoy think of me. I do not know yet how I will spend Christmas and New Year, but I am not likely to have much excitement. Most of the people who can at all afford, go away from London and the other people have their family affairs into which I hardly fit, but I may be with a few of our friends and I may not. By the way, New Year is no holiday at all here. I understand all the shops are open on the First, what an idea to usher in the New Year with work, as if people do not work enough all year round.

I am enclosing several letters which will save me repetition and will at the same time give you an accurate account of what I have done so far, ~~that~~ ^{what} I may expect to do, and the difficulties that are confronting me. Nevertheless, I mean to go on. There is no other way. The one thing I am glad of is that I will not have to depend for my immediate necessities either on the results of the Meeting in Queen's Hall or on the support of Comrades. The three articles in the "Sunday Times" which really represent parts of my book, except the concluding chapter in the last article, which I am sending you, will enable me to live three months without difficulty, unfortunately I will have to use some of the money to back the Queen's Hall Meeting. The response to my appeal has so far been nil, but I am sure that we can make it a success in more than one way.

Dear, dear, Ben, I cannot tell you how I am looking forward to your coming to Europe next Spring, it would be too cruel for anything if you could not carry out your plans this time. I really believe that if you will be determined you will come over. I find that all of us make a stupid mistake in postponing the chances life gives us to drink the cup of life even if part of it is bitter. We always think we will do it to-morrow and to-morrow never comes. Dear Ben, I think of how little I tasted of life when the chance was before me, I was busy chasing windmills and took no time for anything else and now the chance is no more. However, if I can again become useful and keep myself active, I shall not complain.

I am sure that you will rejoice to know that S. book is to come out at last. Imagine the cowardice of a Publisher like Liveright, he insisted on omitting the concluding chapter. I am glad, however, that S. consented to the publication without it. After all we can publish the chapter ourselves and send it to the Reviewers, in fact I rather think that it will help to advertise the book. Anyway, it is wonderful that it is to come out at last.

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[Letter] 1924 Dec. 9 [London to] Ben Capes, Chicago / Emma [Goldman]. —
2 p.; 29 × 22 cm.

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Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

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.2.

I do not know when I will come to the point about
revising M.E. One thing is certain that I could not do it unless
I had help from America. The people here are either very poor or
very close fisted. That I can see already. I have been to a lot
of "At Homes" where ~~tables~~ tables were set, people who claim to be
interested in the work about Russia I have started, yet when I sent
out an appeal there was hardly any response, and those who did respond
sent such infinitesimal sums that I had the feeling of sending it
back. I can see then that it will be impossible to maintain a
Magazine with the support I am likely to get here. What are the
chances in America, anyway?

Do write soon and tell me about yourself. I suppose
you will know before this reaches you that the volume containing the
twelve chapters is out at last. I hope you will get it. I
am particularly anxious to know how you like my concluding chapters.

A pleasant Christmas and happy New Year to you, dear
boy. Remember me kindly to the comrades and affectionately to
your family.

Ever devotedly,

Emma

Mr. Ben Capes,
4825 North Sawyer Avenue,
Chicago. Ill. U.S.A.

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The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1924 Dec. 9 [London to] M[ichael] A. Cohn, [New York?] / Emma [Goldman]. — 1 p. ; 34 x 21 cm.

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9th., December, 1924.

Dear Comrade,

It is a long time since I have written you, isn't it? But this you will have guessed from the reports in the papers, I have been as busy as a bee. In fact since the dinner I have been so rushed with seeing people and writing letters that I haven't had a minute to write to my dear American friends, among whom you take a very large place. I am enclosing copies of letters, one to Shapino, and to Colonel Wedwood. They will tell you of what I have accomplished so far and what I hope to accomplish further. I can see already that I am going to have a desperate time. The people I have met are of two sorts, one absolutely ignorant and blind to the things that continue in Russia and therefore unwilling to listen to facts, and others who are well informed but refuse to support any open criticism of the Russian Regime. Among the latter are nearly all of the labour and trade union leaders. Since most of the trade union movement in England is terribly centralized, it is next to impossible to get to the rank and file over the heads of the leaders. However, I am not losing faith. I think I will find a few brave individuals, of whom Colonel Wedwood takes first place, who will help in the proposed "Open Hall" meeting and in getting up a permanent Committee to help the unfortunate Politicians in Russian prisons and concentration camps. I am also going to have a Hall meeting I hope to turn English Socialists out of the hall. I am glad to say that Comrades from the United States will be invited. I have arranged fifteen meetings, that will give me an opportunity to speak directly to the workers, which is to me of course the most important thing.

One thing that I am very glad of is that I have been able to earn some money through several articles on Russia, one in the "London Illustrated News", copy of which I enclose, and the other three in the "Sunday Times". The last articles contain the material for my book except for the concluding chapter as regards recognition and relations with Russia. For this reason I am sending you the three articles, the last of which appeared this Sunday. *Best accepted* You can tell me how happy I am to know that S.A. S. book has at last been accepted. I am appalled to hear that Liveright the supposed to be liberal publisher, should have refused the concluding chapter. I am sure it is a lie - "that the Liberals are the most ill-liberal people". However, I am glad that S. has consented after all, the concluding chapter can be published in a special pamphlet and sent to the Reviewers with a note that it is a part rejected by the publisher, that will only help to advertise his book. Anyway, I feel as if a stone were lifted from my chest. I cannot tell you how much my boy is worried about his work. I know how much he loves his work.

I am glad to hear that you have come away from England without even a single day's illness. It is a pity that you are so old. If it were not for the fact that you are so old, not merely in age, but also in spirit, I should have been very much provoked, but as it is I do not mind it at all.

Please send my love to all sorts of good wishes for the holidays to M. T. Lander, Milsels, Jessie and Jim. I hope you will have a very good time. When you have a good time think of me.

Yours affectionately,

Emma

Dr. M.A. Cohn.

Am going to my home to see mother

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The Emma Goldman Papers

870924157

[Letter] 1924 Dec. 9 [London to Samuel Eliot] Morison, [Oxford, England] / [Emma Goldman]. — 1 p. ; 29 × 18 cm.

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Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

9th., December, 1924.

Dear Professor Morison,

Please forgive my seeming ~~indifference~~ **indifference not to** have written you before. I cannot tell you how much I enjoyed being with you and Mrs. Morison, and how deeply grateful I am ~~for~~ **for** your generous contribution to the Students Fund. I was quite overwhelmed when I realized how much you contributed. I wanted to write to you on my return from Oxford but I have been rushed from morning until night seeing all sorts of people, besides keeping up an extensive correspondence.

I find that I am backing up against a hard wall of ignorance and cowardice. Many people are still woefully in the dark as far as the facts on Russia are concerned. On the other hand I was impressed to find in labour ranks large numbers of people who though well informed do not wish the truth about Russia to be known "for political and party reasons". That means that whatever work I want to do will be terribly handicapped. I will have to depend upon the few brave supporters whose hearts have not turned to stone in the face of such woeful conditions as exist in Russia to-day.

I am contemplating a meeting in Queen's Hall sometime in January where I might have a chance to present the Russian situation in relation to the Russian Revolution. I wonder if you will be able to attend it. I should consider it a great pleasure if I could have you among the other friends like Colonel Wedgwood, Rebecca West, Mrs. Cobden-Sanderson and a few more brave supporters who will comprise a Committee that is to give the Meeting moral backing, but I will understand if you find that you cannot lend your name or help to make the venture a great success.

With kindest wishes for a pleasant holiday and sincerest regards to Mrs. Morison and yourself.

I remain,
Yours cordially,

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The Emma Goldman Papers

870924374

[Letter] 1924 Dec. 9, London [to] Josiah C. Wedgwood, [London] / [Emma Goldman].— 2 p. ; 32 x 20 cm.

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Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

3. Titchfield Terrace.
Regent's Park. N.W.8.

16436

London. Dec. 9th. 1924.

Col. Josiah C. Wedgwood.
12. Beaufort House.
Beaufort St.
Chelsea. S.W.3.

My dear Col. Wedgwood.

Please forgive the delay in sending you the letter we talked about the other evening. I was terribly rushed because I had to finish three articles for an American Newspaper syndicate.

I feel confident that you will not impute my motives to my critical attitude towards the Bolshevik regime that you will not consider that I am moved by counter-revolutionary reasons. But as most of your colleagues do not know of me as well as you, it is necessary to emphasize to them that one who has stood in the front ranks of the ultra revolutionary movement for 35 years, has faced fire all her life and has never compromised her ideals of liberty, is not likely to quarrel with Bolshevism because it is too revolutionary. No, indeed not. My criticism of the present Russian regime is that it has chained the Russian Revolution to the Communist State and in so doing has destroyed utterly the possibilities of the revolution and the Russian people. In other words I want to prove that there is a terrific gap between the Russian Revolution and the Bolshevik Government and that the success of the latter spelled the death of the forces which could and would have given Russia a society unlike anything ever tried in the world.

Now to the suggestions. Knowing how vulnerable Russia is to European criticism (I can cite any number of examples to prove that) I feel that a committee of well known English men and women who would undertake to launch systematic protest against the continued terror going on in Russia would have some important effect upon the madmen on the Russian throne. It was such an European protest which alone saved the lives of the Social Revolutionists who would most assuredly have been shot otherwise. Just at present there are several thousand political in Russia prisons, ghastly concentration camps and exile, added to this number are scores of students recently kicked out of the Universities because they belong to the "Bourgeoisie". In reality because they protested against suppression of academic freedom and the terrorist methods used to intimidate the faculty as well as the students. Then there are thousands of peasants and workers who are kept in atrocious conditions. Their crimes were either refusal to bow to the exorbitant taxes, or for strikes. In short no one who thinks or feels at all is free in Russia to day. Sure something must be done to bring relief to these hapless victims of the Regime.

The Committee I propose could bring pressure upon the Government which would force it to relax in its terror and possibly to amnesty some of the unfortunates. It could do more; the Committee could gather authentic data and documents from Russia to keep the English workers informed as to what is really going on in Russia. I know it is extremely difficult to obtain such material, but it is never theless possible by sub rosa route. The Committees of the Mensheviks, the Right Social Revolutionists and the French and German Committee of the Left Social Revolutionists and

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The Emma Goldman Papers

870924374

[Letter] 1924 Dec. 9, London [to] Josiah C. Wedgwood, [London] / [Emma Goldman].— 2 p.; 32 x 20 cm.

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Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

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16437

Anarchists have direct connections with Russia and can furnish the English Committee with material. Information on the actual doings in Russia are sorely needed. They will never come from the various missions who go to Russia for a brief visit, do not know the language and are the guests of the government. All such missions have really helped to perpetuate the Bolshevik myth, to wit, that they voice the ideals of the Russian people as registered in the Russian Revolution.

Then the Committee could undertake to raise funds to help the politicals from slow starvation and death. That is exactly what is happening to them in Russia now. In connection with this I wish to point out that the exiled people are not allowed to earn their own living, or even use the Public Library to do research work or pass their wretched time which hangs heavily on their minds. Not under the Tsar, exiles could work at their trade or profession, they could teach, or minister to the sick, or be my neighbor of things at the places of exile. But no such human possibilities are granted them under the "Bolshevik Republic" that alone ought to arouse the liberty loving men and women of this country.

As the first step to the organization of the Committee which by the way ought to consist mainly of English men and women, none political if possible but of a predominant labor element, is the proposed meeting in Queen's Hall the third week in Jan. At ~~this~~ this meeting I am to give an exposure of the actual conditions in Russia. I do not mean to imply that others who have spoken or written about the Russian events are less honest or able than I am. It is only that I have lived in Russia 22 months, that I know the language, that I travelled extensively and came in touch with all sorts of people, from Lenin down to the simple peasant, and that my point of view is a revolutionary. All that and the fact that I came to Russia with fervent faith in the Bolsheviks, a faith I would not part with for 15 months and until all facts and conditions could no longer be overlooked, ~~rather~~ should prove to you and your colleagues that I am somewhat in better qualified of know light on Russia than most people who have come out of it.

To make the Queen's Hall meeting a moral success, I am sure we can make it materially successful we need such moral backing that would lend credence to the importance of the effort to the workers. For this reason we want you dear Col Wedgwood to preside, and we ask you to help us organize a platform committee of well known labor men and women. In connection with this request I wish to say that I was with Professor Harold Laski and Mrs Laski last night and that they agreed not only to participate themselves but to call together a number of people to their house Sunday Dec, 21st who would be willing to serve on the proposed Committee for the meeting and as a permanent body for Russian relief. I rather think you will be asked to attend and I hope you will.

In conclusion I wish to say that my work on Russia does not mean that I am opposed to recognition or relations with Russia. Far from it. I insist on both because I am confident that this will have a restraining effect on the Rulers of Russia and that it will help the Russian people. To explain my position I am inclosing copy of my last article in the Sunday Times and Chronicle, unfortunately part of my conclusion was left out because of lack of space. But there is enough to convince anyone that I am not opposed to relations with Russia.

Sincerely yours.

Give my affectionate greetings to Mrs Wedgwood.

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The Emma Goldman Papers

890126129

[Letter] 1924 Dec. 9, London [to] Josiah [C.] Wedgwood, [London] / [Emma Goldman]. — 2 p. ; 30 x 19 cm.

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Institutional Location: Max Nettlau Archive.

8, Fitzhugh Terrace,
Regent's Park, N.W.8.

London, Dec. 9th, 1924.

Col. Josiah C. Wedgwood,
14, Grosvenor House,
Park Street,
London, W.1.



My dear Col. Wedgwood,

Please forgive the delay in sending you the letter we talked about the other evening. I was terribly rushed because I had to finish three articles for an American Newspaper syndicate.

I feel confident that you will not impugn my motives or my critical attitude towards the Bolshevik Regime - that you will not consider that I am moved by counter-revolutionary reasons. But as most of your colleagues do not know of me as well as you, it is necessary to emphasise to them that one who has stood in the front ranks of the ultra revolutionary movement for 35 years, has faced fire all her life and has never compromised her ideals of liberty, is not likely to quarrel with Bolshevism because it is too revolutionary. No, indeed not. My criticism of the present Russian Regime is that it has chained the Russian Revolution to the Communist State and in so doing has destroyed utterly the possibilities of the Revolution and the Russian people. In other words I want to prove that there is a terrific gap between the Russian Revolution and the Bolshevik Government and that the success of the latter spelled the death of the forces which could and would have given Russia a society unlike anything ever tried in the world.

Now to the suggestions. Knowing how vulnerable Moscow is to European criticism, (I can cite any number of examples to prove that) I feel that a committee of well known English men and women who would undertake to launch systematic protest against the continued terror going on in Russia would have some restraining effect upon the madmen on the Russian throne. It was such an European protest which alone saved the lives of the Social Revolutionists who would most assuredly have been shot otherwise. Just at present there are several thousand politicals in Russian prisons, ghastly concentration camps and exile, added to this number are scores of students recently kicked out of the Universities because they belong to the "Bourgeoisie". In reality because they protested against suppression of academic freedom and the terrorist methods used to intimidate the Faculty as well as the Students. Then there are thousands of peasants and workers who are kept in atrocious conditions. Their crimes were either refusal to bow to the exorbitant taxes, or to strikes. In short no one who thinks or feels at all is free in Russia to-day. Surely something must be done to bring relief to these hapless victims of the Regime.

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[Letter] 1924 Dec. 9, London [to] Josiah [C.] Wedgwood, [London] / [Emma Goldman]. — 2 p. ; 30 × 19 cm.

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Institutional Location: Max Neulau Archive.

have direct connections with Russia and can furnish the English Committee with material. Information on the actual distress in Russia is generally needed. They will come from the various missions who go to Russia for a brief visit, do not know the language and are the guests of the Government. All such missions have really helped to perpetuate the Bolshevik myth, to wit, that they voice the ideals of the Russian people as registered in the Russian Revolution.

Then the Committee could undertake to raise funds to help the political men who starve and die. That is exactly what is happening to them in Russia now. In connection with this I wish to point out that the exiled people are not allowed to earn their own living, or even use the Public Library to do research work or pass their wretched time which hangs heavily on their hands. Yet under the Tsar, exiles could work at their trade or profession, they could teach, or minister to the sick, or do any number of things at the places of exile. But no such human possibilities are granted them under the "Socialist Republic". That alone ought to arouse the liberty loving men and women of this country.

As the first step to the organization of the Committee which by the way ought to consist mainly of English men and women, none political, if possible, but of a predominant labour element, is the proposed meeting in Queen's Hall the third week in January. At this meeting I am to give an exposé of the actual conditions in Russia. I do not mean to imply that others who have spoken or written about the tragic events are less honest or able than I am. It is only that I have lived in Russia 28 months, that I know the language, that I travelled extensively and came in touch with all sorts of people, from Lenin down to the simple peasant, and that my point of view is a Revolutionary. All that and the fact that I came to Russia with fervent faith in the Bolshevik, a faith I would not part with for 15 months and until all facts and conditions could no longer be overlooked, should prove to you and your colleagues that I am somewhat in better qualified to throw light on Russia than most people who have come out of it.

To make the Queen's Hall meeting a moral success, I am sure we can make it materially successful we need such moral backing that would lend credence to the importance of the effort to the workers. For this reason we want you, Dear Col. Wedgwood, to preside, and we ask you to help us organise a platform committee of well known labour men and women. In connection with this request I wish to say that I was with Professor Harold Laski and Mrs. Laski last night and that they agreed not only to participate themselves but to call together a number of people to their house Sunday December 21st. who would be willing to serve on the proposed committee for the meeting and as a permanent body for Russian relief. I rather think you will be asked to attend, and I hope you will.

In conclusion I wish to say that my work on Russia does not mean that I am opposed to recognition or relations with Russia. Far from it. I insist on both because I am confident that that will have a restraining effect on the Rulers of Russia and that it will help the Russian people. To explain my position I am enclosing copy of my last article in the "Sunday Times" and "Chronicle", unfortunately part of my conclusion was left out because of lack of space, but there is enough to convince anyone that I am not opposed to relations with Russia.

Sincerely yours,

Give my affectionate greetings to Mrs. Wedgwood.

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The Emma Goldman Papers

870924425

[Letter] 1924 Dec. 9 [London to Israel] Zangwill, [East Preston, England] / [Emma Goldman].— 1 p. ; 26 x 16 cm.

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Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

9th., December, 1924.

10512

My Dear Mr. Zangwill,

Thank you very much for your kind and interesting letter. I really do not know what the British Government is going to do, but I have come to the point where I no longer care. Human endurance cannot be on for ever. I am simply drifting and holding to the idea "Sufficient unto the day is the evil thereof". My feeling is, I can't say, not a very pleasant feeling that the present Government will let me alone as long as I talk and write on Russia. Don't let me let itself of my criticism to excuse its own blunders in relation to Russia, but as I cannot help that I must go along with my work regardless of what either friend or foe will say.

I am a Russian by birth and an American Citizen by marriage, but the U.S. Government felt itself so much in danger by my presence that it went out of its way and used fraudulent methods in order to take away my Citizenship, in that way alone was it able to deport me. The fact is that I have still been in the balance because I did not appeal to the Supreme Court at the time. The Russian Revolution turned upon me, so that nothing else mattered. I rejected the decision of the Supreme Court to send me to Russia and I did not appeal at all. For the situation is rather complicated. In order to appeal I must be in the United States, but as there is no way of getting into the United States I cannot appeal, and there the matter stands. I am hoping that I can remain in England and go on about my work without being harassed. Should the latter happen I will have to face it as I have faced other such situations. Perhaps you and I can do something that will save its survival to its full life again. I am more fortunate than you in having a very strong physique. Indeed there is a standing joke among my friends it is "Today but death will kill him". After all the other horrors I have faced that will have no dread for me.

I should wish much like to read "The Foreign House". Have you it appeared? This is on the matter of books I wonder if you could call to mind my book on Russia published by Doubleday, Page and Company? There was an unfortunate fuddle connected with it, the first part of the book appeared minus twelve chapters. I was glad to say that it has now appeared in a separate volume. I never like to impose my works on people, but if you care to reading book I will be very happy to send the two volumes to you. Perhaps you will find it interesting enough to review it for one of the public journals you are writing for.

I am enclosing a copy of a letter I have written to Colonel Wedgwood. I hope you will be interested enough to join the proposed committee. In fact more often we are considered last night was also held. Both Colonel Wedgwood and I feel it would add tremendously to the importance of the committee if we could have you join it. That does not mean that you need be burdened with a lot of work and responsibility.

your favour.

Hoping to hear from you and with many thanks for

Yours,
Sincerely yours,

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The Emma Goldman Papers

840305040

[Letter] 1924 Dec. 9 [London to Israel] Zangwill, [East Preston, England] / [Emma Goldman].— 1 p.; 40 x 27 cm.

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9th., December, 1924.

My Dear Mr. Zangwill,

Thank you very much for your kind and interesting letter. I really do not know what the British Government is going to do, but I have come to the point where I no longer care. Human endurance cannot be tested for ever. I am simply waiting and waiting to the idea "Sufficient unto the day is the evil thereof". My feeling is, I do not say, not a very pleasant feeling that the present Government will let me alone as long as I talk and write on Russia. I don't care if it will call itself of my criticism to excuse its own blunders in relation to Russia, but as I cannot help that I must go along with black regardless of what either friend or foe will say.

I am a Russian by birth and an American citizen by marriage, but the U.S. Government felt it was in danger by my presence that it went out of its way and used fraudulent methods in order to take away my citizenship, in that way alone was it able to deport me. This method of course will be in the balance because I did not go to the Supreme Court of the U.S. The Russian Revolution inspired me, and I have been in the U.S. since I rejected the American Government and went to Russia and I have not come back since. The situation is rather complicated. In order to go back to the United States, but as there is no way of doing so, in the United States I cannot appeal, and there the matter ends. I am hoping that I can remain in England and go on about my work without being harassed. Should the latter happen I will have to face it as I have faced other such situations. Luckily you and I are going to see it through its survival to its inevitable end. I am very fortunate that you are leaving a very strong impression. I feel that you are standing like a strong old oak. I feel that death will take me, but for all the other horrors I have seen I still have the right to live.

I have a very small book called "The Russian House". Have you seen it? While I am in London I am looking for a publisher if you would care to publish a book on Russia published by Doubleday, Page and Company? There was an unfortunate accident connected with it, the first part of the book was a descriptive chapters. I am glad to say that there has now appeared in a separate volume. I never like to impose my works on people, but if you care to read my book I will be very happy to send it to you. Perhaps you will find it interesting enough to write to the editor of the publication, or even to publish it.

I am also writing a copy of a letter I have written to Colonel Wedgwood. I hope you will be interested enough to join the proposed committee. In fact among other names the committee last night was also yours. Both Colonel Wedgwood and I feel it would add tremendously to the importance of the committee if you could join it. That does not mean that you need be burdened with a lot of work and responsibility.

Hoping to hear from you with love, thanks for your favour.

Remain,

Sincerely yours,

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The Emma Goldman Papers

870924228

[Letter] 1924 Dec. 9, London [to Emma] Goldman, [London] / [Lady] Rhondda.—
1 p. ; 25 × 18 cm.
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Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

TELEPHONE NO.
KENSINGTON 3448.

15, CHELSEA COURT,

LONDON, S.W.3.

December 9th, 1924.

Dear Miss Goldman,

I enclose a couple of tickets for the Six Point Group White Luncheon, in case you should care to use them, as I knew you are interested in the doings of the English feminist movement. The Six Point Group publishes a short Black List of M.P.s. who have fought against its objects, and a short White List of M.P.s. who have fought for them, at every General Election, and after the Election we give a luncheon to the members of the White List who are returned. It is quite an interesting function. If you are not able to use the tickets perhaps you would be kind enough to return them to me.

Yours sincerely,



Miss Goldman,
3, Titchfield Terrace,
Regent's Park,
N.W.8.

The Emma Goldman Papers

870924423

[Letter] 1924 Dec. 11, East Preston [England to Emma] Goldman, [London] / Israel Zangwill. — 2 p. ; 20 x 16 cm.

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16512

STATION: ANOTHERNO
TELEGRAM: ZANGWILL EASTPRESTON

FAR END.

EAST PRESTON.

SUSSEX.

11th December, 1924.

My dear Miss Goldman,

I am returning the copy of your letter to Colonel Wedgwood, because you may find it useful to send to somebody else. I do not think you understand how far I am knocked out from public work at present. I am already a President, and on various Councils and Committees, all of which I have to neglect; so I could not face joining any new Committee. But I am always ready to append my signature to any public plea on behalf of a really important object.

But I do not think your proposed Committee would have any effect if there was a predominant Labour element. You know how the Bolsheviks have made fun of the old Labour Cabinet. They are much more likely to be influenced by the present Conservative Government or its supporters. And if for the nonce you find yourself in the same box with them, it cannot be helped. The Bolsheviks will want to get recognition from the present Government, and are more likely to be amenable to it than to the Opposition. If, as you now say, the latter state of Russia is worse than the former, you are not without responsibility for having believed that Russia consisted of Emma Goldmans who would make a peaceable millennium.

Since Bertrand Russell has already taken up your case, it is possible that you might get some help from the Union of Democratic Control, the only political organization with which I have ever been associated, and to whose Council he, like myself, belongs. Arthur Ponsonby, the late Under-Secretary for Foreign Affairs, was one of the founders. But since the sad death of Morel, I expect Mrs. Swanwick is the influential person. The address is Orchard House, 2 and 4, Great Smith Street, London, S.W. 1.

I agree with you that Russia should be recognised. Even when I advocated this at the Albert Hall in the early days of the Revolution, I saw already the tyranny you had to travel to discover.

I have looked everywhere for a copy of "The Forcing House" to send you, but all I have found is a proof, which is perhaps more interesting. Of course I should be glad if it stimulates you to any reference to it in your speeches or writings. But please do not send me your book on Russia, because I know that authors have to pay for their books, and I can get it from my library. Besides, as I hardly ever write for the newspapers, and cannot write at all now, I could not review it. I have just seen a sympathetic reference

The Emma Goldman Papers

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Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

16513

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to you, as well as to Laek, in Upton Sinclair's book, "The Goose Step", which has just been sent me from America - that degenerate country which, in revenge for my telling it the truth, has tried to expel me spiritually (through my books and plays), if not bodily. I do not think any efforts will be made to expel you from England.

Believe me,

Sincerely yours,

Israel Zangwill

The Emma Goldman Papers

840305041

[Letter] 1924 Dec. 11, East Preston [England to Emma] Goldman, [London] / Israel Zangwill. — 2 p. ; 40 x 26 cm.

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TELEGRAM ZANGWILL EAST-PRESTON
STATION ANCHERING

FAR END.

EAST PRESTON.

SUSSEX.

11th December, 1924.

My dear Miss Goldman,

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2.

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Believe me,

Sincerely yours,

Israel Zangwill

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The Emma Goldman Papers

870927061

[Letter] 1924 Dec. 12 [London to] Stell[a Ballantine, New York (fragment)] / [Emma Goldman]. — 4 p. ; 33 x 20 cm.

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Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

13824

London. Dec. 12th, 1924.

Dearest Stell.

Your good letter of the first with A. E. money order inclosed reached me Monday. There was only a slow steamer on Wed. that is why I waited until to day with writing you. I understand a fast liner goes tomorrow.

Dearest, I did not want you to send me money this month because I have earned quite a bit, 85 Guineas altogether. That is going to keep me for a while. But it happens that I must help finance the big meeting we are arranging for the third week in Jan, possibly in London. Whatever maybe said about the English, no one will say they are particularly generous. I sent out the list of which forty were to those who were present at the last meeting to Freedom subscribers. I appealed for the planned meeting. I got about ten replies, the biggest contribution was from Miss Schuster. Well, guess how much? £10. Can you beat that? She is supposed to have given a thousand pounds to Oscar Wilde. I have my doubts about the woman. She has a magnificent home, ever so many servants, claims to be intensely interested in truth about Russia. Yet she subscribed 25 guineas to the initial expenses of the meeting. With all that she is really a most gracious woman and gracious hostess. Well, she is not the only one. There are others who entertain lavishly, keep an expensive table, yet either do not respond at all when you appeal for funds, or send measly shillings. The Jews alone, then, have responded, but as they are terribly poor they can not do much. Still among them 35 Guineas were raised. As the meeting will cost about 115 Guineas, I have to make up the rest of the initial expenses. For this reason I am not sending back the £75 you sent me dearest own. But please do not send any more until you hear from me again. I certainly will ~~not~~ accept no help from the three of you as I can earn my own living.

I have so much to write you about I really do not know where to begin. Well, first about the proposed meeting. We are not at all worried about the material success. We figured out that in charging three, two and one shillings for admission and leaving the Gallery free for those who can not pay our receipts would be about two hundred pounds wanting that not all seats would be sold, we are still to cover expenses. No, it is not the material end, it is the moral backing, I am not so sure of that yet, except of Rebecca who is a tower of strength, Co. Wedgwood who is the one man in England to whom liberty is not a mere phrase, or two others. The Labor and Trade Union elements are either ignorant of Russia and like all ignorant people are to be informed. Or they are cowardly. And besides that they are shop keepers before everything else. "Trade with Russia" that is their claim. Until then facts about Russia must not be made public. Then you point out to them that I am not opposed to recognition or relations with Russia. Quite the contrary. And that light on Russia has not interfered with recognition or trade in Germany or France, then they give you another excuse. "We must now wait until the Trade Union Mission returns." Well, in view of the fact that the Trade Union Mission is sure to whitewash Russia and that all the orators of the Labor leaders are only bunk, we have decided to go ahead without them. I'm really glad we will not have them. As Shapiro justly says, "I'd rather work with the labor

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rale than with the Labor Politicians" And I quite agree with him. Anyway, I have decided to drop trying to interest the I. L. P. and Socialist outfit, I am now concentrating on unattached individuals.

You know of Prof. Laski, the man who had such a dreadful time in America. Well, I called him up and got his wife to say she would see me. I was there last Monday and found Laski very responsive. He is calling thirty people together for the 21st. He hopes to get Shaw. I do not believe he will. But I am sure Wells will come. And there will be others. I am to present the conditions of the Russian ideals before the gathering and get them to organize a Committee to back the meeting and to do systematic work for Moscow's victims. Having had many promises from people who promised much, Mme Malmberg for instance, is not banking too much on the number of guests I can get or their response. But I know I can count on Wells. I am rather sure of Wells. He sent a beautiful card for dinner. I have written him since and have had a letter on a postal that he is returning from France and hopes to meet me. Then too, Rebecca told me that she expected me. So if we get no one else, we will have Wells, Rebecca who is worth a thousand Labor Union members whose name carries great influence. And George, he is really remarkable in his way. He is outspoken and unflinching in defence of liberty. He is to preside at the meeting, and he is to ask the others of his colleagues to back the venture. I sent him a statement of facts as to what might be done in Russia. I sent him one copy of which I have two. Wood and his wife are of great value.

Then there is another one who I believe is on the Committee. It is Henry W Nevinsan. A lot of people said they would get us together, but nothing came of it. Therefore took the Bull by the horn, I looked for him and introduced myself. He said at once he was not here. Well, he did. He is the most distinguished man I have met here. He listened absorbingly to all I had to say. He asked the most intelligent questions. He said attend the Laski tea and I rather think he will be there. If then I can have a half dozen people - Laski, Wedgwood, Wells and Rebecca the question on Russia would be assured.

Need I tell you the task of seeing
himself, talking to each one, spending hours
with Mrs. Sashe, I am doing now what he did when
his campaign with this difference that he
wished to help him besides Anna Karen is
not everything myself. I can not even get a
photographer. I had to give up Rebecca's because
her sister than I. That is going home. Rebecca
no good but she keeps her because the woman has
children and she is good for running errands. Well,
I have to do that, so I am trying another one.
Mrs. W. takes dictation, needless to say my
no reason to her that she makes the most ridiculous
mistake. I letter to Wedgwood was so illigible. I have
now sent a dozen copies and write one myself. I have
see the Carsons people after the holidays, they
send me some efficient person. Doris is of course
she holds a position and is running a house, she has
few articles I had to prepare. But as she can
on Sundays, she can do little. The result is I am
ing people and writing letters, about 16 hours a day.
I think I am sorry, it is what I wanted for seven years.
I am glad I can keep at work.

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The Emma Goldman Papers

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[Letter] 1924 Dec. 12 [London to] Stell[a Ballantine, New York (fragment)] / [Emma Goldman]. — 4 p. ; 33 x 20 cm.

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13823

Had a letter from Don Levine to day, he left Germany for Italy and will be here the tenth. The stuff which he has compiled largely by the help of Sasha is overwhelming. He is coming to get introductory letters from Shaw and others. I am sure he will get them. Levine has the American press paper known, he is going to make him the feature of the afternoon and once people have forgathered to hear him we will try to launch our campaign for the release of Spridonova and Ismailovitch. In a way it is wrong to center only on their cases, but the damned English outfit will do nothing unless we specify some particoular case of wrong. Maris Sp is known and her case is the most terrible, we may get the Russells and others to act on that.

I am glad Levine is coming, it will be some human being who ~~best~~ belongs to us, somebody with warmth and real interests, not mere dabling. It is fortunate too that he come the 10th that will give me time to see much of him. I am terribly busy this week and also the week after next. I go to Northampton the 16th. I speak in Jewell meeting here the 17th, the 19th we will have the lecture. I am instead for the English Intelligenzia God save the mark. The 21st I leave for South Wales. So next week is really my busy week I ~~am~~ that will give me a little time with Don Levine. Your Finnish friend has not called. I don't know darling why you prevail upon people to look at you. They really have no interests. You must not expect your friends to accept me because you love me, that is not fair. There were some people here Sunday, a couple who said they were friends of my brother, which they did not say. I was away to tea. Doris gave them my phone they were to call up Monday but did not.

You ask for the name of the party who approached me, do you mean about bringing me to A, and make me rich quick? Well, the man's name is Mangham. He did not appraoch me, he got his secretary to do it. By a strange coincidents his secretary is the daughter of an old anarchist which Mr M does not know. She was doing some stenography for me. Anyway, one day she picked up the Literary Digest containing that rotten story about the Gans and other erstwhile parasites who swarmed around me and whose bills I had to pay. The man saw her read the story and forthwith started to tell her what a fool E. G. is. "If only she had become a lawyer, or a writer, or still better a business woman, she would have made a fortune. Why she is the greatest woman in America," said he. The girl listened for a time then she said "I have heard Emma Goldman speak ~~and~~ on Russia. "Do you know where she lives" asked Mr M? Yes said the young lady. "Well, then go and propose this plan to her" And then he elobrated what he would like to do. He did however ask her to make this condition that if I ~~use~~ his name is not to be devolged, or any publicity connected with his proposition. I must therefore ask you very seriously not to make the name known. There is no use anyway since I would never go under the auspices of any reactionary outfit. That was just poor Babushka's mistake that she came back under the auspices of the Cleveland Dodge gang. Had she come under her own she might have met with greater success though I admit that at that time none of us believed the dear old soul. God how credulous we were and how carried away by our own mistaken belief. Anyway, I am not going to let any reactionary gang lead me around A, even if I actually believed I could be gotten in. Perhaps, if I were willing to renounce my Jew soul. Before I do that I'll take a bath in the Thames. But we are not there yet so do not worry dearest.

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[Letter] 1924 Dec. 12 [London to] Stell[a Ballantine, New York (fragment)] / [Emma Goldman]. — 4 p. ; 33 x 20 cm.

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Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive

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by the way Stella dear, find out from H W if he subscribed to clippings only of my book, or for general things. If only for my book please ask him to notify the Clipping agency to send me all clippings, interviews, articles, reports or whatever will appear about and by me. Do it soon, perhaps they can send me clippings of Bronners article copy of which you got from Saxe.

Rebecca's literary agent is now trying to place four articles for me, about the Heroic Women of the Revolution, the Destitute Children in R. Machno and Education in Russia. The London Express is crazy to take all the four and would pay a steep price. But it is such a yellow paper, I hate to go into it. The Strand Magazine would like the one on The Children but want to see the article first, that means a weeks work on speculation and as I have so little time I can't to undertake it. Still I might, unless I get the order from Colliers. I rather think I could place stuff if only I were not so crowded with the work of the Queen's Hall, organizing and rounding up people for Russian relief. Well, I must see. So much for the English end.

I have a scheme of a series of articles about the meeting in England. I am going to get the World to cable Page whether he would like such articles. I can get more with one article for an A paper or magazine than with the three for English publications. A. pays three times as much.

I received some copies of the 12 chapters. The volume looks more beautiful than the first. Doubleday have been most decent, they wrote they would let me have fifty copies free of charge for English reviews as that will help you to find an English publisher. Don't you think that is handsome of them? But I may not be able to use them all because Rebecca's man has interested Brentano's. He is getting estimates as to what it would cost to get the two volumes out in one. They seem to have become interested because I said if they got the book out until the meeting I would take five hundred copies provided the price is not too high. I hope Brentano will go ahead with it. I am sure the book would sell better here than in A. First of all there is more interest in Russia and secondly I can get very brilliant people to review it, Rebecca, Ruth, Berkman, Lady Jones and ever so many other people. They are to give a definite reply Tuesday. I will only then be able to write Doubleday, Page whether to ship me copies of the first volume or not. They have already sent hundred of the second volume; I suppose they mean fifty gratis and the rest ordered. But they sent me a bill for fifty of the second volume. The matter will have to be straightened out as soon as we hear from Brentano's.

Rebecca read Sasha's Memo and thinks it is a good one. She is writing a Preface to the American edition. I am writing for an English Publisher for S. book. R. said that he had a really a great writer. I told her I knew that all right. I said, it is time he should come into his own. I said to her, an English Publisher for his Memoirs. What is he doing about it? Yes, I am very pleased that Bona Liveria is getting out S's Russian book, but his refusal of the concluding chapters is rotten. We will get that out separately. The main thing is that his book will be out. I hope it will have greater success than mine.

Yes dear, you are right, I prefer my own style. I am lacking as I am in the grammatical aspect of English. It is in a way a darn shame that I have not mastered that all these

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[Letter] 1924 Dec. 13, London [to] Hawkes / [Emma Goldman]. — 4 p. ; 28 x 19 cm.
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London, Dec. 13, 1924.

My dear Mr. Hawkes,

Your good letter of Nov. 5th reached me some time ago. But I have been so crowded with work it was impossible to reply until now. And even now, I can not take the time to tell you all that has happened since I wrote you last. I have had the devil of a time in finding a competent stenographer who would work half days with me. But whatever my handicap of the English, no one will charge them with efficiency or speed. Perhaps it is not fair to measure a foreign laborer with American standards. I have been obliged in A. at any rate I found the same slowness and incoherence here as I did in Germany. The result is that I must attend to a large correspondence and a number of articles myself, besides seeing scores of people. Horrible luck for a rotten typewritress myself. Well, I will do the best I can.

In view of the fact that you may come to England soon and that to say least and talk without a typewriter, I am not going to write about all that has happened in the last month. I am including a clipping from the "Manchester Guardian" giving a report of the dinner. It is the best account I could find for the dinner which states that I was expelled from Company and I am sure it is not true. But then, I do not think the reporter has intentionally misrepresented this matter. He may have thought that as I ought to have been expelled, his wish being father to his thought, he wrote she was expelled. Now, paper men are never accurate, one is used to that.

The dinner was much greater success than I had anticipated. You see, I had no idea that I was all known in London. I did think a few of the intellectuals had been back to America and my name. I knew that the English press had been fed on the yarn which had appeared in the States. But I was quite amazed to find so many people to blame welcome and express interest in the work I had come to do. However, I have since found that the majority of dinners had expected to find in me a champion of the Bolshevik regime. My announcement that I had come to throw light on Russia, to prove the abyss between the revolution, the ideals of the people and the governing class had so alarmed them that I have heard nothing further from the men and women who had come to the dinner. It was amusing, if it were not so sad. The moment one refuses to swim with the tide, or to approve of popular fads, one has found himself alone. If I had not been through such experiences before in my life the latest net back could have affected me considerably. As it is I realized that I have undertaken a difficult task in a strange land and must expect more than one bitter disappointment.

The myth of Bolshevism which consists in the confusion of the Russian Revolution and the Communist State is as much upon the world to day as the myth which confused the teachings of Jesus with the Catholic Church in the Middle Ages. The best minds after the Russian Revolution. And I should be utterly wrong if I did not say that the world would never such a gift as it would did in the past. For this reason I feel that the only way to do my work is in disavowing the revolution as upon the world today to one who has to see that the difference between Bolshevism and the Russian Revolution are never to be confused. The work could not be done if it were not a struggle here, as it is it is going to be a struggle, yet it must be done.

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The Emma Goldman Papers

831115248

[Letter] 1924 Dec. 13, London [to] Hawkes / [Emma Goldman]. — 4 p. ; 28 x 19 cm.
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They are

ignorant in question off me, or possibly, realize that they are shopkeepers by inclination. They are much more interested in trade with Russia than in the fate of thousands who are being done to death in Bolshevik prisons and concentration camps. Now I do not oppose to recognition of, or trade with Russia. Far from it. I want both not for shopkeepers reason, but because both would help to show the Bolsheviks before the world in their true light and would give the Russian people a chance to get in touch with the rest of the world. I have pointed out my reasons in my ~~xxxxxx~~ conclusions of the third article of last Sunday's issue. Unfortunately the last part was somewhat mutilated, not intentionally so but because of lack of space. I am having it printed in a separate folder and will send it to you when it is off the press.

The unfortunate thing in England is that one can not reach the ~~xxxx~~ and ~~xxxx~~ direct, and the ~~xxxx~~ are hopeless. I am rather glad it is so. I feel that my work will meet with much greater success if I can get the support of unattached people all over the community. Women like Rebecca West, or ~~xxxx~~ ~~xxxx~~, Col. ~~xxxx~~ ~~xxxx~~, Wells, or Henry W. Livingston. Prof. ~~xxxx~~ who has had such a dreadful time in Harvard. Do you know about him? He participated in the Boston Police strikes for that he and the faculty and students after him. They made it impossible for him to remain so he came back to England and is now teaching in the London School of Economics. He is a fighter and ~~xxxx~~ being very brilliant. Prof. and Mrs. ~~xxxx~~ have called ~~xxxxxx~~ a gathering for next Sunday. They have invited 55 people of various social tendencies. Out of that group a Committee is to be organized that would back my proposed Queen's Hall meeting and would continue as a permanent Committee to do relief work for the Russian Politicals. I am not too sanguine in my expectations, till I think a dozen people will go on the Committee and that is quite enough to gain results.

Now about the Queen's Hall meeting, it is a huge undertaking, the rent and incidentals alone are seventy guineas. Then they have a hold up here so know nothing about in America. They insist on an insurance policy which costs another 25 Guineas. Then the advertisements and printing, about 140 Guineas. I would feel quite at ease in America over such an effort. But here there was no response to my appeal. I must say the English can not compare in generosity with Americans. Perhaps it is because they earn their money much harder than a great many people in the States do. Still, I have been the guest of people who have magnificent homes, with butlers, chauffeurs and what not, they claim to be intensely interested in light on Russia, yet their response was ridiculous. Fortunately I have earned some money with several articles. I am therefore determined to go ahead with the meeting, either in Queen's or Kingsway Hall. It is to be the third week in Jan.

Whether it is pleasant or not, the Tory Government is not likely to bother me as long as I lecture or write on Russia. It is certainly an irony of fate that E.G. should do the kind of work that happens to fit in with the existing Government. But that can not be helped. If the Government had sense it would see at once that my premises for the criticism of Bolshevikism are far removed from that of the Government and that my conclusions too are different. Distasteful then as the situation is I am to go ahead with my plans. What the Government will do when I begin general anarchist educational work is another matter. You see I am still an anarchist, in fact much more so than I ever was. In fact my family could never have been violent to such an extent by theoretical proofs as they have been by the Communist experiment. More than that, the State experiment has utterly failed to do with the individual. It has failed to do with the individual. It has failed to do with the individual.

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Well whatever the critics say about me, it will find no ready. I am not really relying on them, I just drift and do what I can. The most vicious since my reception here are the American papers, the editorial writers especially. They can not get over that I am still here. They could do anything to be able to gloat over my expulsion from England. What a sorry lot they are. On the other hand I seem to have gained in value. One of the magazines wrote they would like an article which would deal with the "good" points in the States, the points which from my European vantage may compare favorably with other countries. I wrote back that I have long come to see that no real sinner is quite bereft of some saintly trait and that most saints are poor sinners. If then I can write from this point of view alright. I have not yet had a reply and I really do not expect one. But you see where the wind blows. The editors evidently think that I have become "reformed" "penitent" as it were and now see that a "glorious" country America is. They are poor psychologists, do you not think?

While I have not found the English generous for public work, I must say I have found them tremendous hospitable. Much more so than I had expected. For one thing one can never get people unless one accepts engagements to luncheons, teas or dinners. I have done nothing else. That has some pleasant aspect, it saves cooking for oneself and eating by oneself, two things I loathe. ~~xxxxxx~~ I have met no end of people, all sorts of conditions and affairs, men and women. I am most amused over my social "stunts" invitations from Lady, so and so at least several times a week. Fortunately I know the worth of society so am not likely to succumb. Besides I must say for the lady I have met, they are all women who do something. Lady Edmunds for instance, a strong feminist, publisher of a feminist magazine, a woman of great simplicity and charm. Lady Jones who did some fine writing under her maiden name which was Dymond. So you see I am not "nationalized" by the idle class.

The most interesting people I have met here is first Rebecca West, and then a wife by the name of Levinson. You must know the works of both. R. W. has a brilliant mind and that to me is even more attractive, a ~~xxxxxx~~ large generous spirit. She has been perfectly wonderful to me and of great help. Mr Levinson is distinguished and cultured and a tower of strength. And there are others. Altogether, I am very fortunate in what I have accomplished so far. Oh, yes, I must not forget to tell you that I have lectured before the A. Students Club at Oxford and that I had a wonderful time with while there. The boys who are Rhodes Scholars are such a virile side ~~xxxx~~ with eager lot, they were quite an inspiration. If the American Student Youth is becoming like the boys I have met it will be well for America.

I have written three short articles for The International News Service, you may see some of them in the A, or Canadian Press. They are: "Why the Soviets failed", "Socialism never having been tried in Russia what is the outlook for that country" And "The Dangers of American Reaction." And now I am preparing four articles for English papers. I had to turn down the London Express though it offered a steep sum for the articles, but it is such a sensational paper, I could not let myself to appear in its columns. I have no idea where the articles will be published. If they are I will send them to you.

You will be interested to know that the chapters omitted by Doubleday, Part in the first volume of my book have now appeared in a second volume, beautifully printed. Can you not induce your library to send for the two volumes? You would then be able to read them yourself. I could have been

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4

happy to send you both volumes as a Christmas gift, but I have not the first volume and I will not send anyone the last part of the book. I have hopes that Brentano's heirs may get the two volumes out in one. I still hold the English rights. In that case I will send you a belated holiday gift, unless you want me to wait until you come.

Thank you for considering me "such a young thing" That is more than has been said to me for a long time. Well, frankly when I see the old young aunts in the world to day, I consider myself much younger than my years. The last seven years have played havoc with me, you may believe me that. Yet I have kept my faith despite everything. I am sure I will die believing in the possibilities of the human race. No doubt you are right when you say that if I could come upon the world ~~in hundreds of years~~ in hundreds of years and see what my followers have made of that means beauty and color to me, I could be disappointed. And yet not quite. I know too well what master of people make of an ideal, how utterly perverted it becomes the moment it leaves the mouth or the pen of the forerunner of that ideal. Yet I must go on nevertheless. For the impetus to my ideal is not so much the attainment thereof, as the striving for it. The end may be something utterly alien to what I proclaim, but the idealists of the future will see my ideal in much more gorgeous colors and much grander sweep, for the few will always be ahead of the many, therein lies the salvation of mankind and all progress. So I am not dismayed even by your well meant suggestion.

Your grandfatherlyness has nothing on me, I too have grand children who are as precious to me as yours are to you. They are the children of the children of my choice, they who are one with me in spirit if not entirely in blood, I mean while I did not give them birth, they are mine by a thousand kindred thoughts and ties. So there.

So indeed we will not have to get acquainted when we meet. I hope it will be soon. Better forge the iron while it is hot, I mean while I am allowed to remain here. I should hate awfully to miss you this time.

I must really come to a close. I am going to hear Frieda Hempel to night in Jenny Lind's old program. And I am going with one of my American Students. What more does an old lady want of life.

All good wishes to you for a jolly Christmas and may the New Year bring you health and much joy.

Cordially.

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The Emma Goldman Papers

890126130

[Letter] 1924 Dec. 13, London [to] Hawkes / [Emma Goldman]. — 4 p. ; 29 x 19 cm.
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Institutional Location: Max Nettlau Archive.

3. Titchfield Terrace.
St John's Wood Road. N.W.8.

London, Dec. 13, 1924.

My dear Mr Hawkes.

Your good letter of Nov. 12th reached me some time ago. But I have been so worried with work it was impossible to reply until now. And even now, I can not find the time to tell you all that has happened since I wrote you last. There has been too much time in finding a competent stenographer who would work half days with me. But whatever may be said of the English, no one will charge them with efficiency or speed. Perhaps it is not fair to measure European labor with America, and I have been spoiled in A. At any rate I found the same slowness and incompetency here as I did in Germany. The result is that I must attend to a large correspondence and a number of articles myself, besides seeing scores of people. Worst luck I am a rotten typewritress myself. Well, I will do the best I can.

In view of the fact that you may come to England soon and that we may meet and talk without a type writer, I am not going to write about all that has happened in the last month. I am inclosing a clipping from the Manchester Guardian giving a report of the dinner. It is the most accurate account except for the blunder which states that I was expelled from Germany and Sweden which is not true at all. But then, I do not think the reporter has intentionally misrepresented this matter. He may have thought that E. G. ought to have been expelled, his wish being father to his thoughts, he wrote she was expelled. Newspaper men are never accurate, one is used to that.

The dinner was a much greater success than I had anticipated. You see, I had no idea that I am well known in England. I did think a few of the intellectuals who had been to America may know me. I knew that the English press had been fed on the yarns which had appeared in the States. But I was quite amazed to find so many people to bid me welcome and express interest in the work I had come to do. However, I have since found that the Majority of diners had expected to find in me a champion of the Bolshevik regime. My announcement that I had come to throw light on Russia, to prove the abyss between the Revolution, the ideals of the people and the Governing class had so staggered them that I have heard nothing further of the men and women who had come to the dinner. It was amusing, if it were not so sad. The moment one refuses to swim with the tide, or to approve of popular fads, one has found himself alone. If I had not been through such experiences before in my life the latest set back would have effected me considerably. As it is I realized that I have undertaken a difficult task in a strange land and must expect more than one bitter disappointment.

The Myth of Bolshevism which consists in the confusion of the Russian Revolution and the Communist State is as much upon the world to day as the Myth which confuses the teachings of Jesus with the Theological Institutionalized Christianity. The best minds under the Bolshevik myth. And I should despair utterly if I did not know that the world moves much swifter than it has in the past. For this reason I feel that the work I mean to do may help some in dispelling the superstition now upon the world and may teach people that to see that the difference between Bolshevism and the Russian Revolution ~~can~~ can never be bridged. The work would not be so difficult if I were not a stranger here, as it is it is going to be bitter hard, yet it must be done.

Later enclosed

I had hoped to visit the ...
and the ...

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ignorant in Russian affairs, or cowardly. Besides that they are cheapeners by inclination. They are much more interested in trade with Russia than in the fate of thousands who are being sent to death in Bolshevik prisons and concentration camps. Now I am not anxious to recognition of, or trade with Russia. But from it, I want both out for cheapener reason, but because both would help to show the Bolsheviks before the world in their true light and would give the Russian people a chance to get in touch with the rest of the world. I have pointed out my reasons in my summary conclusions of the third article of last Sunday's Times. Unfortunately the last part was somewhat mutilated, not intentionally so but because of lack of space. I am having it printed in a separate folder and will send it to you when it is off the press.

The unfortunate thing in England is that one can not reach the Rank and File direct, and the Leaders are hope less. I am rather glad it is so. I feel that my work will meet with much greater success if I can get the support of unattached people well known in the Community. Women like Rebecca West, Mr. Bertrand Russell, Col. Josiah Wedgwood, Wells, Mr. Henry W. Nevins. Prof. Laski who has had such a dreadful time in Harvard. Do you know about him? He participated in the Boston Police strike. For that he had the Faculty and students after him. They made it impossible for him to remain so he came back to England and is now teaching in the London School of Economics. He is a fighter and besides being very brilliant. Prof. and Mrs. Laski have called together a gathering for next Sunday, they have invited 35 people of various social tendencies. Out of that group a Committee is to be organized that would back my proposed Queen's Hall meeting and would continue as a permanent Committee to do relief work for the Russian Politicals. I am not too sanguine in my expectations, still I think a dozen people will go on the Committee and that is quite enough to gain results.

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3.

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Your grandfatherlyness has nothing on me, I too have grand children who are as precious to me as yours are to you. They are the children of the children of my choice, they who are one with me in spirit if not entirely in blood, I mean while I did not give them birth, they are mine by a thousand kindered thoughts and ties. So there.

No indeed we will not have to get acquainted when we meet. I hope it will be soon. Better forge the iron while it is hot, I mean while I am allowed to remain here. I should hate awfully to miss you this time.

I must really come to a close. I am going to hear Frieda Hempel to night in Jenny Lind's old program. And I am going with one of my American Students. *what more* does an old lady want of life. *what*

All good wishes to you for a jolly Christmas and may the New Year bring you health and much joy.

Cordially.

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The Emma Goldman Papers

840222038

[Letter] 1924 Dec. 14 [Channel Islands, England to] Emma Goldman, [London] / Havelock Ellis. — 1 p. ; 31 x 21 cm.

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CO-Y.

14th December 1924.

Dear Emma Goldman,

Thank you for your letter. It is satisfactory to hear that the dinner went off well. I should be most pleased if you cared to come and see me but that cannot be at present for I have to be out of the London climate during the winter and shall not be back until the middle of February. I do not know what your future movements will be.

I have known more or less (usually less on account of distance and imperfect news) of your splendid work for freedom and enlightenment for many years past and how much you have had to endure.

It so happened that only a few days ago I opened Hirschfield's last "Johnbuch" and unexpectedly came to your paper on Louise Michel which I read with much enjoyment and sympathy and genuine admiration for the real intellectual grip of all the problems involved. Of course I have not the slightest doubt that you are right. (I remember reading the paper you criticised and disagreeing). I was pleased too that you were able to get into the fight against a protest against the habit of *homosexual* people of attributing homosexuality to others on the flimsiest grounds.

Yours sincerely,

(sgd.) Havelock Ellis.

(In spite of absurd misprints.)

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The Emma Goldman Papers

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[Letter] 1924 Dec. 14 [Guernsey, Channel Islands, England to] Emma Goldman,
[London] / Havelock Ellis. — 1 p. ; 26 × 16 cm.
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COPI

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The Emma Goldman Papers

870925253

[Letter, 19]24 Dec. 14, Guernsey, Channel Islands [England to] Emma Goldman, [London] / Havelock Ellis. — 2 p. ; 20 × 16 cm.

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14 Dec 24

Belmont Rd. ^{St. J.}
Guernsey,
Channel Island.

15748

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others on the flimsiest grounds.

Yours sincerely Havelock Ellis.

(is this of whom? Hirschfeld?)

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The Emma Goldman Papers

870924035

[Letter, 1924] Dec. 14, St. Jean, France [to Emma] Goldman, [London] / Odette Keun. — 4 p. ; 27 x 21 cm.

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Jon Bastidon, Quartier Saint-Jean, Grasse
France, Dec. 14th
Send her book

Dear Miss Goldman,

Thank you very much for your letter. Don't trouble to buy my book, I am sending it on to you. If you think it can do any good in the way of showing people what the Bolshevik Government really is, please lend it to others. The first part of it is not always pleasant reading for English people, but it is the Russian 'expose' that counts. You will see that all along the line my experiences and conclusions are similar to yours.

Yes, please send me your book if you can (I shall return it). It is almost impossible, in France, to get a review of a book taken by a newspaper unless the reviewer is officially attached to the staff, but I shall certainly make an attempt. Has your book been translated into French? Because in that case I could send extracts to some papers.

There is another point. Your

The Emma Goldman Papers

870924035

[Letter, 1924] Dec. 14, St. Jean, France [to Emma] Goldman, [London] / Odette Keun. — 4 p. ; 27 x 21 cm.

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Article in the "Illustrated London News" seems to me
an extremely vivid summary. Shall I translate
it for you, and try to get it accepted in
some progressive but anti-Bolshevik paper, such
as the "Quotidien" or the "Devoir"? It is
sure to make an impression, especially now
that the French Government has taken a
stand against Communist agents in this
country. But the article should appear
quickly. We are not generous in France,
and I do not know whether a newspaper
would pay you, but if it does, I shall ask
the editor to send you the money direct.
(I hardly need, do I, to tell you that I am
offering you these small services voluntarily; I
do not write for a living, and am not a
professional journalist. I take no active
interest in politics now, and keep out of lit-
erary currents, but all my conscience and my
whole mind are against the Bolsheviks, and
if I can help you in any way, I shall
most certainly do so).

I am extremely glad you are
taking sides for Georgia, for I am bitterly
indignant at the iniquitous lies Mr. Purcell
and his group are telling about that luck-
less little nation. I left Georgia in

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159372

1922 (I have already written a book of descriptions about the country, which was translated & which came out this year at the Bodley Head; and Jonathan Cape will publish another work on it in spring) — and Georgia was then already under Bolshevik tyranny. Its political situation has gone from bad to worse; its national life and liberties are crushed in the most ruthless manner. I am in touch with the Georgian colony in France, and though I have spoken and written against the Menshevik regime — a very futile government, and guilty, too, in many respects — I know that a great deal of what they say is true. But in that matter I can do nothing myself. When I was in Georgia I had a friend, a well-known Georgian officer, and as soon as my book on Russia came out, he was accused of being in league with me, and was imprisoned for months by the Tcheka. He only escaped being shot by dint of the strenuous efforts of one of my brothers-in-law, at that time French High Commissioner in the Caucasus — but he is still shut up in Tiflis, very closely watched, and I do not dare to write anything which

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would bring down upon him immediate reprisals.
But it is a black shame that a Trade-Union
leader should uphold the doings of the Russian
Bolsheviks in Georgia to-day.

Well, well, all this revolt is
useless, and now I shrink from pain. I envy
you your courage, but I have no longer hope
enough, or strength enough, to throw myself
as you do in a campaign. How you came
through Russia without having your very
soul shattered, I do not know. Russia
smashed me completely.

Let me know, please, about that
article of yours, and believe me to be your
extremely sincere and cordial well-wisher,

Odette Keun

* He wrote a very
favourable review
of my book on Russia.

P.S. I have heard of Colonel Wedgwood: he
ought to be able to help you. Try to get hold
of H. F. Wells: he is very cautious, I think,
in this matter of Russia, but very open-minded
and perfectly fearless.* — I did not know
your London address, but I sent my letter to
an acquaintance in England, who posted it
for me.

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1924 Dec. 15, Guildford [England to Emma] Goldman, [London] / Edw[ard]
Carpenter. — 1 p. ; 7 × 9 cm.

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"MILLTHORPE," MOUNTSIDE, GUILDFORD.

15681

15 Dec 1924

Dear Miss Goldman

I was sorry to miss seeing you at the dinner
at Anderson's Hotel, and it is not often that I
can get up to London — but if you are ever in
Guildford (as above) I should be very pleased
if you will call and have a cup of tea with us.
The house is not 10 minutes walk from the station.

Yours very truly

Edw. Carpenter

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Dear Commerce,

Now listen dear comrades. In 1917 while out on bail I toured the length and breadth of America in defense of the Bolsheviks. I did so at a time when their followers who are hanging at the coat tails of Foreign now dared not raise their voices in behalf of Soviet Russia. In the early part of 1919 when the venerable revolutionist Katharine Freshkovsky lectured in America against the Bolsheviks I was in prison. I wrote to her imploring her not to attack the Bolsheviks. I set forth almost the identical arguments you have used in your letter to me. Again in 1920 while waiting for the decision in our deportation, I again toured America in behalf of the Bolsheviks. I wrote a pamphlet in their defense, at a time when for my own safety and security I should have kept quiet. I refused the counsel of all my friends who knew that my work for Russia would result in my deportation. I did not care, nothing mattered so long as I thought and believed with every fiber of my being that the Bolsheviks were the symbol of the Russian Revolution that they were voicing the ideal of the Russian people. There was a justification in my defense in 1917, 1920. Because at time Russia was blockaded and all the news that reached America was the reactionary news. And the Bolsheviks themselves were apparently holding high the banner of the Revolution.

Then I went to Russia. The feeling I had in coming there was on par with the devout feeling of my forbears on entering the Holy Temples. It was all concentration and no wish or thought of a personal nature. For fifteen months I would not admit even to myself the dreadful life that stared me in the face in Russia, the betrayal of the Revolution, the enslaving of the Russian masses, the complete and crushing autocracy that had been set up on top of the bleeding body of the Revolution. I left Russia determined that I at least would not be one of the sales people of the Russian R., the various missions and delegates who came to Russia, saw the appalling state of affairs and then corrupted by Moscow's gold set out to continue the lie and the delusion that the Bolshevik regime and the R. R. were identical. No, never would I be one of them. Rather would I go out to cry from the house tops against the crimes and terror that were being practiced on these defenseless men and women in Russia.

I went out of Russia in torn shoes and stockings for I felt it I had no right to take anything out of starved Russia. I needed material means desperately, yet I was willing that my first articles on Russia ~~would~~^{went} into the Labor Press without a penny, rather than into the capitalist papers in return for thousands of dollars. I soon discovered that what I found in Russia was not my only dilution. I found that the labor has been lying and covered up by the capitalist press and that they were completely under the hypnosis of the bourgeoisie, the ~~black~~^{dark} international. I was then confronted with the situation existing abroad on the New York World.

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The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1924 Dec. 15, London [to Joseph Ishill, et al., New York?] / [Emma Goldman.]. — 4 p. ; 28 x 20 cm.

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silence in the face of what I felt will be due to Russia would have made me a party to the crime, to the extermination of the best people and finest people. I decided to go into the N. Y. World. For that I had the consent of our ablest comrades, Winter, Foster, Rutten, even in fact all those whose opinion I valued. But if all my comrades had condemned me, I should still have had to decide to be heard through the W. since the Labor and Radical press was too cowardly to open its columns to me.

I then wrote a book on Russia which was offered first to radical publishers, they would not touch it. Again I had to choose between silence or a century five hours. I did choose the latter.

I came to England. For two months I tried to get in touch with labor men, representatives of the Daily Herald, Mr. Brailsford of the New Leader. I found them to be either utterly ignorant on Russian affairs like Brailsford, or cowardly like their American comrades. The Editor of the Daily Herald and the chief to tell me that I was after all only an old time Christian who still believed in the Truth and still felt the need of speaking out. Whereas the main thing was "Trade" with Russia. In other words these people and those before the Workers as leaders, who daily denounce the Capitalists as thieves and crooks and liars, were yet in fact not one jot better than the exploiters of the people. In fact worse because they were opposed to truth and justice and because they build their ideas on lies and deception. I saw then that here too, I will have to choose as I did in N. Y. because I will not be cowed.

Your argument that my appearance in the Capitalist press will only "scare" the workers and take away their faith is on a par with the argument of good Christians who say that if religious faith is taken from the people they will go to perdition, they will have nothing else to prop them up in this world. Well dear comrades I hold that rather than to keep up a faith which rests on lies and deception it is better if the people will have no faith at all. Rather than to go on and believe that in Russia the workers are in control, that the Revolution has launched all the terror, starvation, suppression, exile, torture, shooting of innocent men and women and that all revolutions must go that way, I prefer a thousand times to tear the faith out of the heart and minds of the workers. For such a faith is no faith at all and will lead the workers only to the same terrible state now imposed upon the Million by the cringing Communist State. I refuse to be a party to that.

I can not share your opinion that capitalism is fast crumbling. It has no such intention and Russia is helping to strengthen it. For the introduction of Lenin's new Economic Policy having introduced Capitalism into R., the Bolsheviks must now be on their bellies before International Capitalism. And as the latter needs R. as much as Bolsheviky Russia needs International Capitalism and as the two are very fast falling into each others arms, it is certain that International Capitalism is going to be propped up and strengthened by the trade of the Russian Revolution. If capitalism is not crumbling, not for a long time to come. But if what you say is really true then your suggestion that I should have tried to reach the people by "letters" is to say the least too naive for words. How long do you think I could hold to reach the people by letters and how many could I reach? If Capitalism is fast crumbling then I must expect the fastest way in a century to get to the English people, in showing them that reality of the Bolshevik experiment is not worth the price of the blood of the millions of lives. ~~no further reply~~

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The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1924 Dec. 15, London [to Joseph Ishill, et al., New York?] / [Emma Goldman.]. — 4 p. ; 28 x 20 cm.

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For it is precisely that experiment which has set back the Revolution in Russia for many years to come and has discredited every social ideal. While in Europe it has poisoned the minds and hearts of the people. I realize that it is not ~~given~~ given to me to hasten or stop a revolution. But if it were in my power to stop it, I frankly admit I should rather than see the hopes and aspirations of the masses again ~~hurled~~ hurled into the abyss, or torn to bits by the dreadful means in vogue in Russia. And unless the workers are rescued from the Bolshevik myth, unless they are able to face facts, to listen to the Truth they will be made to pay the price of Bolshevism which is a more terrible, more cruel and more misleading price than even the Capitalists make them pay. In other words the only way to safeguard the masses from dictators is to teach them to rely on themselves, on their own economic strength, above all on truth, not lies, not continued deception.

"Workers deliberate to live in Russia for six months in order to know the truth" In the first place they would have to learn the language, they could not come close to the Russian people unless they knew their language, in the second place Russia still has sealed gates and admits not those who want to come but those who can serve the interest of the Bolsheviks. Many have come for a few weeks and then went forth to lie as Purcell is lying now, as Tom Mann is lying; silent about the daily horrors of R. Perhaps if R. is recognized and is compelled to open its doors to the rest of the world, workers will be able to go into Russia and see things for themselves, not know. And the situation of the workers, peasants, politicals and intellectuals in Bolshevik prisons, exile and concentration camps are too terrible to wait.

That brings me to your resolution of "Anarchists in Russian prisons. Evidently you think that I expose the Bolsheviks because they have my comrades in their clutches. Though even that would be a justification, still I wish to make it very clear that anarchists are not the only ones in Russian prison, all of Russia is a dreadful prison. Every shade of socialist, workers who dared to strike, peasants who could not bear the heavy taxes imposed upon them, communists of the labor opposition, in short every one who still thinks and holds high the ideals of the Russian Revolution is in prison, and not to mention the scores who are daily being put to death. And you want me to be silent in the face of all this? You object to my using the Capitalist press because forthwith the workers will be scared away. Would you want me to do the same thing in front of a burning building with helpless children within, or at the approach of some terrible contagion? Or would you not your ~~self~~ use every channel to warn the people and every means to rescue the children from sure death?

I am afraid to differ in the importance of truth over everything else. ~~xxxxxxx~~ If truth is to wait until it will be universally understood, or until it will be able to filter out through the labor press, or at labor meetings it will what Ibsen said "become corrupted with lies" That is really happening in the case of the Bolshevik regime. We are so afraid and worried how the Truth about Russia will affect the masses that we are willing to wait until it will become rotten with lies. I must refuse to wait until then. I am not in the least afraid of being charged by reaction. I am certain that even the present Government will hear that I am fighting Bolshevism because I am defending the revolution it will not tolerate me for very long. After all it is not important that one should be admitted but that one presents facts. That is all that counts.

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Just too to consider, the Bolshevik Government has unlimited resources to carry its work to the four corners of the earth. While thousands are perishing in the famine the Bolsheviks are exporting grain in order to get gold so they can buy corrupt and blind everybody. These servants of Moscow go on villifying the heroic rebels in Russia, presenting them before the world as counter-revolutionists, bandits, traitors and what not. We have no channel of our own reaching enough people by which we can disprove the Bolshevik lies and misrepresentation. Not all of us can have the opportunity to speak through the daily press reaching millions in that way. And you dear comrades tell me I must not make ~~unexcusable~~ of what is offered me without strings without outlay of as much as a coin. Frankly this is a blind fanaticism I can not share, in fact never could. At all my life have have spoken from every platform offered me. To be sure I never was asked again because what I say was more than the lockstep organizations could stand. And all my life I wrote for papers if I was given the right to say what I wanted and in my own way. I can see no reason whatever to change my tactics now. On the contrary, if I had the chance to write in ~~xxxx~~ the entire daily press of England, I should want nothing better, provided of course, I could write as I think and feel about Russia. If that makes me less of a revolutionist in your eyes, or justifies you in calling me "unscrupulous" that can not be helped. After all one must first be true to oneself before one can be true to one's comrades, or the workers for whom one has worked all one's life. ~~xxxxxxxx~~

Here then is my reply dear comrades, I can do no other way. I will speak out, and I will be heard. I have stood out on more than one occasion against popular prejudice, and now too I must stand out. There is no other way for me.

Fraternally.

The Emma Goldman Papers

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[Letter] 1924 Dec. 15, London [to Max Nettlau, Vienna] / E[mma] G[oldman]. — 2 p. ; 29 × 19 cm.

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Institutional Location: Max Nettlau Archive.

My going into the Times and Chronicle has aroused
as much antagonism among our people as my going into the N.
I have just written to some of them a long letter copy of
which I inclose. It is astounding how our own comrades go
on in their narrow criterion when it comes to a critical
attack on the Bolsheviks. It merely goes to show how deep the
superstition has penetrated into the minds and hearts of
our comrades. Well, it is not going to deter me from my
chosen task, but it is painful to have to meet the condem-
nation of one's own flesh and blood as it were.

Dear friend, you did not seriously think that
I will be content merely with sitting in the British Museum
and do research work there? I am still too active, still too
too much consumed by the need of bringing light into our
own ranks, and into the ranks of the workers to be satisfied
with The British Museum. Fact is, while I have a card I have
not yet been able to spend one day there. I have been so
hard worked writing people, keeping up a correspondence and
writing some articles for the London, Times, the Illustrated
News and three short articles for an American Syndicate.
But do not lose patience with me I will go to the Museum
right after the holidays. By that time I hope to have the
meeting we are undertaking well under way, so I can run off
for one or two days a week.

How I wish I could turn the card over to you.
you. I know how you would enjoy the British Museum. I hope
you would also enjoy the dreadful London weather. I can not
adjust myself to that at all. I have a wretched cold and
cough and ache all over. Perhaps it is just old age, eh?
Really the London climate at this time of the year is aw-
ful, do you not think so?

I have no idea how long I will be allowed to
remain under "normal" conditions. The Tory Government seems
to be very determined to get rid of its "undesirable
element." Just now it is not troubling me, perhaps because I
am spending about £. Thoud after the meeting we hope to
hold in Queen's Hall, Mr. Jeyson Hicks the Home Sect, may de-
cide that I am still dangerous. Well, I have stopped fretting
. I just drift. Will cross the bridge when I get there.

So far I have done nothing about bringing the
old comrades together. Turner left for Russia, I wonder what
his reaction will be. His trade union comrades are nearly
all Moscow men and work for Moscow. I am curious what John
will say on his return. I had a letter from him a day
later Nov. 20th, telling me he had been to visit The Butinska
and Moscow political prison. Tomerkevoff is hopeless I
fear though I have not yet spoken to him about freedom. He
seems to be interested only in Georgia and William Ross
seems to have a dislike for Russia. The other comrades
are all in Moscow. I believe there is no one in London.

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The lectures will really give you a good idea of what has been done so far. Next Sunday I am to have a lot of people at Fred Laski's house, among them H. M. and possibly Shaw. The gathering is to interpret a group that would consent to back the forthcoming meeting either in Queen's or Kingsway Hall. I do not yet know which. I will therefore not repeat the things I have written Mr Hawkes, Col. Wedgwood. I am also inclosing a lot of clippings, all in all you will receive sufficient information of my doing here.

You will be glad to know that the omitted 12 chapters of my book have at last appeared. I now have the second and not the first volume. As soon as I will get copies of the first you will be among the chosen few who will get both volumes. I know how interested you have been since I began to write the book and all through its troubles. I am also glad to be able to tell you that Berkman's Mss has at last been accepted for publication in A. That took a great load off my back, B. was so unhappy over our failure to find a publisher. If only one waits long enough and remains alive all things come out in the end.

I do hope you will have a bit of frohliche Weihnachten. I expect little for myself this year. Even last year while in Germany I could play lady beautiful. I am unhappy that I can not do that this year, or have some friends to my own cooked dinner. But there is no harm wishing that you should have some pleasant Christmas and that the New Year may bring you a little more ease and comfort.

Affectionately.

EG

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The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1924 Dec. 15, London [to Max Nettlau, Vienna (enclosure)] / [Emma Goldman]. — 4 p. ; 30 × 19 cm.

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Institutional Location: Max Nettlau Archive.

3. Titchfield Terrace.
St John's Wood Road.
London, N, W.8.

Dec. 15th. 1924.

SIGN

Dear Comrades.

I have your letters. I also saw the letters of comrade Alfred Holdsworth sent to Freedom. To say the least, his letters are not very comradely. After all one must know a person before calling him or her "unscrupulous". But it is alright. To be reviled by ones own comrades is nothing new in the world. Greater men and women have had to drink this bitter cup in their struggle. Why not I? There is one thing certain, I understand you both much better than you understand me. For this reason I want to have a talk with you, even if it has to be on paper.

Now listen dear comrades. In 1917 while out on bail I toured the length and breadth of America in defense of the Bolsheviks. I did so at a time when their followers who are hanging at the coat tails of Moscow now dared not raise their voices in behalf of Soviet Russia. In the early part of 1919 when the venerable Revolutionist Katharine Breschkevskaya lectured in America against the Bolsheviks I was in prison. I wrote to her imploring her not to attack the Bolsheviks. I set forth almost the identical arguments you have used in your letter to me. Again in 1919 while waiting for the decision in our deportation, I again toured America in behalf of the Bolsheviks. I wrote a pamphlet in their defense, at a time when for my own safety and security I should have kept quiet. I refused the counsel of all my friends who knew that my work for Russia would result in my deportation. I did not care, nothing mattered so long as I thought and believed with every fiber of my being that the Bolsheviks were the symbol of the Russian Revolution that they were voicing the ideal of the Russian people. There was justification in my defense in 1917, 1920. Because at that time Russia was blockaded and all the news that reached America was the reactionary news. And the Bolsheviks themselves were apparently holding high the banner of the Revolution.

Then I went to Russia. The feeling I had in coming there was on par with the defeat feeling of my forbears on entering the Holy Temples. It was all concentration and no wish or thought of a personal nature. For fifteen months I would not admit even to myself the dreadful lies that stared me in the face in Russia, the betrayal of the Revolution, the enslaving of the Russian masses, the complete and crushing autocracy that had been set up on top of the bleeding body of the Revolution. I left Russia determined that I at least would not be one of the sales people of the Russian R. The various missions and delegates who came to Russia, saw the appalling state of affairs and then corrupted by Moscovs gold set out to continue the lie and the delusion that the Bolshevik regime and the R. R were identical. No, never would I be one of them. Rather would I go out to cry from the house tops against the crimes and terror that were being practiced on the defenseless men and women in Russia.

I went out of Russia in torn shoes and stockings for I felt that I had no right to take anything out of starved Russia. I needed material means desperately, yet I was willing that my first articles on Russia must go into the Labor Press without a penny, rather than into the Capitalist papers in return for thousands of dollars. I soon discovered that what I found in Russia was not my only disillusion. I found that the Labor Press was as lying and cowardly as the Capitalist papers and that they were completely under the hypnotism of the Moscow Czar. The Third International. I was then confronted with the possibility of being gagged or the New York World.

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The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1924 Dec. 15, London [to Max Nettlau, Vienna (enclosure)] / [Emma Goldman].— 4 p. ; 30 x 19 cm.

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Silence in the face of what I had left behind in Russia would have made me a party to the crimes, to the extermination of the most heroic and finest people. I decided to go into the N. Y. World. For that I had the consent of our ablest comrades Malatesta, Becker, Nettlau, Owen in fact all those whose opinion I valued. But if all my comrades had condemned me, I should still have had to decide to be heard through the W, since the Labor and Radical press was too cowardly to open its columns to me.

I then wrote a book on Russia which was offered first to radical publishers, they would not touch it. Again I had to choose between silence or a conservative house. I did choose the latter.

I came to England. For two months I tried to get in touch with labor men, representatives of the Daily Herald, Mr Brailsford of the New Leader. I found them to be either utterly ignorant on Russian affairs like Brailsford, or cowardly like their American comrades. Some of the Directors of the Daily Herald had the cheek to tell me that I was after all only an old time Christian who still believed in the Truth and still felt the need of speaking out. Whereas the main thing was "Trade" with Russia. In other words these people who pose before the Workers as leaders, who daily denounce the Capitalists as thieves and crooks and liars, were yet in fact not one jot better than the exploiters of the people. In fact worse because they were opposed to truth and justice and because they build their ideas on lies and deception. I saw then that here too, I will have to choose as I did in A. because I will not be gagged.

Your argument that my appearance in the Capitalist press will only "scare" the workers and take away their faith is on par with the argument of good Christians who say that if religious faith is taken from the people they will go to perdition, they will have nothing else to prop them up in this world. Well dear comrades I hold that rather than to keep up a faith which rests on lies and deception it is better if the people will have no faith at all. Rather than to go on make believe that in Russia the workers are in control, that the Revolution has imposed all the terror, starvation, suppression, exile, torture, shooting of innocent men and women and that all revolutions must go that way, I prefer a thousand times to tear the faith out of the hearts and minds of the masses. For such a faith is no faith at all and will lead the masses only to the same terrible state now imposed upon 150 million by the crushing Communist State. I refuse to be a party to that.

I can not share your optimism that Capitalism is fast crumbling. It has no such intention and Russia is helping to strengthen it. For the introduction of Lenin's New Economic Policy having introduced Capitalism into R, the Bolsheviks must now be on their bellies before International Capitalism. And as the latter needs R as much as Bolshevik Russia needs International Capitalism and as the two are very fast falling into each others arms, it is certain that International Capitalism is going to be propped up and strengthened by the traducers of the Russian Revolution. No capitalism is not crumbling, not for a long time to come. But if what you say is really true then your suggestion that I should have tried to reach the people by "letters" is to say the least too naive for words. How long do you think I would need to reach the people by letters and how many could I reach? If Capitalism is fast going then I must choose the fastest way in opening the eyes of the English people, in showing them that a repetition of the Bolshevik experiment is not worth the rivers of blood and thousands of lives. ~~My, rather than say~~

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nailed

For it is precisely that experiment which has not back the revolution in Russia for many years to come and has discredited every social ideal. While in Europe it has poisoned the minds and hearts of the people. I realize that it is not given to me to hasten or stop a revolution. But if it were in my power to stop it, I frankly admit I should rather than see the hopes and aspirations of the masses again hurled into the abyss or torn to bits by the dreadful means in vogue in Russia. And unless the workers are rescued from the Bolshevik myth, unless they are made to face facts, to listen to the truth they will be made to pay the price of Bolshevism which is a more terrible, more cruel and more misleading price than even the capitalists make them pay. In other words the only way to safeguard the masses from dictators is to teach them to rely on themselves, on their own economic strength, above all on truth, not lies, not continued deception.

"Workers delegates to live in Russia for six months in order to know the truth" In the first place they would have to know the language, they could not come close to the Russian people unless they know their language, in the second place Russia still has sealed gates and admits not those who want to come but those who can serve the interest of the Bolsheviks. Many have come for a few weeks and then went forth to lie as Purcell is lying now, as Tom Mann is keeping silent about the daily horrors of R. Perhaps if R is recognized and is compelled to open its doors to the rest of the world, workers will be able to go into Russia and see things for themselves, not know. And the situation of the workers, peasants, politicals and intellectuals in Bolshevik prisons, exile and concentration camps are too terrible to wait.

That bring me to your repitition of "Anarchism" in Russian prisons. Evidently you think that I expose the Bolsheviks because they have my comrades in their clutches. Though even that would be a justification, still I wish to make it very clear that anarchists are not the only ones in Russian prison, all of Russia is a dreadful prison, very shade of socialist, workers who dared to strike, peasants who could not meet the heavy taxes imposed upon them, communists of the Labor opposition, in short every one who still thinks and holds high the ideals of the Russian Revolution is in prison, and not to mention the scores who are daily being put to death. And you want me to be silent in the face of all this? You object to my using the Capitalist press because forsooth the workers will be scared away. Would you want me to do the same thing in front of a burning building with helpless children within, or at the approach of some terrible contagion? Or would you not yourself use every channel to warn the people and every means to rescue the children from sure death?

speaks

I am afraid we differ in the importance of truth over everything else. ~~xxxxxx~~ If Truth is to wait until it will be universally understood, or until it will be able to speak out through the Labor press, or at labor meetings, it will what Ibsen said "become decrepid with lies" That is really happening in the case of the Bolshevik regime. We are so afraid and worried how the truth about Russia will effect the masses that we are willing to wait until it will become rotten with lies. I must refuse to wait until then. I am not in the least afraid of being claimed by reaction, I am certain that when the present Government will here that I am fighting Bolshevism because I am defending the Revolution it will not tolerate me for very long. After all it is not important ~~where~~ one speaks and writes but how one presents facts. That is all I am concerned about.

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Institutional Location: Max Nettlau Archive.

Here then is my reply dear comrades, I can do no other way, I will speak out, and I will be heard. I have have stood out on more than one occasion against popular prejudice, and now too I must stand out. There is no other way for me.

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The Emma Goldman Papers

870924167

[Letter] 1924 Dec. 15 [Oxford, England to Emma] Goldman, [London] / S[amuel] E[liot] Morison. — 1 p. ; 26 x 20 cm.

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Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

15 Dec. 1924

Dear Miss Goldman,

I must apologize for not answering sooner your kind letter. It has been mislaid, so I am sending this c/o Miss West.

Of course I should be glad to have you use my name on your committee for the proposed public meeting.

I am glad you found your visit to Oxford worth while. He and the boys certainly did.

The German committee also acknowledged my contribution. It was a pleasure to do what I could for the imprisoned revolutionaries; their cause touches the heart as well as the head.

Unless the publication of your book precludes it, I wish you could send an article or letter to the N.Y. Nation. They lately had a Soviet anniversary number, which was simply a blare of propaganda. Here is an appeal for funds for imprisoned workers in Europe, giving figures for the different countries except Russia. Apparently that is the only country where imprisonment automatically changes a worker into a bourgeois.

I shall be at the Park Hotel, Pontresina, Switz., from Jan. 8 to 21, otherwise here.

Sincerely yours,

S. E. Morison

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The Emma Goldman Papers

870918303

[Letter] 1924 Dec. 16, Turø, Denmark [to] Emma [Goldman, London] / Karin [Michaelis]. — 4 p. ; 21 x 26 cm.

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Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

13249

Thurs 16 Dec. 1924.

happy Xmas —
Karin Michaelis
Denmark.

My dear, dear Emma, my great friend —

that long, long time. I will frankly tell you why.
Your letter concerning passport — you remember, do you? —
made me speak out to Senia about it and about you.
And I found out, that Senia had done every bit
possible for her — but, she had to be cautious
because of her husband's position! They would give
you a passport, if you would put your name under
that you would not act politically! Or, Senia
should take the responsibility.

You see, Emma, the terrible, confounded
thing is, that Senia really is in a crisis. She is
from Uster a Revolutionary (what I am not — only
I love the who suffer and therefore would do
every thing to help or relieve them) but she is
momentary placed in a position, surrounded
with most Ourslav-Bureaucratic people, who
do not understand the slightest bit of her inner
soul. We were out at Hartkop, when I so
knew once to stay with you, and we went up

Do you know, I have met Alexander Berkman,
and I tell you: for years and years nothing has
made such an impression upon my soul, that
even you. And now you going to translate his
personal book, and get it out. Yes, get it out. That
heaven, not earth shall prevent it. My sorrow is,
that his English is very, very difficult. The slang,
but also his refined manner to express himself, and
still, after he has not the word, so I have to find
a substitute in order to get the best out of it.

Also technically it is difficult, but to Xmas Charles
is coming, and he shall help me translate the slang.

Dearest, wonderful woman you are, you will
not say I am forgetful because I did not write

The Emma Goldman Papers

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[Letter] 1924 Dec. 16, Turö, Denmark [to] Emma [Goldman, London] / Karin [Michaelis]. — 4 p. ; 21 × 26 cm.
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3

to Semuray, it was cold and beautiful. Then I told
Senia: Once you have to part from all this and go
your own way. Perhaps one day I shall come and
try to drag you away. You know, you do not
belong here. You belong at the barricades somewhere.
I told her just as I felt about it. She was
sweet and good and sad — but had not the
strength to take the big step.

So now I have the feeling, that Senia before long
will go to prison — that is shall become a
"Weisdamme" beautiful dressed and clean things,
"but not the Senia, who could and ought to
be a bliss for mankind.

There were so many troubles in Senia's life,
~~too~~ troubles, which are not to be put away.
I grieved very much about her. And when I
should like to write you, I felt it like a
treachery against her. Yet I had to do it.

Most times of nine months I was away from

4

13250

Dunman, Vienna, then Soudsee — in Salzburg
— belonging to the most wonderful parts of the world
I ever saw. Later on Karlsbad because of my
health. Karlsbad was very good, but my nerves
had a sort of breakdown then. You know I do
love the animals even more than the men, and
the days in Karlsbad were such a dreadful thing,
that I often feared to go mad. The use there is
stead of horses or mules — understand, with
heavy carts out from the mountains every day
miles and miles. I tell you my heart was
sore like if it was really sick. I gladly should
have given life and health — oh, Emma, it is
not a bad joke, I could have taken pain
in my body for every moment as long as I
lived, had I thereby being able to help
these poor, poor animals. I got friend away
them, went down in the early morning with
bread and water, I had to weaken the
bread in water, I had to eat the water

The Emma Goldman Papers

870918303

[Letter] 1924 Dec. 16, Turö, Denmark [to] Emma [Goldman, London] / Karin [Michaelis].— 4 p.; 21 × 26 cm.

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6

standing each other, we are two different worlds.

But still, if we both try to make life sweet and nice to each other, perhaps it is so.

Some two-three weeks I was at Berlin now in order to help Charlie with some process his friends had against a very low minded man.

It is too long to tell about. And now he is coming here spending Xmas and the first two weeks of January here at Turö with us. We live quite alone. Only with my dear old mother.

I told Berkman, that if you remained in England or France, not relating to Germany and not—best of all, if you and Berkman could

come to me here—getting passport to Denmark, then sometimes, I shall go to England or France to see you—alone to see you.

You and He—He and You.

If I tried to tell you how I feel 'about' him, you would laugh and say: You are quite impatient. No, Emma dear, no, it is not so.

5

13251

like a sponge over their terrible dry tongues—

I have seen things during the war—these days were worse than everything.

Afterwards I went to Münster, to some place belongs to Senia, nice and simple and good, there I met

Charlie and we spent some weeks together at Rensborg, later on Turö. I know, it will

make you smile, when I tell you, that Charlie has improved. It is my great hope, that before

long he has stopped drinking. For the first time, since I met him, I realized the Charlie who

drinks is a madman, the Charlie I do love is quite another. And I realized, that it

was my fault to take seriously his bad temper, his dreadful saying, when under

influence from alcohol. Now he seems

will get away from the drinking habit. Because of his future, because of his love.

We certainly shall never get to fully understand

The Emma Goldman Papers

870918303

[Letter] 1924 Dec. 16, Turö, Denmark [to] Emma [Goldman, London] / Karin [Michaelis]. — 4 p. ; 21 x 26 cm.

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13252

7
But he has stirred the inmost depths of my
nature of my being. I am bewildered. Again and
again I ask and in the empty air: Why did I
not meet you two before? My life had been
another, my career was that of a novel writer,
but something far more good for me.

With Agnes was I very much together. She seems
to me recovering, and doing good work. I love
her so. But I feel very anxious about her. She
is too lone some. Sometimes long ago she has
been broken inside. Such a "horrible" woman.

Wonder what you are doing over there. I do
not ask, feeling that you better tell me, when
we meet again.

In Berlin most people are conservative now
— to me the worst. There I have to rebel.

Oh, Emma, great, proud Emma, I feel just
a wee little ordinary nobody compared

8
with you. I have only heart but pretty little
brains — you have everything.

But it is 2 o'clock in the morning, and I have
written five long letters before this, one of them,
the best for "Sasha" — he never admitted me to
use this name. So now I am tired.

May I put my arms around your
neck and kiss you and whisper
"many, many thanks because
you came upon my way"

Yours
Karin.

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1924 Dec. 19 [London to Stella Ballantine, New York] / E[mma Goldman]. — 3 p. ; 26 × 20 cm.

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Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

Dear Stella,
I can not write you at length to day, but I want to reach you before you will send me the money for the 9th. I do not want you to send it to me. I want you to keep the fifty from the sales of the Paisley and the bracelet for yourself. I am so glad things were sold, the Paisley brought enough to cover the deficit on some of the other things which were all much more than the price they fetched, the shawl was only \$10. And now that I have some money for the articles I must really must insist that you at least should get back the fifty you have sent me for Nov. and Dec. Please dear, I really must ask you to take back that fifty. I know you are hard pressed while I am not, at least not now.

The interest on the money from Libby's husband I want you to keep because you will have to pay Doubleday, Page for copies I have ordered, the bill is inclosed. It is the most amazing thing how everything pertaining to my book on Russia gets bungled up. Ages ago I asked D. P. to send me fifty copies each of the first and second volumes which I mean to use for reviews. Ten weeks ago I had a letter from Mr Stowe to the effect that D. P. are willing to let me have fifty for English reviews free of charge because they feel that might help me to find an English publisher. I thought this offer very generous and awaited the shipment. Well, it came, but what do you suppose it contained? One hundred copies of the second volume. Now what am I to do with them? I certainly can not send out the second volume to people who have never seen the first. God knows it was bad enough to allow the first to go out in America, it just bungled my chances of having the book understood. Now I shall under no circumstances have the bundle repeated here by letting any one have the second volume without the first.

I have just written Stowe's letter, I have told him that since they made a generous offer to let me have fifty free, I naturally understood they mean fifty sets. The second volume without the first is of no use whatever. They will therefore have to make some arrangement about the hundred of the second volume they sent me, otherwise I will have them on my hands without use.

D. P. sent another box which reached me yesterday and which did contain fifty sets, but as they sent me the inclosed bill for that I suppose they mean these books to cover the order I gave them some time ago. If so I think they are overcharging the second volume. It is ridiculous to charge 75 cents per copy when they had no expense in getting it out. I wish dear you would call up Stowe. First ask what he intends to do about the first volume to make up the hundred of the second his house sent me. Then ask what about the price for the second volume, can they not let me have it for less?

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The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1924 Dec. 19 [London to Stella Ballantine, New York] / E[mma Goldman]. — 3 p.; 26 × 20 cm.

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Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

18735

2.

than 75 cents. Finally, what will they let me have copies for sale. You see if I fail entirely to find a publisher here, I will have to import copies for sale at my lectures on R. I can not bother about sheets, besides the second volume is also beginning with page 1, it will be impossible to bind the two in one and too bulky at that. Get the lowest rates you can.

Rebecca's literary agent got Brentane interested. I was to see them yesterday, well they are willing to get out an English edition if I could guarantee the sale of five hundred copies. I was willing to do that if I could get fifty off and have the right to offer advance subscriptions at half the retail price. In that way alone could I hope to dispose of five hundred copies. They would not consent to that, so the deal is off. Dakers, R's agent is now trying to interest Jonathan Cape with whom R had spoken. I am not sure anything will come of that. But if Cape or some other publisher would take it Rebecca is willing to write an introduction. Is there anything that generous creature is unwilling to do for her friends. I never met one so ready to help among either American or English women. I told her once she must have some Russian blood in her, she reminds me so much of the early Russian revolutionists who would give their last shirt for their friends. Yes, and Rebecca is writing an introduction to Sasha's book. I am lunching with her tomorrow when I may get the introduction. I will send it to S. and he will send it to Fitz for Liveight. I am sure that will help Sasha's book with the reviewers. Do you not think to come back to my book, if we can find no publisher I will import copies from D. P. for this reason I want you to settle upon the lowest possible rates with them. And see that they do something about the first volume to make up the hundred of the second I am stuck with now.

I have sent you Lady Jones's latest book, Serena Blackthorn. I wonder how you will like it. I think it very outspoken for England. Rebecca and I lunched with Lady Jones the 16th. I met some other writers there whose names I do not even remember. No end of women writers in England, but I have no time now to meet them or read their works. I will once my meeting is in running order. We had to give up Queen Hall. There is no response and I could not face an expense of 160 pounds. We are going to have Kingsway which will be only half the expense. Even that is a superhuman effort. Tomorrow Sunday I am to meet a lot of people at Prof. Laski's. I am not very hopeful of their support. Most of them are like the olden Sander who reacted stiff reaction will bring about the feeling which has brought anathema on a great many of the old Socialists and has been the cause of their

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The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1924 Dec. 19 [London to Stella Ballantine, New York] / [Emma Goldman]. —
3 p. ; 26 × 20 cm.

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Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

18788

sing part is that he quotes Dr. Liber whose attacks is not
much better. Imagine that little Libber who clung to my
skirts like a leech when he first came to A. He is been
successful evidently. He must belong to the Communists or he
never would have written like that. If I can get a copy of
the rag I will send it to you just to prove to what depth
such souls can go. Anyway I am having the same experience
as in A when my first article appeared. I should worry.

There are always matters to worry about it is
about my day. The Home Soc. who seems to be terribly react
ionary in doing all sorts of arbitrary things with aliens. I
am inclined to think that once he and the rest will know the
real value of my criticism of Bolshevism. I will not last long
long and there is no escape of coming out point blank.
mean our proposed meeting. I am sure to be asked whether
I still believe in Revolution. And I will certainly say yes.
that will set the ball rolling. Frankly I do not know what
will happen if I should have to go. Where to? Never will I
be back the silence of the last seven years. I could not
do such a thing life again. I fear very much I will have
to decide upon the day to be fatal and which I have fought
against so long. Please do not discuss it with
anyone.

Send my love to Stella. Hope you will have a jolly Christ
mas. And may the New Year bring you back your right that is
my most fervent wish for you. Kiss Ian for me. Much love to
Teddy.

E.

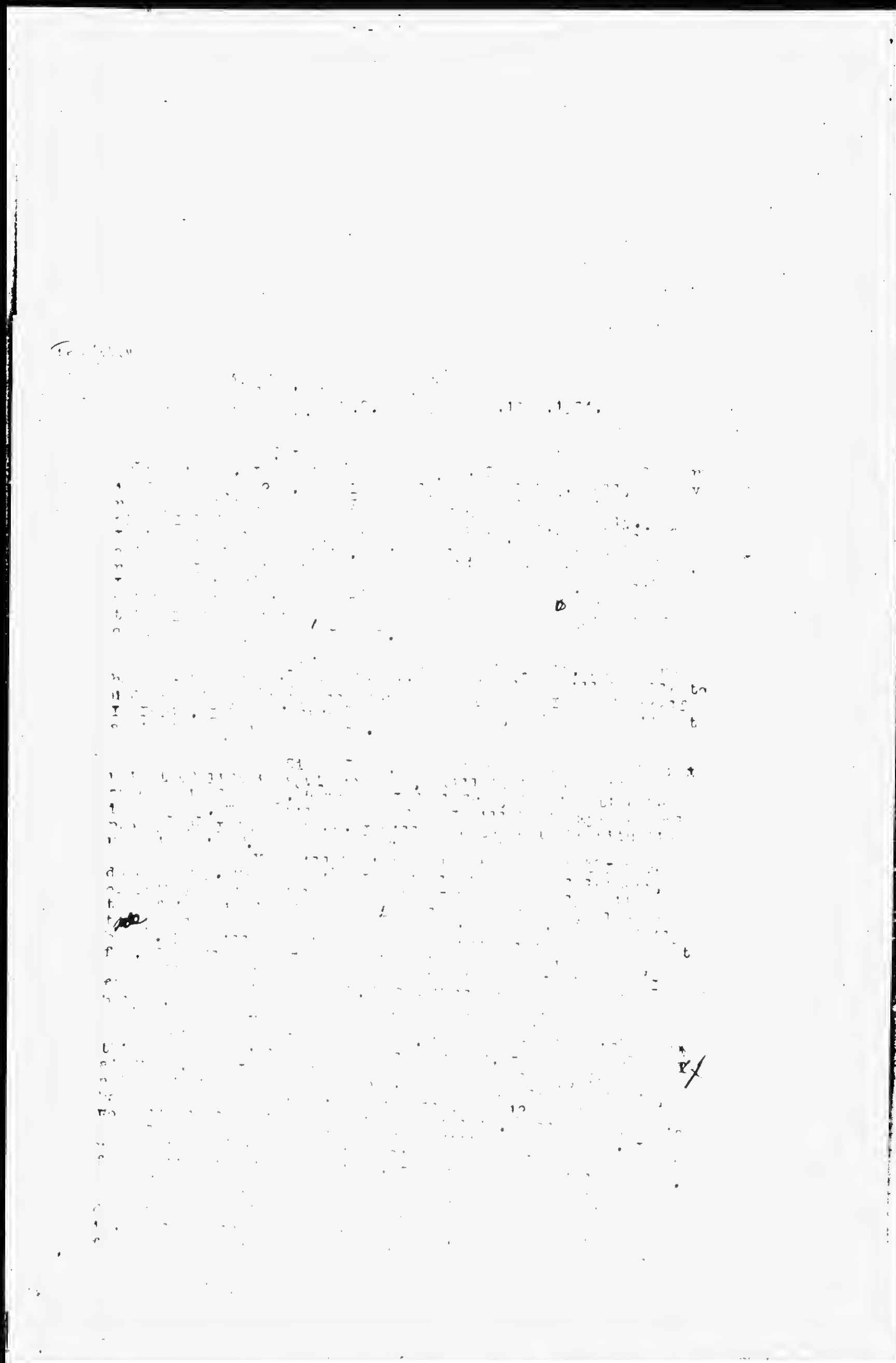
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The Emma Goldman Papers

81115115

[Letter] 1924 Dec. 19, London [to Joseph Ishill, New York?] / Emma Goldman. —
2 p. ; 28 × 18 cm.

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The Emma Goldman Papers

870924168

[Letter] 1924 Dec. 19 [Oxford, England to Emma] Goldman, [London] / S[amuel] E[liot] Morison.— 1 p.; 25 × 20 cm.

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Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

19 Dec. 1924

Dear Miss Goldman,

I shall try to get in for the meeting 23 Jan., but as term will be just starting it may be impossible to get off. No, I'm not an exchange professor: here's my name with trimmings: S.E. Morison, M.A., F.R.Hist.S., Vyvyan Harmsworth Professor of American History in the University of Oxford. Some mouthful!

I have been talking you up to Dr. Furniss, the head of Ruskin (the labor) college here, and hope that if he invites you to speak to the college at ~~the~~ a convenient date, you may accept. You could do a lot of good there.

Don't be too hard on the liberals: After all, most of them are trying to see the truth, which is more than most people are doing. C.J. Villard is probably not pro-bolshevik; but he thinks that since thousands of periodicals in the U.S. are open to those who oppose the soviet govt., he ought to let it speak in his. And he is very credulous.

Sincerely yours,

S.E. Morison

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The Emma Goldman Papers

870924348

[Letter, 19]24 Dec. 19 [London to Emma Goldman, London] / Josiah C. Wedgwood. — 1 p. ; 17 x 12 cm.

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Gal. Xim. 6976.

12. Deaufort House.

Chelsea. S.W. 3.

19.12.24

Dear Comrade

I am so sorry I have left your letter so long unanswered.

I had hoped I have some news for you but so far I have got nobody. I need not go into these reasons.

How can I get to the docks on Sunday for I am off tomorrow on a bicycling holiday & shall not be back till Jan: 6th.

I will gladly take the chair for you at the Queens Hall & help to found a Friends of Russian Freedom movement or society.

Let us know when you can recruit at the docks.

Yours Josiah C. Wedgwood

The Emma Goldman Papers

881023232

[Letter] 1924 Dec. 22 [London to Alexander Berkman, Berlin] / E[mma Goldman]. —
2 p. ; 30 x 19 cm.

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Institutional Location: Alexander Berkman Archive.

Dec. 22nd, 1924.

*answer taken
photo for
right away - by telegram*

Dearest S. I am rushed sick but I must write you a short letter. I am in utter despair over the contemptible white wash of the Purcell gang. I am waiting anxiously to hear from Turner, have no idea whether he is already here. If he does not give out some kind of a dissenting report, or consents to speak at the proposed meeting all my efforts of the last three months will be in vain. The damnable report of Purcell has already born its rotten fruit. Yesterday at Laski's of thirty people not one would go on a committee if I should use the proposed meeting for a presentation of facts about The Bolshevik regime. Some of them are willing to go on a Defense Committee of the Politicals if I will speak about the conditions of the Politicals. In other words if we have our meeting for which we will have to do the work and stand all the responsibilities my address will have to confine itself to the politicals, that is if I want any kind of a committee. How do you like that?

In a measure I can not blame the people I met last night among whom were Prof Graham Wallace, Nevins, and other important men and women. Of course Shaw was not there. Wells also not because he had not yet gotten back. They are all members of the Independent Labour Party. By the way anybody at all worth while here of the younger men and women are in the I L P. There is no other Labor movement except the Trade Unions. All these people are aspiring Members of Parliament. Now I would not bother about them, the trouble is that no one goes to meetings in England unless it is arranged by some organization, or party. As Rebecca said, "I never heard of meetings by individuals." That means that we will run a terrible risk unless we can announce the meetings as backed by some kind of an organization. If only we had people of our own. That is the bitter thing to me; we have absolutely no one, not among the English people, and the Jews are unknown. It is heart breaking. I must therefore have some committee and I will not get it for what I had intended to do present the facts about Russia and my conclusions. God damn that fake Purcell.

Well, I had in mind a protest meeting about the politicals, I think I even wrote you that some time ago. But it seemed to be starting from the tail end before going into the whole question of the Revolution and the Bolsheviks. But better than give up the idea of a meeting at all it will have to be a protest meeting. Laski seems to think that a lot of people can be gotten for that. Well, I am not even sure about that, but I will give Laski the benefit of doubt. He has undertaken to organize the Committee. I hope he succeeds. Meanwhile there is more trouble. We can not get Kingsway Hall, they are afraid of trouble from the Communists. We will therefore have to take Queen's Hall after all. For this reason I had to call a special meeting of the few comrades for tomorrow evening, perhaps they will be willing to contribute a little more. I have about 45 pounds collected and the meeting will cost 160. Even if I put every penny of my own to it, we will still be short, and the worry will make me crazy. As it is I am a wreck from lack of sleep and feel ill all over. It is mainly the realization of the terrific power of the Bolshevik lie which so depresses me.

Now dear, there are several things you must help me with right away, I need a copy of that list of thousand names you gave Alsberg, I must have that for Laski and the rest, also other material that you can spare from the stuff prepared for Baldwin. Please rush whatever you can for me. Another thing, can you get copy of statement prepared by Russian Mensheviks in reply to the damned lies of Purcell. I may be able to write a reply to his document, or I may need the data in another way. I am waiting to see what Turner will do, if he does nothing I will have the painful job of including him among the gang that is continually deceiving the masses. Rebecca asked me to day whether I would debate with the Labor Mission or write a reply

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The Emma Goldman Papers

881023232

[Letter] 1924 Dec. 22 [London to Alexander Berkman, Berlin] / E[mma Goldman]. —
2 p.; 30 x 19 cm.

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Institutional Location: Alexander Berkman Archive.

for the News which is the best Liberal paper here. I must have some authentic material. See the Menshiviki and the S, R, if they too have a statement. I wish they would give some figures about the trade unions, about the labor conditions, unemployed etc. In short everything of accurate data to offset the terrible damage done by the Purcell gang. Rush it.

You can see how dreadfully rushed I am that I did not even take the time to count the money I sent you and ever since I have been wondering what had become of five pounds. You them on account of the photographs. I am afraid the expense will be wasted. I mean even if a paper takes an article on the destitute children it will not take all photos. Could I send some back, it was so wasteful to order ten. God knows we both have little money as it is. Do I understand that I can not use these photos in America? I ask because I want to cable Colliers if they will take an article about the children. If they do they will want illustrations, can I not use these? If so we ought to have some exchanged for other photos not yet used in A. Let me know about that. I have no reply from Colliers about the other article. I evidently scared them off because I wrote that whether they would or would not take an article about A, they would have to pay at least fifty dollars for the loss of time, I mean if they reject it. That must have frightened them, besides the fact that I insisted I would write only if I can also point out the evil sides in the U. S. Well, it can not be helped, I am not going to sell my soul. But Colliers may take something about the children in R. I want to try them anyway. For this reason I must know about the pictures. I hate to add to your burdens, but I must ask you to attend to the few requests here.

Minna L is arriving this evening, I am going to meet her though I can ill afford the time. But I know how depressing it is to come into dreary London without any one to greet you so I am going. She will stop at Doris House with me.

I am sending you the book on Russia by Odette Keun, the French writer and socialist whose letter I sent you, or a copy of it. The book is very powerful though her English is rather a bit bombastic. It is uncanny how she reacted in the same way as I, going about asking what has Bolshevism done. I do not suppose you get much time for reading but I do hope you will make time to read this book. I then want it sent to Stella. I got a letter from Pauline now, will send it to you and you can return it, I have no time to write her now anyway.

I have read your letter to Baldwin very hastily, it is splendid, of course you must finish your job and the Baldwin group must pay. Honesty is certainly no policy with radicals. Had you said nothing to B all would have been well, you would have had the money. But it is well even now, B will have to see you integrity and the marvelous work you have accomplished.

Dearest own, I must close, I am in such a hurry, short as this letter is, it is still double your letters. But I forgive you dearest, I know how hard worked you are. Only you have results I have not, I am sick talking, talking, talking about R and yet not move any one of these politicians. R is arranging for me to meet Wells, maybe I can have some effect on him. I am beginning to doubt my persuasive powers. My Orhist mas will probably not be very cheerful. I may make a dinner for Minna and invite a few old fegeys who are as lonely as I am, Owen and an old individualist anarchist, a poor lonely soul. If only I had success for our people in R, I would not feel so dejected. I came home sick last night after Laski's.

A pleasant Christmas to you my dearest, so glad you will be with dear Rudolf and Milly. I will be with you all in thoughts. I embrace and kiss you tenderly.

not received

The Emma Goldman Papers

870924006

[Letter] 1924 Dec. 22, London [to] E[mma] Goldman, [London] / C. Horwitch. —
2 p. ; 25 × 20 cm.

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Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

The National Tailors Union of Sub-Divisional Workers.

REGISTER NO. 1874. T.U.

10, GREENFIELD STREET, COMMERCIAL ROAD, E.I.

LONDON 22/12

1924

To Mr. E. Goldman

Dear Comerade

Your letter of a few days ago to hand you will please excuse
delay as I had to put it before the Committee because
my personal contribution would be too small for such
a cause. I am glad I have succeeded in convincing
the Committee of the importance of supporting such a
noble cause as you have undertaken. I am
heartily in accord with your views, it may surprise
you to hear that we as a Trade Union trying to
organise the ~~very~~ unorganised are hampered in
the same way as the Authorities of the Russian
people are doing with those that have the courage
to criticise their way we are boycotted in the
same manner as ~~all~~ it is usual for those in power
therefore dear comerade I wish you success in
your propaganda for the real revolutionary Russia
and please accept three pounds at present and will
try in short time another two Pounds. This I send
in behalf of the above union.

The Emma Goldman Papers

870924006

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The National Tailors Union of Sub-Divisional Workers.

REGISTER NO. 1874. T.U.

10, GREENFIELD STREET, COMMERCIAL ROAD, E.I.

LONDON

192

To Mr.

and let me have some tickets if I can in any
way raise more I shall do my utmost, being a
small body yet and I could not do more but
please accept it in the spirit as it is given I wish
I was in a position for three times as much I should
be delighted to do it

wishing you every success
I remain yours
Fraternally
C. Horwitch sec.

The Emma Goldman Papers

870930019

[Letter, 19]24 Dec. 22, Vienna [to] E[mma] G[oldman, London] / M[ax] Nettlau. —
4 p.; 21 x 33 cm.
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I can quite see that appearances are this way — that so much of our small force is spent on general socialism, syndicalism, etc., that the weight of freedom inspired opinion is not felt for very many years — since Reclus and Tolstoy died and Kropotkin became silent on this subject. This is what is worth all our effort to change it. Education is the real word for what is wanted — education destroying the coarse authoritarianism rampant — leading to respect, then to love freedom, then to act as free men, individually or collectively, and in this way. This is more important than organization, syndicalism and all that, because the grouping together of materialists indifferent to freedom leads to nothing or to all the blunders which we see around us.

But you are one who feels all this and will help. I never expected you to sit still in the British Museum, quite an extraordinary vision... only you were so interested in the history of remarkable women that I suggested the M. M. as the best fitted workshop known to me.

Some small news of mine. In October I wrote a rather long biography of Elise Reclus which I will translate and which will form a Spanish-American booklet of about 150 pages. — Next summer I will rewrite it at the same or a little greater length as a German book for Berlin; presently I shall write it in English in condensed form for Jane Arkesher Stinson; the editor agrees to translate it there.

In November-December I wrote the Marchist Ideology in greater length for a German book of about 200 pages which I suppose will be printed after R. P.'s theories etc. (1925). There are 25 chapters and it leads only to the year 1864 — so there is room for another book.

Wien, 18/12, Lazarethgasse, 32, III/2
Vienna, Austria.

Dec. 22, 1924 14805

Dear Comrade P. G., it is so kind of you that you found time to send that letter of Dec. 15th and the interesting and vivid enclosures to me, when you are so busy. It is a pleasure to see you — from my distance — at work again, though your task is a heavy one. I have seen some of these English campaigns for victims formerly and I know the difficulties: certain things fitting in with general political tendencies and preferences, people are eager to see and other things they do not wish to see. In the nineties the Daily Chronicle, at its best, under Hastingsham, then, was giving columns after columns to Cretan affairs, until it brought about what was called: the Daily Chronicle's own Greek-Turkish war (1897) and no Turkish atrocities were extraordinary enough, but that the readers would swallow them by the bucket — but when at the same time the Freedom comrades and very few others brought the Montagu lectures to the Chronicle and all the good papers, they got scant response, it took immense efforts that some little notice was taken etc. — of this I am reminded by the present campaign: most advanced and humanitarian people are so used for years to consider themselves as Wolke's sympathisers — which reflects some halo of heroism on themselves — that they will take time to be persuaded that their idols are not exactly what they pretend to be. May you succeed nevertheless — but I wonder at one thing, at your conviction that English criticism, resolutions etc. will have some effect.

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influence on the rest of the world. I may believe that they like oppression and are used to it, but they do not fear change either. They are most likely exactly informed on the unselfish advanced forces in each country and they know their relative smallness and how powerless they are vis-à-vis of the ruling bourgeois forces and of the routine labour leaders and parties in each country. To the bourgeois the Russian victims are indifferent and labour cognates with their quilters — not from wickedness, but because it is so comfortable to bask in the sunshine of bolshevik revolutionism and to be considered — indirectly, as by reflection — revolutionary themselves without doing anything nor incurring risks; labour is before all vainglorious (fatal) in this respect also — Russia vicariously supplies the revolutionary role which they do not care to act themselves — as it happens so. And all are so comfortable at this — and now you disturb their supposed, well-earned "rest and ask them pointblank: will you be the friends of the new oppressors?

May you succeed; I wish nothing better, but I can hardly see how — but this means the more that at last a beginning must be made and you are right to make it.

May educational work on broader lines follow — there is need for this before all — for we have now for so many years the palpable experience: that socialism alone

is not enough — that it may be filled with reformist or with dictatorial spirit and then becomes an obstacle to progress. Only when imbued with libertarian spirit it can lead the way to progress. Mentality is saturated with socialism and starved of freedom — therefore all educational efforts ought to go to freedom, to the many forms of freedom, to create a freedom inspired, freedom loving mentality. Everybody knows of socialism for years now and very many people are past socialism already, because they never had a chance to see or learn of freedom inspired socialism, — only of reformism or autocratic socialism. The creation of this mentality is to me the greatest need of all the years before us. Socialism is like a mere knife which can kill or which can work (do useful things) — hand a knife to a brute and he will most likely use it to bully and to kill — therefore you must at the same time tell him how to use it [this means inspiring him with freedom, solidarity, intelligence, with all we love and wish for].

I had an opportunity to read the greater part of Russell's Prospects of the Industrial Age (or Industrial Civilization, 1913), a most intelligent book. I felt ashamed not to see him mention our ideas — which means that he did not consider them as a factor weighing one way or the other in the balance.

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 19]24 Dec. 22, Vienna [to] E[mma] G[oldman, London] / M[ax] Nettlau. — 4 p.; 21 x 33 cm.

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continuing it carefully, 1864 to 1925 — this I am now keeping in mind, gathering materials, and I may write it in the autumn of 1925 (in German). Here there will be some attempt at a history of these ideas from beginning — or rather from the time when authorities dominated the natural evolution of man — to the present and the future. Every little sparrow in the street is an anarchist and continues to be — only man at some early date was poisoned by authoritarian habits and acquiring mentality — and is still suffering — we must try to remove the poison from his organism.

— Now I will tell you a funny story — better laugh than weep over it. Perhaps they sent to you: Service Militaire, the life of an anarchist, by M. Netta 96 pages, 35 cents, to be ordered from H. Gordon of Paris G. Stinson, N.Y. — I have not seen this, but saw it announced thus in English in Pr. G. St., Nov. 29. — A day later Kelly wrote (Dec. 1): Havel has reduced your biography to 96 pages, published by F. G. Stinson. — vic.

You know the German book, 1922, 177 very full pages, Tresca, printed 352 pages (very incorrectly). The Spanish translation (Lambillon, revised and brought up to date by me) has 261 pages.

I sent the English revised Nov. 1922 to Kelly, as Sideman showed it to Kheboch, the publisher, who refused. I heard nothing more of it — until these news came. There was never a word said by me or by anybody to me about a reduction to 96 pages.

This means of course that there will never be an English (full) edition, as no publisher will touch it, since the reduced text is circulated.

It means also that I will always be judged by English readers and eventual publishers on the merits of Havel's way to reduce my 250 pages into his 96. — I have the greatest respect for comrade Havel, but I have often heard him described as a genius, somewhat platitudinous and eccentric writer and never as a student of history, a very slow and

The Emma Goldman Papers

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18808
A painstaking individual who works before all to arrive at exact historical description in quiet terms. I always considered the brilliancy and all that of Havel quite accessible to me — on the other hand I always considered it as a label upon Havel to suppose in him any inclination for measured historical expression. You see what I mean — and the very last thing I should ever have expected to happen, was that anybody should think that the right way to make my wretched English readable was to have it illuminated and the numerous and already condensed materials properly reduced by H. Havel — this practical joke is a real Christmas surprise to me.

If you see Keell, kindly tell him, not to excise Havel's brilliancy to me. — I wrote to H. Gordon (the letter passing by Joseph Cohen, asked to read it) that, unless all these facts are clearly stated in the 96 page booklet, to paste a colored slip on the title stating these facts — that I had nothing to do with this and was not told.

You will see that Havel certainly did not go out of his way to do this and must have believed that I knew and must have been asked by somebody to do it. — I cannot do anything but to be a little sarcastic over it, as I do not wish to loose the paid connection with F.G.H. over this in the bargain, after losing already the book itself (the English full edition is a possibility at least some day) by these high handed procedure. So I am sarcastic between ourselves. — Your own omitted chapters told a similar story. I am happy to know them fully printed now. —

Do not trouble about the fools who produce their conservatism over your doings. They are rarely or not at all worth while your quick reasoning with them — for this cannot turn their defective intellect at no stroke into fairness and common sense. and wish for a happy homecoming and a return some day to our comrades in London.

Best greetings and New Year to you and all friends.
Happy holidays and keep well. Yours sincerely M. Nettlau

The Emma Goldman Papers

870924075

[Letter] 1924 Dec. 23 [London to Harold J.] Laski, [London] / [Emma Goldman]. —
2 p. ; 26 × 18 cm.

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Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

3. Titchfield Terrace.
St John's Wood. N, W.8.

Dec. 23rd. 1924.

16009

Dear Professor Laski.

To day I lunched with my old friend and comrade, John Turner. He was rather pressed for time, we could therefore not talk very long about his impressions of Russia, but it will interest you to know that what Mr Turner has to say is not anything as eulogistic as that of his colleagues.

Turner concurs in the report so far as the feverish efforts of the ruling Party to build up the industries. He also agrees that the Trade Unions are doing their utmost to "liquidate" illiteracy. But Mr Turner does not hesitate to say that the privileged class in the schools are the Communists and the children of Communists, that the Autocracy is complete, and that from what he was able to learn the Politicals are filling the prisons of R. In connection with this Turner told me he had met a woman in Leningrad who had been in Solovetzky and who told him how appalling the conditions there really were. On the whole Turner is not so blind as the rest of the Delegation. As I said we had a very brief talk. But after the holidays Turner will give his comrades a complete report from the notes he has taken while in R. And he will also do his utmost to impress upon the Delegates the necessity of giving a mere statement of facts "as far as can be judged from six weeks stay" rather than a laudation. In any event Turner is willing to speak at our meeting and to state what he has learned about the despotic regime and the conditions of the Politicals.

I confess I was relieved to find that Turner's usual caution and clearmindedness had not been blinded by all that was done for the entertainment and festivities of the Delegation. As he said to me to day. "I know what the demonstrations were worth the moment I saw them" Among other things I told me that two people in Tiflis who attempted to hand some documents to Purcell had been arrested, but that P had gotten them out. I dare say they were let go while the Delegation remained in Tiflis. The aftermath must have been quite another thing.

What about the people you mean to try for our committee? Frankly, if you could persuade Messrs Russell and Nevinson and you yourself would be willing to serve on the Committee I should be much more pleased than with the people who out of political "timidity" will not be likely to make a firm stand for the unfortunate victims of the Bolshevik misrule. However, I am willing to let you try if only it will not hold us up too long. In any event we will go ahead with the meeting, I mean getting Queen's Hall and ordering tickets. By the way, Kingsway was refused

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2

16010

without any reasons whatever. We will therefor have to take
measures. The final steps are definitely to be decided upon
this evening.

Will you let me know soon whether you^r are meet-
ing with success among the people you intend to approach, and
if not may I count on you? The principle thing now is to get
a platform committee to give the venture some moral backing.
It is not absolutely necessary that one one should if not
anxious speak at that meeting outside of Turner and myself
with Col. Wedgwood in the Chair.

Sincerely.

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The Emma Goldman Papers

850208007

[Letter] 1924 Dec. 24 [New York to] Emma [Goldman, London] / Henry [G.] Alsberg. — 1 p. ; 34 x 21 cm.

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December 24th 1924.

Dear Emma,

I am writing because I have just heard that you are busy in England with a committee to put pressure to bear on the Russian Government concerning the politicals. As you know I have been trying to do the same job for a year now, I have had the American Group together a long time now, and am enclosing a copy in this letter. It is signed as you can see by ultra-radicals. When Bertrand Russell was here I spoke to him about the matter again and so did Roger Baldwin. He promised to come in on it (as he did before). Meanwhile Baldwin wrote to Brailsford on the subject of getting British signers, and Brailsford answered favourably, said he would get signers to a British petition etc., After that silence and nothing doing. More recently I spoke with Norman Angell, who signed the American petition as you see, and advised me to forward it to Clifford Allen, and Fenner Brookway of the I.L.P. Angell believed the I.L.P. would go in for such a petition. The American petition will be signed by a host of others, Norman Thomas etc., if we wish it.

I am writing you this so that you may know how things stand with regard to the petition, which we hope to use on the S.S.S.R. as pressure on behalf of the political prisoners. I have written Clifford Allen and Fenner Brookway some time ago.

Although slow, I have prospered a bit with the work for the politicals. During the last year I have sent to the Berlin Committee for the politicals in prison and the refugees, about \$1400.--. I have \$300.-- more which I am sending now. I have also been speaking around a bit for the prisoners. This propaganda is telling gradually. The Socialist and Radical crowd are now coming along, even "The Nation" is coming on.

Meanwhile we are forming a larger committee consisting of practically all the Liberal and Radical people in the country to help politicals in general in Europe. The trouble with this is that it will prove too large a job for the means at hand, but in any event the Russian Section will survive and do good work. I have solid backing for that. Will keep you in touch with that end of the work, and will send you details of the Committee and its doings.

Many good wishes for the New Year

(Sgd) Henry Alsberg.

He was in Russia four times, is one of the finest types of American men - a Socialist, and very devoted to the Russian Revolution. He defended the Bolsheviks until 1923, when he saw the crying outrages committed by them in the name of Russian Revolution.

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851025004

[Letter] 1924 Dec. 24 [New York to] Emma [Goldman, London] / Henry [G.] Alsberg. — 1 p. ; 33 x 22 cm.

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December, 24th. 1924.

Dear Emma.

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Although slow, I have prospered a bit with the work for the politicals. During the last year I have sent to the Berlin Committee for the politicals and in prisons and the refugees, about fourteen hundred dollars. I have three hundred more which I am sending now. I have also been speaking around a bit for the prisoners. This propaganda is telling gradually. The socialist and radical crowd are now coming along. Even the Nation is coming on.

Meanwhile we are forming a larger committee ~~is~~ consisting of practically all the liberal and radical people in the country to help politicals in general in Europe. The trouble ~~is~~ with this is that it will prove too large a job for the means at hand. But, in any event, the Russian section will survive and do good work. I have solid backing for that. Will keep you in touch with that end of the work, and send you details of the Committee and its doings.

Many good wishes for the New Year.

signed Henry Alsberg.

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1924 Dec. 24 [New York to] Emma [Goldman, London] / Henry [G.] Alsberg. — 1 p. ; 26 × 16 cm.

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Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

December, 24th, 1924.

Dear Emma.

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The Emma Goldman Papers

870925102

[Letter] 1924 Dec. 24 [New York to] Emma [Goldman, London] / Henry G. A[lsberg]. — 1 p. ; 22 x 17 cm.

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Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

18831

December 24th., 1924.

Dear Emma: I suppose you will be astonished to hear from me after such a long interval of silence. Never mind explanations of the same etc.

I am writing you now because Stella tells me that you are getting busy in England with a committee to put pressure to bear on the Russian government concerning the politicals. As you know, ~~xxxx~~ I have been trying to do the same job for a year now. I have had the American group together a long time now, and am enclosing a copy ~~xxxx~~ in this letter. It is signed, as you can see, by ultra-radicals. When B. Russell/ was here ~~xxxx~~ I spoke to him about the matter again, and so did Roger Baldwin. He promised to come in on it (as he did before). Meanwhile Baldwin wrote to H.M. Brailsford on the subject of getting British signers, and B. answered favorably said he would get signers to a British petition etc. After that silence and nothing doing. More recently I spoke with Norman Angell, who signed the American petition as you see, and advised me to forward it to Clifford Allen and Fenner Brookway of the I.L.P. ; A. believed the I.L.P. would go in for such a petition. The American petition will be signed by a host of others (Norman Thomas, ~~xxxx~~ etc., if we wish) I am writing you this so that you may know how things stand with regard to this petition, which we hope to use on the SSER as ~~xxxx~~ pressure on behalf of the prisoners. I have written ~~xxxx~~ Allen and F. Brookway some time ago.

Although slow, I have prospered a bit with the work for the politicals. S. may or may not have written you that I have sent him during last year, for politicals and refugees, about fourteen hundred dollars. Have about three hundred more which am sending him now. Have been speaking around a bit on behalf of the prisoners. This propaganda is telling gradually. The ~~xxxx~~ socialist and radical crowd are now coming along. Norman Thomas, Charles Erwin, Robert Meras Lovett, Baldwin etc. Even the Nation is coming on. After endless work and humiliation, they have agreed to publish some of the documents about the politicals (together, I suppose with much of their own.) I will not boast of this until I see it in print, however. They are a slippery lot.

Meanwhile we are forming a larger committee consisting of practically all the liberal and radical people in the country to help politicals in general in Europe. ~~xxxx~~ The trouble with this is that it will prove too large a job for the means at hand. But, in any event, the Russian section will survive and do good work. I have solid backing on that. Will keep you in touch with that end of the work and send you details of this committee etc.

When things have developed. Meanwhile, before you leave me, get over the first rush of blood to the head. It's no use trying to insult me. B. said that. It ~~xxxx~~ only makes me feel better, but does not do any slow, plodding and only partially effective work for the politicals.

They are in absolute confidence and to be repeated to no one: A relief organization, not the one I was connected with, has promised to spend a thousand dollars in Russia for ~~xxxx~~ and imprisoned intellectuals, ~~xxxx~~ in such manner as I have advised them. This is in addition to money I have raised. They will do the work in Russia. This is a sacred secret. Please ~~xxxx~~

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The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1924 Dec. 24 [New York to] Emma [Goldman, London] / Henry [G.] Alsberg. — 1 p. ; 21 x 16 cm.

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Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

15533

December, 24th, 1924.

Dear Emma.

I am writing because I have just heard that you are busy in England with a committee to put pressure to bear on the Russian government concerning the political. As you know I have been trying to do the same job for a year now. I have had the American group together a long time now, and am inclosing a copy in this letter. It is signed, as you can see, by ultra-radicals. When Bertrand Russell was here I spoke to him about the matter again and so did Roger Baldwin. He promised to come in on it (as he did before). Meanwhile I have written Brailford on the subject of getting British signers. ~~Atkinson, Hitt, and others~~ and Brailford answered favorably, said he would get signers to a British petition, etc. After that silence and nothing doing. More recently I spoke with Norman Angell, who signed the American petition as you see, and advised me to forward it to Clifford Allen and Fanny Broekway of the I. L. P. Angell believed the I. L. P. would go in for such a petition. The American petition will be signed by a host of others, Norman Thomas etc, if we wish it.

I am writing you this so that you may know how things stand with regard to the petition, which we hope to use on the SPER as pressure on behalf of the political prisoners. I have written Clifford Allen and F Broekway some time ago.

Although slow, I have prospered a bit with the work for the political. During the last year I have sent to the Berlin Committee for the politicals and in various and the refugees, about fourteen hundred dollars. I have three hundred more which I am sending now. I have also been speaking around a bit for the prisoners. This propaganda is telling gradually. The socialist and radical crowd are now coming along. Even the Nation is coming on.

Meanwhile we are forming a larger committee in some kind of practically all the liberal and radical people in the country to help politicals in general in Europe. The trouble with this is that it will prove too large a job for the mass at hand. But, in any event, the Russian section will survive and do good work. I have solid backing for this. Will keep you in touch with that end of the work, and send you details of the Committee and its doings.

Very good wishes for the New Year.

Signed Henry Alsberg.

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The Emma Goldman Papers

870924091

[Letter] 1924 Dec. 24, Berlin [to] E[mma] G[oldman, London] / [Isaac] Don Levine. — 1 p. ; 27 x 18 cm.

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Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

16035

Prinz Regenten Str. 93,
Berlin, Germany.
December 24, 1924.

Dear E.G.

Sasha has just telephoned to me, giving me an account of the effect the report of the Purcell expedition^{has} on your work on behalf of the political prisoners.

You probably know that I am preparing for publication a volume of original letters, documents, and facsimiles, showing unmistakably in the words of the prisoners themselves what is going on in the depths of Soviet Russia.

Up to the moment I have the first 80 pages, dealing with the Solovetz Massacre of last December, translated into English. The translation is unedited. Nevertheless, I am hurrying to you three copies of these first 80 pages. They are enclosed herewith. In my opinion, you can only ask three of the stalwarts, like Shaw or Brailsford, to oblige you by reading through these letters. In case they doubt them, I shall forward you facsimiles of originals.

My plan is to send out complete manuscript copies of the book, about January 8, to a number of prominent Pacifists and Parler-Bolsheviks and ask them to write a few lines of introduction. The proceeds of the book in all countries will go entirely for the Relief of the Political Prisoners.

I have only^{one} wish at this writing, that no publication of the material I am sending you (except these letters that have been published in English long before) should take place without notifying me previously. This only for the purpose of enabling me to carry out my plan as originally conceived.

Merry X-mas and Happy New Year! Love from me and Mery. You can count on me to support you in your work at any time and to the limit of my capacity.

Your

Don Levine

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The Emma Goldman Papers

870916241

[Letter] 1924 Dec. 24, New York [to] Emma Goldman, London / W.S. Van Valkenburgh. — 1 p. ; 27 x 21 cm.

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10713

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NEW YORK, N.Y.

December 24, 1924.

Miss Emma Goldman,
o/o The Freedom Office,
137 Ossulston Street,
London, England.

Dear E. G.:

Whatever has happened that you never write?
I have been entirely out of touch with you since Stella
left New York.

I have a great deal to write you and doubt-
less you also have. In spite of the tribulations of
the past five years, I think some friendships are worth
preserving.

When I know that this letter has reached
you safely and learn of your present address, I will
write at greater length.

As ever,

W.S. Van Valkenburgh

The Emma Goldman Papers

850702121

[Letter] 1924 Dec. 24 [New York to] E[mma] G[oldman, London] / H[arry] W[einberger].— 3 p. ; 28 x 22 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the Yale University Library. Institutional Location: Harry Weinberger Papers, Department of Manuscripts and Archives.

Dec. 24, 1924.

E. G. Kerahner,
3, Witleyfield Terrace,
Regent's Park,
London, W. 1. 8
England.

My dear E. G.:

Your letter of November 17 with clippings to hand, and I am sure was glad to read the new tone and the good news. Stella tells me that you are selling some articles, that she has just received another letter and that you are having fine meetings in addition to what you talk about in your letter to me.

I enclose copies of my correspondence with Doubleday Page and you will note my suggestion to them about the additional copies. If you get out a One Volume edition in England from new plates you can cut down costs considerably, and with your publicity and lecturing you ought to sell a great many copies and make some real money, which will then show the great advantage of having gotten back from Doubleday the English rights. As far as the royalties on the second volume are concerned, Doubleday Page will hold on to some and we can worry about a fight of holding the same after we know how much it amounts to. If you get out a new edition in England, you will not have to have any loose sheets from America, which apparently, Doubleday Page have not got.

I am glad you are finding friends and an opportunity to talk and write, as I think that that was the one thing in particular that was needed for your happiness. I think that even "sweethearts" are secondary when you have found your work.

I am ordering as per Stella's request five hundred new clippings to be sent to you on yourself, books, speeches etc.

I met Joshua Wedgwood years ago when he was in London at one of the Single Tax dinners just for a few minutes, so I did not become really acquainted with him, though I always had a great interest about him and his family from reading Albert Hubbard's "Little Journeys to the Homes of Great Men" which told the story I think of his grandmother and grandfather. I have, in addition, on my desk, a beautiful piece of pottery with white figures around it on

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E. G.

-2-

12/24/24

a greenish gray background of Wedgwood ware.

I will look up some of Rebecca West's bookshelves maybe become one of her secondary sweethearts, that is, one of her readers. I read an article of hers in the New Republic about traveling in America and I felt that she had a very nice personality that one would like to know intimately. If by any chance I come over to Europe this summer and of course it is only a bare, bare chance, and I will not have a lot of receptions and tea parties I will be able to stop and get acquainted with people over there like Rebecca West, Wedgwood etc.

I note what you say in reference to doing nothing about the proposition of returning to America. If Harry Kelly wrote Selders about going ahead, that must have been written on the basis of my talk to him after I got back, saying that after election we were contemplating taking some steps.

On Rengel and Cline, the American Federation of Labor passed the resolution at its annual convention at St. Louis, calling on the Executive Committee to continue its action to obtain the release of Rengel and Cline and the others, and one of the last letters that Gompers wrote was a letter to Governor Hoff asking for the release of the men. The Mexican Federation of Labor also passed similar resolutions and the Pan-American Federation of Labor meeting in Mexico City did the same. President Calles would not write a letter to Governor Hoff as unbecoming the dignity of the Mexican Government inasmuch as Obregon had written before and Governor Hoff had refused to release the men, but he has written a letter to the new Governor "Ma" Ferguson, who goes in on January 20th, and is just as well because when I saw Governor Hoff he refused to allow anybody out. He said he only let two men out in four years. I said he interested me psychologically and that I would like to spend a few weeks in the country with him. He said he considered that a compliment as many people thought lots of things about his mind, but I told him I didn't mean it as one. I saw Ex-Governor James Ferguson, the husband of "Ma" Ferguson, Governor-to-be, and who will really be the Governor, inasmuch as "Ma" Ferguson only ran after they had declared him ineligible as he had been impeached. The Ex-Governor stated they would have a pardon board as soon as the inauguration was over and I should see him or write him then, without making any promises as to what the action would be. I stated I did not expect any promises, that I merely stopped on my way to present these various resolutions and that New York was interested in their election inasmuch as "Ma" Ferguson's flight had been made against the Ku Klux Klan etc.

"Ma" Ferguson has invited Governor Al Smith of New York as well as Mrs. Rose of Wyoming to her inauguration, and I will have some of the people who helped Governor Smith get elected, call on him, and it seems my old friend, Sophie Irene Loch who used to be on the "World" will be there and I will have her talk, so that the President of Mexico asking for

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N. O.

-2-

12. 24. 24

their release, with the I. F. of L., the Pan-American and the Mexican Federation of Labor doing the same, it seems that perhaps there will be some hope that my trip to Mexico will prove successful.

When I am a little less rushed, perhaps I will write you about the trip down there, about the vast and impressive inauguration and how Gompers was received as well as the head of the Mexican Federation of Labor, Luis Morones and other things about Mexico. I think they are trying to work out the solution of their labor problems for the benefit of the people and trying to hold out the interests and are walking warily for fear of the interference of the United States. We went down from El Paso in three cars called the "Red", "White" and "Blue", the first one which I was in being the "Red Special" called the "Shock car" in case of bandits etc. Gompers was on the train which came second. He left the night before I did and died when he got to San Antonio. His funeral took place in New York before I got back.

My own "God of Vengeance" appeal was argued in the Court of Appeals during my absence by Mr. Judge Samuel Wechsberg formerly of the Court of Appeals and he seems to think that we will get a reversal on the ground that we have not had a fair trial, and we will then have to go back for a new trial if the indictment is not dismissed, which fight explains where most of my money went in the past year. The Garland Fund did not think it enough of a free speech fight and refused to pay actual disbursements, all of which is a long story sometime to be told.

getting
In the rush of things straightened out, I think I have gossiped enough in this letter.

I send you greetings for the New Year across the waters.

Sincerely,

HW:AD
Enc.

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The Emma Goldman Papers

870918247

[Letter] 1924 Dec. 26, London [to] Saxe [Commins, Rochester, N.Y.] / E[mma Goldman].— 4 p.; 30 x 20 cm.

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3, Titchfield Terrace.
St John's Wood Road.
London, N, W, 8.

13136

Dec. 26th. 1924.

Darling own Saxe. That was very thoughtful of you to send me Christmas greetings by cable. Indeed I know that your love is strong and abiding and needs no special holiday for expression. Still one wants to be reminded once in a while that one is being loved. Especially when one is lonely and amidst ignorance and cowardice, one needs the love of the few worth while spirits. And you are very much worth while to me, among the few precious and understanding souls I have.

Dearest, I fear Stella and you are carried away too much by my letter about things here. It is true the English I have met so far have been very hospitable. If one were to accept all the invitations for luncheons teas and dinners, one could do nothing else. But their hospitality is really very empty of any deeper meaning. I know Stella will not agree because she is so enamoured with everything English. But you will understand dearest when I say that inviting people to eat especially when one has no end of means and leisure is no indication of ones interest in the more vital things of life. Now I found most people I have met ready enough to dine and wine you, but when it comes to anything really vital they shut up like clams. An example in point is Miss Schuster. She really is a very charming woman of fine intellectual understanding. She claimed to be deeply interested in what I mean to do about Russia. Yet in reply to my appeal for help to the Queen's Hall meeting, Miss Schuster sent two pounds. And what was more painful was her long lamentation of the "terrific" expences she has. And Miss Schuster is only one example.

Worst than that is the cowardice of the Labor element here. I am describing that and other matters in a letter I have just written to a French writer, a certain Mme Odette Keun. I am inclosing a copy to save repetitions. Please send it to Stella when you have finished with it. I came to Mme Keun in an unexpected way. It seems the French papers also recorded the dinner. Thereupon she wrote me a letter copy of which I in close also. I replied and then she wrote another letter much more interesting and also sent me her book on Russia. It is so vivid that it tore open all the wounds Russia has struck me. I am sending the book to Sasha asking him to send it on to you and you can send it to Stella. My criticism of Mme Keun's work is that she did not understand the Russian people in the least hence is misrepresenting them. But one can understand her bitter dislike of the people in face of the filth and brutality she was made to undergo. Another thing which is unfortunate is some petty things Keun permitted herself to describe. But then you will read my reply to that.

But to what I am writing K about my own difficulties, ~~ixixixix~~ I fear I will accomplish very little here about Russia. There is no way getting to the rank and file of labor owing to the terrific centralisation of the Labor movement, and the intellectuals are nearly all in the I, L P as the easiest way of getting into Parliament. So much is everything organized here that even Rebecca said she could not remember ever having gone to a lecture which had not some organization or party back of it. In fact she said such efforts are unknown in England. Yet here am I a comparative stranger in the country, a free lance, set on dealing with Russia which has created two sharp camps, labor and reaction, wanting to be heard or arouse interest. Fine chance I have. I am terribly discouraged, I can tell you. In fact, I would despair utterly if it were not for Rebecca who is such a generous spirit, so broad minded. So

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[Letter] 1924 Dec. 26, London [to] Saxe [Commins, Rochester, N.Y.] / E[mma Goldman]. — 4 p. ; 30 x 20 cm.

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The Emma Goldman Papers

8709182/7

[Letter] 1924 Dec. 26, London [to] Saxe [Commins, Rochester, N.Y.] / E[mma Goldman].— 4 p.; 30 x 20 cm.

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2.

13137

The most painful situation to me is our own movement, or rather lack of it. After thirty years of existence Freedom has 83 subscribers. There are no English anarchists to speak of, I mean of outstanding personality or ability. Turner is the only one but he has been in the Trade Union movement as long he can think in no other terms and these terms are compromise for the sake of success. It is this attitude which makes him go with his gang in the whitewash of Moscow's regime. Although he is willing to speak at our proposed meeting and state his impression of the absolute autocracy and despotism in Russia. With all that tide against me it will not be possible to involve ourselves in such a vast undertaking as Queen's Hall. We are now looking for a smaller, less expensive and decent sort of Hall.

But aside of all these painful things there is another which looms very big, it is my own uncertain position. As long as I will confine myself to R. I will be left in peace. In view of the fact that the Tory Government welcomes criticism of R, you can well imagine that I feel sick to have its "protection" because of my stand on R. The fact that my critical attitude is from a different reason and necessarily draws different conclusions is no comfort to me. However, I am not likely to be bothered right away. But the moment I will begin doing work which will include criticism of English conditions and which will necessitate pointing out some way towards ~~the~~ some fundamental changes, I will fly out, there can be no doubt about that. If only I knew where to go. I could not go back to the inane life in Germany, France is not likely to welcome me. Where then is one to go? Now, while this prospect is not bothering me too much just now, it is hanging over me just the same. However, I am much more distressed over the difficulties in re R. than by the other. Yet I must go ahead if I should break in the attempt. The unfortunate conditions of the Russian politicals are altogether too appalling for me to be silent about them.

I had a letter from a friend of yours Mrs Coleman. Will you give her my thanks for the fine spirit which prompted ~~her~~ her letter. Tell her I will write her some day when I am less burdened, (will that ever be)? Meanwhile, perhaps you will show her the inclosed copy of my letter to "me" ~~her~~. And give Mrs Coeman my greetings. About Mrs Hay, she is not going to set the world afire by her beauty or her intellect, but she is a very pleasant woman and fine hostess. It is easy to be that when one has a magnificent home, a lot of servants and evidently a good and secure income. She does not have very deep interests in any thing, but I do believe she cared very much about our David. That redeems her in my eyes. I see by your letter to Stella that you say Mrs Hay belonged to "the gang that purchased David's death" Dearest heart, do you not think that if David himself had any definite ideas regarding the war no one could have purchased his death? That does not mean that the "gang" did not have its share in making the war. But it is usually our own lack of clearness in the face of a great calamity and our own lack of will to stand out against it which more than outer influences drive us down the precipices.

I am so glad about your mother having that marvelous trip and holiday. I only hope she will not be too disappointed in her daughter-in-law and will not let her dim her joy. Dear old beautiful Saxe what a devoted son you are. If I did not know that I have a precious child in you I should regret not having had one of my own like you. But mine may have turned out to be a cheap politician or crook. It is just as well that I came to you as my child without the accompanying labor pains. I suppose you have been in N Y for the holidays, that is really the reason why I have not written you a Christmas letter, this will get you on your return.

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870918247

[Letter] 1924 Dec. 26, London [to] Saxe [Commins, Rochester, N.Y.] / E[mma Goldman]. — 4 p. ; 30 x 20 cm.

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13130

Much to my surprise I heard from Colliers again. The Managing Editor writes that while he is not sure they would take the article ~~they~~as I want to write ~~them~~ they are yet so eager to see what I have to say about the Good as well as the Bad in A, that they would pay for my labors even if they should not be able to publish the article. But that he hopes he can accept it. Since I received Cronyns letter I have been raking my head how to write the damned thing, I mean how to say what I mean to say about the growing reaction in A. and yet get the article accepted. After all one hates to lose a chance of earning \$400. But of course that is not my main concern. Well, I will try and let the rest take care of itself.

Dear old scout, are you seriously preparing to come over this Spring, or are you again going to disappoint me? If only you knew how hungry I am for the sight of your mug you would come flying. Do try hrad Saxe darling, I really have great need of you.

Devoted love and may the New Year bring you to me. You see what a selfish beast I am, but I flatter myself that you want me my honey as much as I want you.

E.

P. S. You will be glad to know that I had a very beautiful letter from Havelock Ellis, he is away from England but is coming back in Feb when I hope to meet him. Carpenter too I have not yet met, he is quite old and the weather is too bad for him to get about. But he invited me to his place. I will go as soon as I can find time.

*I haven't even time to return
the letter.*

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The Emma Goldman Papers

870924036

[Letter] 1924 Dec. 26, London [to Odette] Keun, [St. Jean, France] / [Emma Goldman].— 6 p. ; 33 × 20 cm.

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Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

3, Titchfield Terrace,
St. John's Wood,
London, N.W.8.

15938

26th December, 1924.

Dear Madame Keun,

Please pardon the delay in replying to your very interesting letter of the 14th inst. I have been so crowded with engagements and with beating my wings against the cold wall of ignorance and cowardice regarding Russia that I could find no time nor spirit to do justice to your letter. But, thanks to the kind help of a dear friend of mine who is taking this letter on the machine, I have decided that I must write you to-day.

First about the book; I read it through in one night. The description of all you have gone through and of the tragic conditions in Russia is so powerful and vivid that it tore open my own wounds which had just begun to heal slowly. I wish I could get the book to large masses of people. But, just at present I have no way of reaching them and from the obstacles I have already confronted I am beginning to be quite pessimistic about my success in the work I have in mind. But if I will be able to get before the British public, I shall certainly call attention to your able book.

However, there are several things which in your book which I consider deplorable. The first deals with your reference to things which seem to me to be very insignificant, your footnotes dealing with individual abuses and graft, or the preeminence of some of the leading Bolsheviks. For instance, your reference to Zineviev's many wives and the diamonds they were wearing. Understand, I am not doubting your statement about them, though I must say that the wives of Zineviev, that I have met in Petrograd, were women who worked beyond their physical strength, were fanatically devoted to their cause, and barely had enough clothing to keep them from the severe cold. But my objection to your reference to such things is because it detracts from your very intelligent criticism of the Bolsheviks as a governing class and from Bolshevism as their creed. Graft and abuses of power are the earmark of every

~~government~~

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The Emma Goldman Papers

870924036

[Letter] 1924 Dec. 26, London [to Odette] Keun, [St. Jean, France] / [Emma Goldman].— 6 p. ; 33 x 20 cm.

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- 2 -

15959

government. Vices and mistresses of officials are everywhere having the best of the best.

These things do not seem to me to be important enough to discuss. What is important is: Bolshevism and its Jesuitism which by the establishment of an absolute autocracy have crushed all that is worth while in Russia and inevitably would do the same everywhere else if it came into power. Those of us who love Liberty, who want to see the human spirit freed from the shackles of the dictatorship, must not allow ourselves to be sidetracked by mere results.

However, these are minor points in your book. The important thing over which I must take issue with you is your unreserved indictment and condemnation of the Russian people. While I understand your reaction to the seeming brutality and filth confronting you in Russia and while I realize that you, being of Dutch origin, the daughter of wealthy people, the woman of culture and refinement could not help being repelled by the primitiveness of the Russian people, I yet feel that your severe criticism lacks understanding of the forces which have made the Russian people what they are. Centuries of poverty and enslavement, centuries of dense ignorance and brutality. What will you, dear Madame Keun? While Europe has been leading a more or less regulated life, with certain definite material comforts, the Russian people were held in the dust. Yet, strange to say, the two Revolutions in modern times were made not by the clean and comfortable European masses, but by the "beasts of burden" in Russia. In comparison with the spirit and heroism registered by the Russian masses in the two Revolutions, their lack of cleanliness, and their indifference towards so-called Western culture are too insignificant to waste breath about.

More than that. Name me any country that has given to the world such literature, music and song, and so much rhythm as Russia. Not for a moment do I mean to deprecate the great contributions in that line in other countries. But, while everywhere the creative artists, poets and singers have been

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15940

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I have sent you the two volumes of my book on Russia. No, it is not yet translated into French. A number of publishers in Paris were approached with the English MS, but they have turned it down. I enclose copy of a letter from Plon which explains the attitude of most of the French publishers regarding books on Russia. It is very kind of you indeed to offer to translate my book, but unless one had hopes of getting it accepted for publication, it seems to me a waste of time and energy. I hate therefore to burden you with such a task, especially as you do not appear to be very well. I would, however, deem it a great favour if you could place the article from the "London Illustrated News" in the "Quotidien" or the

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"Oeuvre". As I have no other source of income save what I earn by my pen, I shall be very glad if the article will be paid for. But it would be all right, if I were not reimbursed; I am too much concerned in getting facts about Russia before the French people, - in fact, before the whole world, if possible.

My objections to the terror practised in Georgia is not on the ground of Nationalism, but from the standpoint of justice. I knew the imperialistic leanings of the Bolsheviks and I knew the methods they employ to crush everybody and everything in their way. Unfortunately, the difficulties confronting me here are so great that I am not very hopeful of real results which would have even the slightest effect on the present autocracy of Russia. More than in any other country, I have so far visited, I find the lines in the different movements here very rigidly drawn. Whatever there is of intelligence and libertarian leanings among the younger men and women, are organised in the Independent Labour Party. No doubt, most of the politicians of that Party are of a better calibre than the politicians of the United States, but they are politicians just the same. They are aspirants for seats in the House of Commons, for the chance of again becoming a part of the Labour Government. And as it was the Labour Government which carried through the recognition of and the Treaty with Russia, they are now unwilling to do anything whatever which, as they say, "will work into the hands of the Tory Government". After all, they are Governmentalists, everyone of them. They are not therefore primarily interested in the principle of Liberty or in the importance of Truth. As one of the leading members of the I.L.P. said to me: "The trouble with you is, Miss E.G., that you are like the old-time Christians who still believe in the importance of truth and in speaking out. Yet that is not at all the question now. What is important is - Trade with Russia". The English being pre-eminently shopkeepers, trade would be more important than the truth about the racial situation in Russia.

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15942

Still, I had made some headway and it looked as if I would be successful in organising a worth-while Committee of leading men and women in this country which would undertake to bring authentic data about Russia to the English workers and also to give some support to the unfortunate Russian politicals. Then came the "Report of the Trade Union Mission" - a miserable whitewash of the Bolshevik regime and that destroyed whatever support I was likely to get. Last Sunday, at Prof. Laski's house, about thirty people had come together to hear what I had to say about the conditions and to back the proposed public meeting. But, everyone of them showed the white feather because Purcell's Report had appeared in nearly all the papers of that morning. Prof. Laski, a man of considerable fighting spirit, said that he and others would be willing to back my arraignment of the conditions of the politicals in Russia, but not what he called "a direct attack on the Government". In view of the fact that the terror employed by the governing class is the direct and inevitable result of Bolshevism as a social theory, it seems absurd to talk of the conditions of politicals before setting forth all that led up to their persecution and incarceration. In other words, if I am not willing to compromise, I will find myself with only a very few people to whom Liberty and Truth are still the most dominant issues in life.

I do not have to assure you, dear Madame Keun, that I feel intensely with the political victims of Bolshevik terror. But I feel even more intensely the need of dispelling the terrible superstition which confines the Russian Revolution with the Party now in power, - a superstition which holds the mind of millions in bondage, even as the Christian myth is still responsible for the ignorance and blind faith of the vast masses. I am not conceited to think for a moment that my efforts will make much of a dint in the solid wall of ignorance and cowardice. But, after all, each drop of water which falls upon the stone gradually breaks the solid mass. I am therefore determined to go ahead, even if it will have to be on a small

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15943

scale and with limited means. You will realise the importance of the work before me and its almost superhuman difficulties when I tell you that the Bolshevik myth has an iron hold not only upon the masses of people, but on some of the clearest heads and staunchest hearts. I have many number of friends in America; men who were and are standing in the very front ranks of the social struggle, who, have given their all in the struggle for the principles of Liberty, and who yet cannot see that the experiment in Russia has nothing whatever to do with the Russian Revolution, or with any desire to re-construct the ruined and depleted country. Only the other day I got a letter from a dear friend of mine who is helping to gather authentic data on Bolshevik Terror and who yet insists "that the Russian situation is much more complicated and much more significant from a Revolutionary standpoint" than I am willing to concede. He goes on to speak of his own connection with the ^{chemical} Kuzbas/experiment which, as he tells me, led him to see "that in the re-building of a national economy there are practical problems of immense difficulty which cannot be solved by Revolutionary theories". Yet this good friend upsets his own argument by another statement to this effect: "That the centralization of power in the hands of a bureaucratic Government is having the same effect of killing off these spontaneous experimental growths towards communal production and distribution which alone seem to me an enduring basis of economic stability in which the individual can find his widest freedom. My good friend fails to realise that it is precisely the formidable centralised Communist State which is destroying every effort on the part of the individual and the various political groups in Russia that might have succeeded in making of the Russian Revolution a constructive and inspiring force.

As I said, the confusion is great and the way of bringing light very hard. The greater the need for men and women who will go ahead unafraid. I am to meet Wells next week.

Yours sincerely,

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840305042

[Letter] 1924 Dec. 26 [London to Odette] Keun, [St. Jean, France] / [Emma Goldman].— 6 p. ; 42 × 27 cm.

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26th December, 1924.

Dear Madame Keun,

Please pardon the delay in replying to your very interesting letter of the 14th inst. I have been so crowded with engagements and with beating my wings against the solid wall of ignorance and cowardice regarding Russia that I could find no time nor spirit to do justice to your letter. But, thanks to the kind help of a dear friend of mine who is taking this letter on the machine, I have decided that I must write you to-day.

First about the book; I read it through in one night. The description of all you have gone through and of the tragic conditions in Russia is so powerful and vivid that it tore open my own wounds which had just begun to heal slowly. I wish I could get the book to large masses of people. But, just at present, I have no way of reaching them and from the obstacles I have already confronted I am beginning to be quite pessimistic about my success in the work I have in mind. But if I will be able to get before the British public, I shall certainly call attention to your able book.

However, there are several things which in your book which I consider deplorable. The first deals with your reference to things which seem to me to be very insignificant, your footnotes dealing with individual abuses and graft, or the proclivities of some of the leading Bolsheviks. For instance, your reference to Zinovieff's many wives and the diamonds they were wearing. Understand, I am not doubting your statement about them, though I must say that the wives of Zinovieff that I have met in Petrograd, were women who worked beyond their physical strength, were fanatically devoted to their cause, and barely had enough clothing to keep them from the severe cold. But my objection to your reference to such things is because it detracts from your very intelligent criticism of the Bolsheviks as a governing class and from Bolshevism as their creed. Graft and abuses of power are the earmark of every

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government. Wives and mistresses of officials are everywhere having the best of the lot.

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More than that. Name me any country that has given to the world such literature, music and song, and so much rhythm as Russia. Not for a moment do I mean to depreciate the great contributions in that line in other countries. But, while everywhere the creative artists, poets and singers have been

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Yours sincerely,

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870930020

[Letter, 19]24 Dec. 26, Vienna [to] E[mma] G[oldman, London] / M[ax] Nettlau. —
2 p.; 21 x 17 cm.
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Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

Wien, IX/2. Lazarethgasse, 32 III/22
Vienna, Austria.

14809

Dec. 26. '24

Dear comrade S. G.,

I received the 2 volumes — very many
thanks. You are spared a long reply, for after
reading every word Dec. 23 and 24, I expressed my
opinion in a very long article for the Suppléments of
La Proteste which I am sending to Santilhon in Berlin
(Monsieur) for translation. It is just finished and so
I need not trouble you with reading a long letter. I
thoroughly agree with everything — two trifling details
excepted which I only mention in this note, of course.
I, page 235 when the poor chairman in Kiev is finally
asked: are you willing that it become known in America
that, he ought to have replied: yes, I will take
this risk — for Kiev is the centre of a large country
where serious students of the R. R. will have to
go to study matters on the spot, in connection with
the immense quantity of local materials and experience,
and not in a faraway Petrograd Museum where only
incidentally Ukrainian materials arrive. — So I do not
consider this chairman altogether extinguished, outworn
and flattened by your observation: to me the poor
man will always live as a sad victim even
if it be of you.

The other point is I, page 150 "the execution of
Mairbach". The passage towards the end of the
column is so placed that probably in your opinion
you still reproduce Spiridonov's words — in which

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² case I have no objection; she may say what she chooses to say. But it can also be read as ¹⁰ if the word execution was used by you in ordinary language of your own, resuming her words or alternating with the flippant words of I p. 1. M. & had to go? — I think that under these conditions a reader could ask you: is execution a term of your own selection or not? — If so, is it well chosen? The idiom word is used only in these cases (by writers of our way of thinking), when complete moral solidarity with the act is assumed, as in the case of Al. II or of Plehve.... Would you say: the execution of Rattkhan? — Where is the difference? — Both were nationalistic, patriotic murders, and it is for nationalists like Spiridonova to use the word — is it for you? Would not a neutral word, the killing of —, be preferable? — What I like best in the book is II p. 174: "that methods and means cannot be separated from the ultimate aim" etc. This is wonderfully well reasoned. "Psychologically and socially the means necessarily influence and alter the aims".... I never saw this thus expressed and it clears the way in an extraordinary degree. I felt on these lines and often wrote of the engineers of revolution. — The afterword is certainly the best reasoned part of anarchist literature for a long time.

I thank you once more.

By the way, kindly post the enclosed stamped letter to Kell; it economizes postage to me.

A happy New Year to you and all.

Yours sincerely, M. Nettlau

The Emma Goldman Papers

881010440

[Letter] 1924 Dec. 27 [London to] The Contemporary Review, [London] / [Emma Goldman]. — 1 p. ; 28 × 21 cm.

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25645

3, Fitchfield Terrace,
Regent's Park, N.W.8.

27th December, 1924.

The Editor,
"The contemporary Review",
12, Cursiter Street, E. C. 4.

Dear Sir,

In the current issue of your magazine, under "Foreign Affairs", you have two pages devoted to the Dinner given to me on Nov. 12th last. The notes in question contain three misstatements, unintentionally, I am sure. You state that "Emma Goldman was expelled from Russia, Sweden and Germany". I beg to inform you that I was not expelled from any of the three countries mentioned and was in no way molested while I was there. I left Russia voluntarily, after I had realised the Bolshevik myth and had decided to acquaint ~~XXXX~~ Europe and the United States with the actual conditions created by the Bolshevik regime. Not only was I not molested while I was in Russia, but I could have taken any important post at my disposal, had I been willing to serve the Dictatorship. When I decided to leave, a passport was given me without any difficulties whatever. I think it is but fair that your readers should know the actual facts of the case, also that my critical stand against Bolshevism is not impelled by any personal grievance.

The visa to enter Sweden was granted me by Mr. Branting, then Minister for Foreign Affairs. I left Sweden after three-and-a-half months' stay without the slightest interference.

In Germany I lived two-and-a-half years, was in no way molested, neither was I expelled.

I hope that you will bring these corrections to the notice of your readers.

Yours faithfully,

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870925254

[Letter] 1924 Dec. 27, London [to] Havelock Ellis, Guernsey, Channel Islands [England] / [Emma Goldman]. — 2 p. ; 26 x 16 cm.

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3, Fitzfield Terrace,
Regent's Park, London, N.W.8.

15750

27th December, 1924.

My dear Mr. Ellis,

Thank you so much for your kind letter of the 14th inst. Indeed, I shall want to come to you when you return to London, unless the Tory Government finds itself "menaced" by my presence in England. It has been one of my great dreams for many years to meet you personally and to be able to talk to you about the things to which you have devoted all your life and your deep human understanding.

I came to know of you just twenty-five years ago last November, when I came to England for a lectures-tour. At that time Mr. Villiers was, I believe, arrested in connection with your work on "Sex-Psychology". I was fortunate, however, to get hold of several volumes which I carried off to America as my greatest treasure. From that time on I followed your work, read nearly all I could get hold of and introduced them to the mass of the people I was able to reach through my lecture work. I have also quoted you extensively in a volume of essays which was published in America in 1910. I would so love to send you a copy, but I do not wish to burden you, for fear that you may have ever so many books sent to you. Should you however care to read the Essays, I would be delighted to send them.

I am so glad that you liked my paper in Dr. Hirschfeld's "Jahrbuch" about Louise Michel. I must say that I was shocked when I saw the photograph of that marvellous woman among the collection of homo-sexuals in Dr. Hirschfeld's house. I was shocked not because of any squeamishness on the subject, but because I knew Louise Michel to be far removed from the tendencies ascribed to her. Were so, because Louise for me was one of the truly great saints, utterly oblivious to personal feelings or desires. I am hoping some day to have the paper published in the original (I wrote it in English), because I am so anxious that Louise Michel should be saved the unfounded charge of Homo-Sexuality.

I do not know how much you are interested in the situation in Russia, but I do know that you have always pleaded on behalf of Liberty and Justice and that you would therefore want to know how much I have succeeded in arousing interest among advanced English men and women on behalf of the best of political victims of the Bolshevik regime. I must say, I am amazed at the callousness which I find here in regard to war-torn Russia. Knowing the nature of Government, I was never deceived in the very great superior quality of the English Government; I knew that it gives as much political freedom as it considers in keeping with its interests. But I did expect to find, at only a small number, men and women to whom Truth and Liberty meant more than political or trade interests. What I actually have found so far is - that nearly everybody is comfortably tucked away in some Party-organisation, or Group and that they will not be stirred out of their grooves even by the most harrowing description of the actual situation in Russia. Much more amazed am I to find so little independence of thought and individual daring to stand up against the terrific hold of the Bolshevik myth. I realise the hold of this myth much more than most students of Russian conditions, because I myself was carried away by it in its beginning. Added to this is, of course, the attack upon Russia by the reactionaries of the world which has rallied to the support of Bolshevism many fine minds and stout hearts. As far as the workers are concerned, the myth is as dominant as the Christian myth. The two are very much alike in their confusion of an actual ideal with the organised institutions which have monopolised that ideal. Thus, the Christian Church in

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The Emma Goldman Papers

870925254

[Letter] 1924 Dec. 27, London [to] Havelock Ellis, Guernsey, Channel Islands [England] / [Emma Goldman]. — 2 p. ; 26 × 16 cm.

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Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

Mr. Havelock Ellis.

- 2 -

27/12/24.

18781

becoming the sole exponent of early Christianity, has crushed the spirit of the thing and is held together exclusively by the letter. So, too, the Communist State. In monopolising the ideals of the Russian people as expressed in the Russian Revolution, has actually crushed the ideal and is now maintaining itself by the mere shadow of the ideal.

I find a great many advanced English people admitting that my criticism is correct, but, say they: "As long as there is no other political Party in Russia of a more Liberal tendency which might replace Bolshevism, nothing must be done to criticise the present Russian regime". Others again refuse to assent because my criticism is likely to work into the scheme of the "Daily Mail" or the Tory Government. Again there are some good enough to tell me that I am an old-time Christian and still believe too much in the Truth and in the necessity of speaking out. Whereas, the most important thing now is - "Trade with Russia". You can see then, dear Mr. Ellis, that my position is not a very enviable one. I should not mind it in the least, if it were not for the pitiful condition of several thousands political prisoners who are slowly being done to death in Russia. For their sake, I am trying my utmost to get together some unattached men and women who, like myself, are "old-time Christians" and still believe in the superiority of Truth to Trade. I am most eager to organise a Committee which would do for Russia what the old-time "Friends of Russian Freedom" used to do to acquaint England with the actual conditions under the Tsars. I wonder whether you could suggest people who would be willing to help in the work I have outlined above.

I have written a book about the whole situation which was published in two volumes by Doubleday Page & Co. I should consider it a great honour if you will let me send you the volumes. But if you would rather wait till you return to London, please do not hesitate to say so.

Cordially yours,

Mr. Havelock Ellis,
8, Belmont Road,
Guernsey (Channel Islands)

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261

The Emma Goldman Papers

840305027

[Letter] 1924 Dec. 27 [London] [to] Havelock Ellis, Guernsey, Channel Islands
[England] / [Emma Goldman]. — 2 p. ; 42 x 24 cm.
Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the Tamiment Library, New York University.

3, Fitchfield Terrace
Regent's Park London, N.W.8.

27th December, 1924.

My dear Mr. Ellis,

Thank you so much for your kind letter of the 14th inst. Indeed, I shall want to come to you when you return to London, unless the Tory Government finds itself "menaced" by my presence in England. It has been one of my great dreams for many years to meet you personally and to be able to talk to you about the things to which you have devoted all your life and your deep human understanding.

I came to know of you just twenty-five years ago last November, when I came to England for a lecture-tour. At that time Mr. Villiers was, I believe, arrested in connection with your works on "Sex-Psychology". I was fortunate, however, to get hold of several volumes which I carried off to America as my greatest treasures. From that time on I followed your work, read nearly all I could get hold of and introduced them to the mass of the people I was able to reach through my lecture work. I have also quoted you extensively in a volume of essays which was published in America in 1910. I would so love to send you a copy, but I do not wish to burden you, for fear that you may have ever so many books sent to you. Should you however care to read the Essays, I would be delighted to send them.

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I do not know how much you are interested in the situation in Russia, but I do know that you have always pleaded on behalf of Liberty and Justice and that you would therefore want to know how much I have succeeded in arousing interest among advanced English men and women on behalf of the most of political victims of the Bolshevik regime. I must say, I am amazed at the callousness which I find here in regard to wretched Russia. Knowing the nature of Government, I was never deceived in the very great superior quality of the English Government; I knew that it gives as much political freedom as it considers in keeping with its interests. But I did expect to find, if only a small number, men and women to whom Truth and Liberty meant more than political or trade interests. What I actually have found so far is - that nearly everybody is comfortably tucked away in some Party-organisation or Group and that they will not be stirred out of their grooves even by the most harrowing description of the actual situation in Russia. Much more amazed am I to find so little independence of thought and individual daring to stand up against the terrific hold of the Bolshevik myth. I realise the hold of this myth much more than most students of Russian conditions, because I myself was carried away by it in its beginning. Added to this is, of course, the attack upon Russia by the reactionaries of the world, which has rallied to the support of Bolshevism many fine minds and stout hearts. As far as the workers are concerned, the myth is as dominant as the Christian myth. The two are very much alike in their confusion of an actual ideal with the organised institutions which have monopolised the name. Thus, the Christian Church.

The Emma Goldman Papers

840305027

[Letter] 1924 Dec. 27 [Lo]ndon [to] Havelock Ellis, Guernsey, Channel Islands [England] / [Emma Goldman]. — 2 p. ; 42 x 24 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the Tamiment Library, New York University.

Mr. Havelock Ellis.

- 2 -

27/12/24.

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Cordially yours,

Mr. Havelock Ellis,
8, Belmont Road,
Guernsey (Channel Islands)

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The Emma Goldman Papers

900316010

[Letter] 1924 Dec. 27, London [to Havelock] Ellis, [Guernsey, Channel Islands, England (fragment)] / [Emma Goldman].— 1 p. ; 29 x 18 cm.

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Institutional Location: Max Nettlau Archive.

3, Fitzfield Terrace,
Regent's Park, London, N.W.8.



27th December, 1924.

My dear Mr. Ellis,

Thank you so much for your kind letter of the 14th inst. Indeed, I shall want to come to you when you return to London, unless the Tory Government finds itself "menaced" by my presence in England. It has been one of my great dreams for many years to meet you personally and to be able to talk to you about the things to which you have devoted all your life and your deep human understanding.

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I do not know how much you are interested in the situation in Russia, but I do know that you have always pleaded on behalf of liberty and justice and that you would therefore want to know how much I have succeeded in arousing interest among advanced English men and women on behalf of the host of political victims of the Bolshevik regime. I must say, I am amazed at the callousness which I find here in regard to woe-begotten Russia. Knowing the nature of Government, I was never deceived in the very great superior quality of the English Government, I knew that it gives as much political freedom as it considers keeping with its interests. But I did expect to find, if only a small number, men and women to whom Truth and Liberty meant more than political or trade interests. What I actually have found so far is - that nearly everybody is comfortably tucked away in some Party-organisation, or Group and that they will not be stirred out of their grooves even by the most harrowing description of the actual situation in Russia. Much more amazed am I to find so little independence of thought and individual daring to stand up out against the terrific hold of the Bolshevik myth. I realise the hold of this myth much more than most students of Russian conditions, because I myself was carried away by it in its beginning. Added to this is, of course, the attack upon Russia by the reactionaries of the world which has rallied to the support of Bolshevism many fine minds and stout hearts. As far as the masses are concerned, the myth is as solid as the foundation of the world. They are very much alike in their devotion to the myth and with the organised institutions which

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The Emma Goldman Papers

830720003

[Letter] 1924 Dec. 27, London [to] Powers Hapgood, Dortmund [Germany] / E[mma] G[oldman].— 1 p. ; 28 x 21 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from Indiana University, Bloomington. Institutional Location: Lilly Library.

3. Titchfield Terrace.
St. John's Wood Road.
London, N. W.8.

Dec. 27th. 1924.

Dear Powers Hapgood.

I am glad to have your letter. I was beginning to fear something had happened to you because of your long silence. I am writing the Editor of "Der Syndikalist" to let you know how to get in touch with the Syndicalist friends. I am afraid though that there is no one who understands or speaks English. I should think by this time you ought to be able to make yourself understood in German. Anyway, I am writing him and also asking that the publication should be sent to you. When you leave Dortmund, will you go to Berlin? I am so anxious for Berkman and Souhy the Editor of "Der Syndikalist" to meet you. Let me know, and I will send you a line of introduction.

To save time repeating in my letter what I have accomplished since your departure I am inclosing copies of three letters I have recently written. Please send them back when you have read them. I am so crowded with work that I am compelled to write an occasional long letter, make many copies and send one to the friends who are interested in the progress of my work on Russia.

From the letters you will see that I have made very little headway and that I am already being attacked for my stand on Russia by the very people one would expect to want truth on the subject. The attack does not worry me, it is much more the cowardice of the so called leaders of Labor and the unfortunate situation here which makes it impossible to reach the rank and file direct. I feel certain if I could get at the workers I could impress upon them the reactionary character of Bolshevism and how it has crushed the Russian Revolution. But the Trade Union movement and the I. L. P. are much more centralized and under the thumb of the leaders than they are in A. At any rate I have not yet found a way how to get at the mass of the workers.

I hope you were not too sorry over the death of that reactionary, Gompers. If nothing else the fact that he was given a State burial should convince the most stupid that Gompers never served Labor. I wonder will the tradition of Gompers persevere in the A. F. of L. or will a new breath of life enter its ranks. The great danger is that Gompers will be replaced by the equally reactionary force of Communism, which with its dictatorship will hold the workers in bondage such as Gompers did.

I hope you have had a fairly pleasant holiday. I can not say as much for myself. I feel terribly depressed over the difficulties confronting me here. And I have the victims of Russia too much on my mind to enjoy anything. Let us hope the New Year will bring some breath of freedom to the hapless thousands who are filling Bolshevik prisons and that the workers may learn that dictatorship in whatever form will never free them from economic or social bondage.

Faithfully.



Hapgood Mss.
Manuscripts Department, Lilly Library
Indiana University, Bloomington, Indiana

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The Emma Goldman Papers

881010441

[Letter] 1924 Dec. 27 [London to] Harold J. Laski, [London] / [Emma Goldman]. --
1 p.; 30 x 21 cm.
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Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

25644

3, Titchfield Terrace,
Regent's Park, N.W.8.

27th December, 1924.

Prof. Harold J. Laski,
16, Warwick Gardens,
W. 14.

Dear Prof. Laski,

A copy of the documents which I received this morning from Mr. Don Levine went under registered post to you this afternoon. It may still reach you this evening, or else on Monday morning. I am writing you because I am very anxious that Mr. Bertrand Russell and others of your important friends should read the documents. I have also sent a copy to Mr. Nevinson and have asked him to prevail upon Mr. Brailsford to read it. I sincerely hope that the facts contained in the 78 pages about the conditions of the politicals will have some effect on your friends. I cannot imagine that anyone with the slightest sense of justice can stand out against a concerted campaign in behalf of the hapless politicals who are now at the mercy of the "Socialist Republic".

Please impress upon the people who are to read the document in question that the material is not for publication, as it comprises part of a book now being compiled for publication within a very short time.

Isaac Don Levine is a Russian who has lived in America many years, -a Socialist and one of the ablest American correspondents. Long before anyone else dared to speak on behalf of the Bolsheviks, he wrote for the New York "GLOBE" glowing accounts about Russia. Only after he had gone back to Russia and lived there for eight months, did he come out determined to use his pen on behalf of the Russian politicals and to show up the continued terror in its true light. I tell you this that you may know that Levine is absolutely dependable. Please see that the document is returned to me after Mr. Russell and others have read it.

Hoping to hear from you about your success with your friends in re the Committee, I remain

Yours sincerely,

P.S. Please remember me very kindly to Mrs. Laski.

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The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1924 Dec. 27, London [to] Isaac Don Levine, Berlin / E[mma] G[oldman]. — 1 p. ; 36 × 22 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the United States Library of Congress.
Institutional Location: Levine Collection.

Emma Goldman, London, E.V.A.

27th December, 1924.

Mr. Isaac Don Levine,

Berlin, Prinz Regenten str. 93.

Dear Don Levine,

Your letter and the registered parcel containing three copies of the document you sent me received this morning. Of course, the material is tremendously important. I have already despatched one copy to Prof. Laski who will get Bertrand Russell and others to read it; one copy to Henry W. Nevins when I have asked to go after Brailsford and the third copy will go to-morrow morning to Rebecca West who will read it immediately and then get H.G. Wells to read it. Shaw is way in Madeira taking sun-baths! Besides I really do not think that he is particularly interested in the fate of the Russian politicals.

Yes, the material is important, but it is not the material I telegraphed Berkman for. What I mean is some of the stuff I understand the Russian Mensheviks are preparing for their counter-statement against the scurrileous lies of the Trade Union Mission. I assure you that most of the people of the I.L.P. and the Trade Unions I have met are not in the least interested in what is happening to political prisoners in Russia. As Englishmen, their main concern is - Trade. And as Trade Unionists, they are interested in whether or not the Russian working men are really "well fed, clothed and happy". There are a few who are also interested in the "tremendous boom in education". Now, unless I can get some material to show up the contemptible whitewash, to prove the actual condition of the workers, the Trade Unions and the Schools, I fear I will fail to arouse interest in the work I have started and which was making headway until the damnable Trade Union Report appeared. I am not able to write Sacha to-day, so I want you to get hold of him and I want you both to do your utmost to supply me with the stuff I must have as quickly as possible.

I can understand the fanatical blindness on the part of the American Liberals and Radicals in matters Russian. After all, America is far away and very little of an authentic nature has reached the country. But what is one to say about England where men like Bertrand Russell and others have written about the Bolshevik regime? The ignorance on the part of many in Labour and T.U. ranks and the cowardly way in meeting the actual facts are the most disheartening things I have experienced since I left Russia. The only way I can explain this situation is that most people are moved much more by the interests of their political Party or Trade Union organization than by the truth about Russia or the tragic fate of her best men and women. All the so-called intellectuals in this country belong to the Independent Labour Party and have their eye on the House of Commons. Naturally, they are not likely to do anything which will in the least interfere with their career. Such gentry always find some excuse for their lack of integrity. Now it is that whatever we will do will be adding fuel to the fire of the Tory Government. I am sure if Labour had gone back to the House of Commons, the same people would have said that whatever we will do about Russia we will injure the Labour Government. As a friend of mine justly suggested, my position here is not unlike Dr. Stockman's in the "Enemy of the People". Of course, I mean to forge ahead, but I cannot say that I am very happy or hopeful of success.

Sincerely yours

*P.S. I just received a kind I want
all material from Sacha, be kind*

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The Emma Goldman Papers

881010439

[Letter] 1924 Dec. 27 [London to] Manchester Guardian, Manchester [England] / [Emma Goldman]. — 1 p. ; 29 × 21 cm.

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Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

25646

3, Titchfield Terrace,
Regent's Park, N.W.8.

27th December, 1924.

To the Editor,
"Manchester Guardian",
Guardian Building,
Manchester.

Dear Sir,

Your London Correspondent, in reporting the Dinner of Nov. 12th last, given to me by my friends, made two unfortunate mistakes, — not intentionally, I am sure. He had it that I was expelled from Sweden and Germany, both of which statements are not correct. When I left Russia, three years ago, it was Mr. Branting, the then Minister for Foreign Affairs in Sweden, who granted me a visa. During my three-and-a-half months sojourn in the country I was in no way molested and I left for Germany without any difficulties.

In Germany, I lived two-and-a-half years and again departed of my own free will. I had not trouble whatever while in Germany, nor was I ordered to leave.

I think it is but fair to these countries that these facts should be made known to your readers.

Yours faithfully,

P.S. The Report of the Dinner appeared in your issue of Nov. 13th last.

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The Emma Goldman Papers

881010438

[Letter] 1924 Dec. 27 [London to] Henry W. Nevins, [London] / [Emma Goldman].— 1 p.; 30 x 21 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the International Institute of Social History.
Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

28607

3, Titchfield Terrace,
Regent's Park N.W.8.

27th December, 1924.

Henry W. Nevins, Esq.,
4, Downside Crescent,
N.W.3.

Dear Mr. Nevins,

I tried to get you on the telephone to-day, but found that you were out. I am therefore writing to tell you that I have to-day sent you per registered post a document of 78 pages comprising part of a book that is now being compiled about the actual conditions in the depths of Russia. The compilation is being made by Mr. Isaac Don Levine, a very well-known American Correspondent. Mr. Don Levine is a Russian by birth, an American by Naturalization. He is a Socialist and was one of the very first Americans to write in the New York "GLOBE" most favourably about the Bolsheviks. Last year he was sent as representative of the Huret papers to Russia. He lived there eight months and knowing Russian, he was able to make a careful and painstaking survey of actual conditions. He is now determined to set before the world not so much his own findings, as the material he collected from all kinds of dependable sources.

I know that you are crowded with reading material, but I also know that your interest in the appalling conditions of the political will prompt you to read the document I sent you to-day. Will you also prevail upon Mr. Brailsford to read the document? I cannot help feeling that men like Mr. Brailsford would raise their voice in protest against the continued terror in Russia if they could be convinced of what is going on underneath the organized tours for credulous Trade Union Missions. And you, Mr. Nevins, who have done so much for the political victims of the Tsarist autocracy, will you not help in presenting the unfortunate life of the political under Bolshevik autocracy? Will you not let me know whether I may count on you as one of the Committee I am desperately endeavouring to organize.

Hoping to hear from you soon,

Yours sincerely,

P.S. - I have been asked by Mr. Don Levine that the document should not be used for publication inasmuch as it is part of a book shortly to be published.

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The Emma Goldman Papers

870919219

[Letter] 1924 Dec. 29, London [to] Ben [Capes, Chicago] / E[mma] G[oldman]. —
1 p.; 30 × 20 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the International Institute of Social History.
Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

3. Titchfield Terrace.
St John's Wood, London, N, 7, 8.

11824

Dec. 29th. 1924.

Dear old Ben.

I got your letter of the 10th. I would have written you anyway before the old rotten year is over. My only trouble is I am in such a hell of a mood, my letter is not going to be too cheerful. The reasons for my mood you will find in the inclosed letter, or rather copy of letter which I wrote to Havelock Ellis in reply to a beautiful letter I had from him last week. You will find therein the difficulties confronting me here in my work about Russia.

For six weeks I am trying to get up a meeting in Queen's Hall and to get some thing to back it. I came nearly succeeding but the white wash of the Trade Union Mission knocked everything on the head. We simply had to give up Queen's Hall as our own few comrades could not undertake the risk of an half empty Hall and an expence of 150 pounds. We are now trying to find a smaller Hall, but that is most difficult because most Halls in London belong to Churches. I am really worn out with the effort. Yet I must go on even if I die in the attempt. Only you will realize why I feel so rotten.

I had a letter from Colliers asking for an article about the good points in ~~the~~ America. I replied that I will write it if I can show the other side of the coin. I had not expected to hear from them. But I did as per inclosed. I am therefore going to make an attempt though I feel it is going to be a difficult job to write about the few good things when one has to write about so much that is rotten. I naturally would want to get the article accepted, I really need the money, they pay four hundred dollars. But I do not intend to gloss over anything for the sake of the money. In any event I will get fifty which is better than nothing and perhaps some other publication may take it if Colliers does not.

Dear old Ben what a dreadful thing about your stomach. You need to lay off for a year that is the thing. But will you? It is so awful that you must go on and on without a let up and ruin yourself completely than pay doctors bills. It is not worth it dear. I certainly hope you will be able to take a rest some time soon. Let me know how you are I feel very worried.

Do you remember Kitty Beck? You met her when we were together in Portland, or did you not come as far as that with me. Well, she was found dead from heart failure. She was one of the rarest creatures among my few worth while friends. She just killed herself for others. I tried so hard to get her out of A, and she wanted to come, but her man, Vanderveere held on to her for dear life, so she staid, and now there is no Kitty and my world is poorer for that. I hope with all my heart that you will not go on waiting until it is too late.....

Forgive my gloom dearest boy, I wish I could write you something cheering. The only thing I can assure you of is my abiding love and devotion to you my dear and my longing to see you again soon. Let me not be disappointed, I have so many bitter disappointments to carry.

May the New Year bring you complete health, strength and joy and may you come to visit your old lonely comrade.

Devotedly.

Love-like Emma

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The Emma Goldman Papers

870924077

[Letter, 19]24 Dec. 29 [London to Emma] Goldman, [London] / H[arold] J. Laski. —
1 p. ; 33 x 20 cm.
Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the International Institute of Social History.
Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

COPY :

29. 12. 24.

16013

Dear Miss Goldman,

I have now had the opportunity of talking over your proposed meeting with a variety of people from every group in the Labour Party.

As a result, my feeling is quite definitely: (1) that you could not hope for a Committee such as you have in mind and (2) that it is probably better for you to hold a meeting at which you speak in your own way without being hindered by limitations.

The sentiment, I find, is as follows: (1) Some feel, e.g. Col. Malone, that to attack Soviet Russia in an atmosphere in which the Labour Party will not see, and any best, that it is like to be, is like to be, while disliking the Soviet internally, do not see any alternative Government; and that your propaganda would be effective; (3) Others, again, are convinced that you are really more anxious to attack Belshovism than to obtain privileges for the political party; and will not support a meeting held under the auspices of a declared opponent of Soviet Russia; (4) Others feel that action must develop out of the report of the Trade Union delegation and not from non-English sources; (5) Labour leaders will not act in a way that is likely to involve them in controversy with the Soviet, especially because they are set certain that the Mensheviks would be any better. These, as I gather, are the different strands of opinion.

I think myself that there is room either (1) for a general attack on Belshovism or (2) a request for better treatment for the political limited to that single issue. With (1) I could not concern myself. With (2) I agree with Russell (a) that it must not be held under anti-Belshovian auspices such as yours, (b) that it must contain a list of prisoners' affidavits beyond denial or criticism, (c) that it must begin with discussion with the delegation privately before publicity is attempted. I do not think you would be willing to limit yourself to speaking at your meeting solely upon facts of prison treatment; I gather that you want to trace it to the inherent nature of Belshovism. I therefore recommend you to hold your meeting under your own and your friends' auspices. I will meanwhile try and get people interested in protesting about the political. But I am not hopeful.

I am returning separately the papers you lent me. Levine's indictment is very formidable. I hope he will publish it soon.

I have read your book with great interest; if I may venture one criticism, it suffers from being episodic. I should like to see the last chapter in Vol. II. greatly expanded. Your most likely publishers in England are (1) John Murray, 50 Albert Street, W.1. (II) Thornton Butterworth, 15 Beauford St. W.C.2.

I am,

Yours very sincerely,
(sgd.) H.J. Laski.

COPY:

Dec. 29 24.

Dear Miss Goldman,

I was very sorry to be obliged to leave Laski's early the other day, owing to another engagement.

Many thanks for the terrible letters which reached me on Saturday. They are sad reading indeed, and I wish you every possible success in your efforts to make life for these poor victims more endurable.

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The Emma Goldman Papers

870924076

[Letter, 19]24 Dec. 29 [London to Emma] Goldman, [London] / H[arold] J. Laski. — 2 p. ; 18 x 12 cm.

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Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

16011

WESTERN 2444

16, WARWICK GARDENS,

W.14.

29. 12. 24

Dear Theo Goldman,

I have now had the opportunity of looking over your proposed meeting with a variety of people from every group in the Labour Party.

As a result, my feeling is quite definitely (1) that you will not have for a committee such as you have in mind and (2) that it is probably better for you to hold a meeting at which you speak in your own way without being hindered by imitations.

The sentiment, I find, is as follows. (1) Some feel, e.g. A. H. H. H., that to attack Soviet Russia is an adventure upon which the Labour Party must not, at any cost, embark. (2) Others, like B. Russell, while disliking the Soviet intensely, do not see any alternative government, and doubt whether your pro-paganda would be effective. (3) Others again, are convinced that you are really more anxious to attack Bolshevism than to obtain privileges for the politicals, and will not support a meeting held under the auspices of a declared opponent of Soviet Russia. (4) Others feel that action must develop out of the report of the Trade Union delegation and not from non-English sources. (5) Labour leaders will not act in a way that is likely to involve them in controversy with the Soviet, especially because they are not certain that the Mensheviks would be any better. There, as I gather, are the different shades of opinion.

I think myself that there is room either (1) for a general attack on Bolshevism or (2) a ~~meeting~~ for better treatment of the politicals limited to that single issue. With (1) I could not concern myself. With (2) I agree with Russell (a) that it must not be held under anti-Bolshevik auspices such as yours (b) that it must contain a list of persons' affidavits beyond denial of criticism (c) that it must begin with discussion with

The Emma Goldman Papers

870924076

[Letter, 19]24 Dec. 29 [London to Emma] Goldman, [London] / H[arold] J. Laski. — 2 p. ; 18 x 12 cm.

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Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

16012

The delegation privately before publicity is attempted. I do not think you would be willing to limit yourself to speaking at your meeting solely upon the basis of personal treatment, I gather that you want to have it to the inherent nature of Bolshevism. I therefore recommend you to hold your meeting under your own & your friends' auspices. I will meanwhile try and get people interested in fighting about the patch sales. But I am not hopeful.

I am returning separately the papers you lent me. Linn's indictment is very formidable. I hope he will publish it soon.

I have read your book with great interest. If I may venture one criticism, it suffers from being episodic. I should like to see the last chapter in Vol II. greatly expanded. The most likely publishers in England are (1) John Murray 150 Old Broad St. W.C. 1 (2) Thornton Butterworth, 15 Bedford Sq. W.C. 2.

Yours sincerely,
H. J. Laski

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter 19] 24 Dec. 29 [London to Emma] Goldman, [London] / H[arold] J. Laski. — 1 p. ; 21 × 18 cm.

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Institutional Location: Max Nettlau Archive.

COPY:

29.12.24.

Dear Miss. Goldman,

SYG N.

I have now had the opportunity of talking over your proposed meeting with a variety of people from every group in the Labour Party.

As a result, my feeling is quite definitely: (1) that you could not hope for a Committee such as you have in mind and (2) that it is probably better for you to hold a meeting at which you speak in your own way without being hindered by limitations.

The sentiment, I find, is as follows: (1) Some feel, e.g. Col. Malone that to attack Soviet Russia is an adventure upon which the Labour Party must not, at any cost, embark: (2) Others, like R. Russell, while disliking the Soviet intensely, do not see any alternative Government, and doubt whether your propaganda would be effective: (3) Others, again, are convinced that you are really more anxious to attack Bolshevism than to obtain privileges for the politicals, and will not support a meeting held under the auspices of a declared opponent of Soviet Russia: (4) Others feel that action must develop out of the report of the Trade Union Delegation and not from non-English sources: (5) Labour leaders will not act in a way that is likely to involve them in controversy with the Soviet, especially because they are not certain that the Mensheviks would be any better. These, as I gather, are the different strands of opinion.

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I am,

Yours very sincerely,
(Sgd). H. J. Laski.

The Emma Goldman Papers

850702128

[Letter] 1924 Dec. 29 [London to Emma] Goldman, [London] / Henry W. Nevins. — 1 p. ; 11 x 21 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the Yale University Library. Institutional Location: Harry Weinberger Papers, Department of Manuscripts and Archives.

COPY:

Dec. 29th, 1924.

Dear Miss. Goldman,

I was very sorry to be obliged to leave Laski's early the other day, owing to another engagement.

Many thanks for the terrible letters which reached me on Saturday. They are sad reading indeed, and I wish you every possible success in your efforts to make life for these poor victims more endurable.

I simply have not time to join a committee such as you propose, for I am working very hard to finish a book, which must be done by February. But as you wish it, I will show the letters to Brailford.

I hope Mr. Levine's book will be out soon and that it will rouse public opinion here when it appears.

With kind regards, Yours very truly,

(L.H.) Henry W. Nevins.

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The Emma Goldman Papers

870920246

[Letter] 1924 Dec. 29 [London to Emma Goldman, London] / David Soskice.—
2 p.; 17 × 13 cm.

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Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

TELEPHONE NO. *Riverside*
833. ~~XXXXXXXXXX~~

5044

5, GIRDLEERS ROAD,
BROOK GREEN,
W. 14.

Dec. 29 - 1924

Dear friend,

I must apologise for my long delay
in answering your card. I was most
of the time on the Continent, and since
I came back I was occupied by all
sorts of worries. Now, would you be
able to come to see us next Saturday
day at 4 pm? I just spoke to Mrs
Mallenberg on the phone and she
said she will come on Sat. next at
4 pm. to meet you here.

Tchaimovsky is also now in London
and he too would like to see you.
He will be with ^{us} tomorrow evening

The Emma Goldman Papers

870920246

[Letter] 1924 Dec. 29 [London to Emma Goldman, London] / David Soskice. —
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and a lovely letter to you. 5015

Please let me know whether
that time suits you.

With best wishes for the New Year

Yours sincerely

David Soskice

My wife sends you her kindest regards.

The Emma Goldman Papers

861111056

[Letter] 1924 Dec. 29 [London to] Emma [Goldman, London] / John Turner.—
4 p.; 24 × 20 cm.
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Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

17 Grosvenor Square. W.C. 1.
Dec 29. 1924

Dear Emma

668.1
—! Good news of yesterday on my return to
London, to attend a special meeting of the General Council
of the Trade Union Congress this afternoon, to receive the
report of the delegation to Russia.
I'm glad to say my cold is better; but it got steadily
worse till Friday, when an inflammation began. I've
—had a rather bad time with it through a dinner.
I've not seen the *Mc* *Guardian*; and honestly I
cannot pretend to care a scrap what it says. Years
ago I ceased to trouble what newspapers said
about me: I certainly do not intend writing to it.
I'm not sure it is the article I spoke to you about, —
—which my attention was called to in Russia. — *Wicks*
Tillett had given an interview, and his signature
was attached to it: I've certainly never written anything
for any Russian paper about Political Prisoners.

The Emma Goldman Papers

861111056

[Letter] 1924 Dec. 29 [London to] Emma [Goldman, London] / John Turner. — 4 p. ; 24 x 20 cm.

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Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

2.

668

If the "Life Guardian" wants my views, they can learn them
for the asking in an interview, or for the saying in the
shape of an article.
I don't consider "Purcell" "Tillett" and "Bramley" a
cracked gang. The first is as honest as mistake: — one
of the straightest men I know. The second
— well I'd better not write what I feel about him,
as it's not very flattering: Bramley is the Council
Secretary and simply stupid; — and on the
visit got very visitable. — Are you not,
like so many of the English & Russian
papers, confusing Bramley, the Council
Secretary, with "Bramley" the Los Angeles
Trade Union Secretary? The latter, next to
Purcell, had most to say while in Russia.
As a matter of fact, Bramley, on all of his
opposition to J. R. Thomas, is one of the most
militant of our Trade Union officials. To speak
of them as a "cracked gang", would be an abuse of
language. Stupid, politically, they may be as far as

The Emma Goldman Papers

861111056

[Letter] 1924 Dec. 29 [London to] Emma [Goldman, London] / John Turner. —
4 p. ; 24 × 20 cm.

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3

6683

Russia is concerned. If their lack of judgment is to be made apparent, it will not be by impugning their honesty, but by challenging their knowledge of things they so readily wrote and talked about. The apparent bias shown in favour of the political system operating in Russia, without troubling to examine it carefully!

Besides, as a matter of fact, no report of the delegation has yet been even presented, ~~sent~~ to the General Council! That is to be done this afternoon! The Council will decide whether, and if so, in what form, it is to be published. All this Jewish, preliminary slandering, on the part of the press is so much childish nonsense. I can't feel even interested in it, only slightly amused.

That "Open Letter", is certainly one of the best things I ever saw from Social Democrats. I agree with you entirely respecting same.

The Emma Goldman Papers

861111056

[Letter] 1924 Dec. 29 [London to] Emma [Goldman, London] / John Turner. —
4 p. ; 24 × 20 cm.

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Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

6684

Your other remarks: by myself, are however, as
lacking in balance, as the "open letter" is full of flame.
My dear Emma, there is nothing to forgive in your
criticism: — it is just you! Quick, impulsive,
"impatient", "premature", — that's all!
I'm engaged tomorrow (Tuesday) — after that,
at present I'm free and, can see you to hear and
where convenient to yourself: just send a line.
Am returning "open letter" as requested.
Largely because, am just rushing off to the
special meeting of the General Council,
which has brought me back to London
sooner than intended. As always.

Sincerely & fraturnally Yours
John Turner

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The Emma Goldman Papers

870924083

[Letter] 1924 Dec. 29 [London to Emma Goldman, London (fragment)] / John Turner. — 1 p. ; 28 × 17 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the International Institute of Social History.
Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

29th Dec. 1924.

I have not seen the "Manchester Guardian"; - and, honestly, I cannot pretend to care a scrap what it says! Yours & I ceased to trouble what newspapers said about me. I certainly do not intend writing to it. I am not sure it is the article I spoke to you about - which my attention was called to in Russia - that Fillett had given an interview and my signature was attached to it. I have certainly never written anything for any Russian paper about political prisoners. If the "H." wants my views, they can have them for the asking in an interview, or for the paying in the shape of an article.

I do not consider Purcell, Fillett and Bramley a "gang". The first is as honest as mistaken - one of the strongest amongst our labour men. The second - well, I'd rather not write what I feel about him, as it is not very flattering. Bramley is the Council's Secretary and simply stodge - and the visit got very irritable. Are you not, like so many of English and Russian papers, confusing Bramley, the Council's Secretary, with Bramley, the Locomotive Engineer Trade Union Secretary? The latter, unlike Purcell, had most to say while in Russia. As a matter of fact, Bramley, on account of his opposition to J.F. Thomas, is one of the most militant of our Trade Union officials. To speak of these as a "gang" would be an abuse of language. "Hypocrites", politically, they may be as far as Russia is concerned. If their lack of judgment is to be made apparent it will not be by impeaching their honesty, but by challenging their knowledge of things. They so readily wrote and talked about - and the apparent lies shown in favour of the political system operating in Russia, without troubling to examine it carefully.

Nonsense, as a matter of fact, no report of the delegation has yet even presented, to the General Council. That is to be done this afternoon. The Council will decide whether, and if so, in what form it is to be published. All this feverish preliminary stunting, on the part of the Press is so much childish nonsense. I cannot feel even interested in it, only slightly amused.

That "Open Letter" is certainly one of the best things ever seen from Social Democrats. I agree with you entirely respecting same. Your other remarks to myself are however, as lacking in balance as the "Open Letter" is full of same. My dear Emma, there is nothing to forgive in your criticism it is just you. Quick, impulsive, impatient, premature. - That's all!

Sincerely and fraternally

(sgd.) John Turner.

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(and.) John Turner.

The Emma Goldman Papers

870930134

[Letter, 1925 - 1926? to] Emma [Goldman, London?] / Evelyn [Scott]. - 2 p. ; 20 x 13 cm.

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Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

P.S. ~~Plus~~ you alone
St. Tropez? Same day?

Emma, darling:

15262

The furies have us even
more than you think!
I'm up. you / exhaustion
mine) but ask seems
in for a major operation
which the doctors don't
look too hopefully on.

So I expect we will
be in London soon.

According to recent
plans, must cancel
ships passage. Our
worldly travel is \$600
in America + no prospects.
I am calculating madly
to borrow but not

a poor reason.
Enclosed note to A.S. So
sorry about Germany's hope
to see you. Love, Evelyn 15263

The Emma Goldman Papers

870930134

[Letter, 1925 - 1926? to] Emma [Goldman, London?] / Evelyn
[Scott].— 2 p. ; 20 × 13 cm.

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Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

Enter of these 13263
Haas address
Burlington Hotel
Carb Street

But they may have
left.

The Emma Goldman Papers

900129001

[Letter, 1925 to Ba Jin, Shanghai?] / [Emma Goldman]. — 4 p. ; 18 × 24 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the University of California at Berkeley.
Institutional Location: East Asian Library.

一個理想在前面迷着我的眼睛，我懷着一個大的勇氣離開了我住過十二年的成都。

那時候我已經受了新文化運動的洗禮，而且參加了社會運動，創辦了新刊物，並且在那刊物上寫了下面的兩個短句作為我的生活的目標了：

「奮鬥就是生活」

「人生只有前進。」

112

信仰與活動

「你的美麗的信和××同志的信上星期到了我的手裏。我不能夠對你說出我是怎樣深深地受了你的感動，而且你的話又是怎樣地鼓舞了我。我知道我對於一個如此年青的學生居然會給了很大的影響，我是非常快活的，你才十五歲就讀了我的文章，我常常夢想着我的著作會幫助了許多真摯的、熱烈的男女青年傾向着安那其主義的理想，這理想在我看來是一切理想中最美麗的一個。」

「……你說你是從一個富裕的舊家庭裏出來的。這沒有什麼關係。在資產階級裏面也常常產出了活動的革命家來，事實上在我們的運動裏大部分的智的領導者都是這樣的一類人。他們注意社會問題，並非由於他們自己的困苦境遇，而是因為他們不能夠坐視着大眾的困苦。而且你生在資產階級的家庭裏，並不是你自己

113

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286

The Emma Goldman Papers

900129001

[Letter, 1925 to Ba Jin, Shanghai?] / [Emma Goldman]. — 4 p. ; 18 × 24 cm.
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Institutional Location: East Asiatic Library.

己的錯。我們並不能夠自己選擇出生的地方。但是以後的生活就可以由我們自己來處理了。我看出來你是有着每個青年叛逆者所應有的真摯和熱情的。我很喜歡這種性格。如今更是不可缺少的，因為只為了一點小的好處許多人就會賣掉他們的靈魂——這樣的事情到處都有。連他們對於社會理想的興味也只是表面上的。只要遇着一點小小的困難，他們就會把他拋掉。因此我知道在你們那里你和別的一些青年真摯地思索着，行動着，而且深切地愛着我們的美麗的理想。我覺得十分高興。

從愛瑪·高德曼寫給我的一些信函裏我摘出了上面的兩段，在這裏借着她的話我第一次明顯地說出了我的信仰。她的第一封信是在南京接到的。

高德曼曾經被我稱作『我的精神上的母親』，她是第一個使我窺見了安那其主義的美麗的人。

當我在實社自由錄和新青年上面開始讀着她的主義的論文的時候，我的感

動，我的喜悅，我的熱情……我真找不出話來形容。只有後來我讀到Rossoloff的拉甫洛夫傳，才偶然找到了相當的話語。

『我們把這本讀得又破又舊的小書（這裏是指拉甫洛夫的歷史書簡）放在床頭，每晚拿出來讀。一面讀，一面拿眼淚來潤濕牠。一種熱誠佔有了我們，使我們的靈魂裏面充滿了一種願為崇高的理想而生活，而死亡的渴望。我們的幼稚的心何等快樂地跳動着；同時我們的大師的形象又十分偉大地出現於我們的眼前。這位大師雖是我們所不認識的，然而他在精神上却是和我們非常接近，他呼喚我們前去為理想奮鬥……』

高德曼的文章以她那雄辯的論據，精密的論理，深邃的眼光，豐富的學識，簡明的文體，帶煽動性的筆調，毫不費力地把我這一個十五歲的孩子征服了。況且在不久以前我還讀過兩本很有力量的小書，而我的近幾年來的家庭生活又使我猛烈地憎厭了一切的強權，而驅使我去走解放的路。

The Emma Goldman Papers

900129001

[Letter, 1925 to Ba Jin, Shanghai?] / [Emma Goldman]. — 4 p. ; 18 × 24 cm.

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Institutional Location: East Asian Library.

我所說的兩本小書是一個未曾會面的朋友從上海寄來的夜未央和告少年。我相信在五四運動以後的幾年間，這兩本小書不知感動了多少的中國青年。我和幾個朋友當時甚至把牠們一字一字地抄錄下來。夜未央是劇本，我們還把牠排演過。

當初五四運動發生的時候，報紙上的如火如荼的記載，就在我們的表面上平靜的家庭生活裏敲起了警鐘。大哥的被忘却了的青春也被喚醒了；我們開始貪婪地讀着本地報紙上的關於學生運動的北京通訊，以及後來上海的六三運動的記載。本地報紙上後來還轉載了新青年和每週評論的文章，這些文章很使我們的頭腦震動，但我們却覺得牠們常常說着我們想說而又不會說的話。

於是大哥找到了本城唯一售賣新書的那家店舖，他在那裏買了一本新青年和兩三份每週評論。我們爭着來讀牠們。那裏面的每個字都像火星一般地點燃了我們的熱情。那些新奇的議論和熱烈的文句帶着一種不可抗拒的力量壓倒了我。

們三個後來更說服了香表哥，甚至還說服了六姊，她另外訂閱了一份新青年。

新青年新潮，每週評論，星期評論，少年中國，少年世界，北大學生週刊，進化雜誌，實社自由錄……等等都接連地到了我們的手裏。在成都也響應般地出版了星期口學生潮，威克烈就是「外專」學生辦的，那時香表哥還在「外專」讀書。我們設法買全了新青年的前五卷。後來大哥甚至預先存了一兩百塊錢在華陽書報流通處，每天都要到那裏去取一些新的書報回來。在那時候新的書報是被人爭先恐後地購買着。（大哥做事的地方離那書舖極近。）

每天晚上我們總要抽點時間出來輪流地讀這些書報，連通訊欄也不肯輕易放過。有時我們三弟兄，再加上香表哥和六姊，我們聚在一起討論這些新書報中所論及的各種問題。後來我們五個人又組織了一個研究會，在新花園裏開第一次會，就給六姊的母親遇見了。三姊那時正和繼母大哥兩個鬧了架，她便禁止六姊參加。我們的研究會也就無形地停頓下去了。

The Emma Goldman Papers

900129001

[Letter, 1925 to Ba Jin, Shanghai?] / [Emma Goldman]. — 4 p. ; 18 × 24 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the University of California at Berkeley.
Institutional Location: East Asiatic Library.

當時他們還把我看作一個小孩子，却料不到我比他們更進一步，接受了更激進的思想，用白話寫文章，參加社會運動，認識新的朋友，而且和這些朋友第一次在成都大街上散布了紀念五一節鼓吹社會革命的傳單（這「草」字是傳單上印錯了的。）

從告少年裏我得到了愛人類愛世界的理想，得到了一個小孩子的幻夢，相信萬人享樂的社會就會和明天的太陽同升起來，一切的罪惡都會馬上消滅。在夜未央裏，我看見了在另一個國度裏一代青年爲人民爭自由謀幸福的鬥爭之大悲劇，我第一次找到了我的夢景中的英雄，我找到了我的終身事業，而這事業又是與我在僕人轎夫身上發見的原始的正義的信仰相合的。

如今我的信仰並沒有改變，社會科學的研究反而鞏固了牠，但是那個小孩子的幻夢却已經消失了。

小小的經驗

在五卅運動的後一年我們出版了一種半月刊，其實這話就有點語病，我並不是那刊物的創辦人，我甚至不和那般人認識。大約在刊物出到十期的光景，我寫了一封信到那編輯部去，他們回了信，又親自來找我，我便和他們做了朋友，以後就成了那刊物的同人，最後就做了一個編輯。

半月刊出到十期以後，就碰了一個小釘子，事情是這樣的：學生會演劇籌款辦平民學校，軍人來搗亂，發生了衝突，結果自然學生吃虧，風潮擴大起來。一個朋友在刊物上寫了一篇激烈的文章，刊物出版，我們就接到公事，要立刻把那短文抽去，才准刊物發賣。這時候另一個朋友想到了一個好辦法：我們去刻字舖刻了一個長條的圖記，用硃紅印泥蓋在那文章上面，然後再用墨筆把文章的前後勾了兩下。刊物

The Emma Goldman Papers

830719003

[Memorandum, 1925? London to Sylvia Beach, Paris] / Emma Goldman. —
1 p. ; 22 x 14 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the Princeton University Library. Institutional Location: Sylvia Beach Collection.

Please give the
copy of Ulysses of
I paid for to
be bearing of his
note

Emma Goldman

Shakespeare

Idan

12 rue de L'Odéon

The Emma Goldman Papers

830719002

[Letter, 1925? London to] Sylvia [Beach, Paris] / Emma Goldman.—
1 p.; 22 x 14 cm.
Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the Princeton University Library. Institutional Location: Sylvia Beach Collection.

Monday
Dear Sylvia, Ken
Adams he heard
of his name is a
legend of mine
Please give
her the copies of
the Balshovik Myth
and the Shaw Life
It has arrived
I have written
Nellie Harris. You
will no doubt hear
from her.
Cordially
Emma Goldman

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 1925? Paris to] Sylvia [Beach, Paris] / Emma Goldman. — 2 p. ; 7 × 20 cm.
 Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the Princeton University Library. Institutional Location: Sylvia Beach Collection.

Dear Sylvia
 I am only passing
 through. leave tomorrow
 I want very much
 to see you. Do you
 ever go to the "Ogre"
 cafe, I will be there
 at 10 to night if you
 not, I will come

The Emma Goldman Papers

830719007

[Letter, 1925? Paris to] Sylvia [Beach, Paris] / Emma Goldman. — 2 p. ; 7 × 20 cm.
Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the Princeton University Library. Institutional Location: Sylvia Beach Collection.

Feb. Hampstead 6062. 3. Fitchfield Terrace,
N. W. 8.
Dear Tommaso at
12 noon
Affectionately.
Emma Goldman
Emma Goldman
Representing
The Provincetown Playhouse,
New York City.
Kind greetings
to George
Fred

The Emma Goldman Papers

870927194

[Letter, 1925?] Nice [to Emma Goldman, London? (fragment)] / [Frank Harris]. —
1 p. ; 20 × 13 cm.
Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the International Institute of Social History.
Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

14167

The AMERICAN EXPRESS CO., Inc.
2, RUE DU CONGRÈS



VISITORS' WRITING ROOM
(NOT OFFICIAL)

NICE.

192

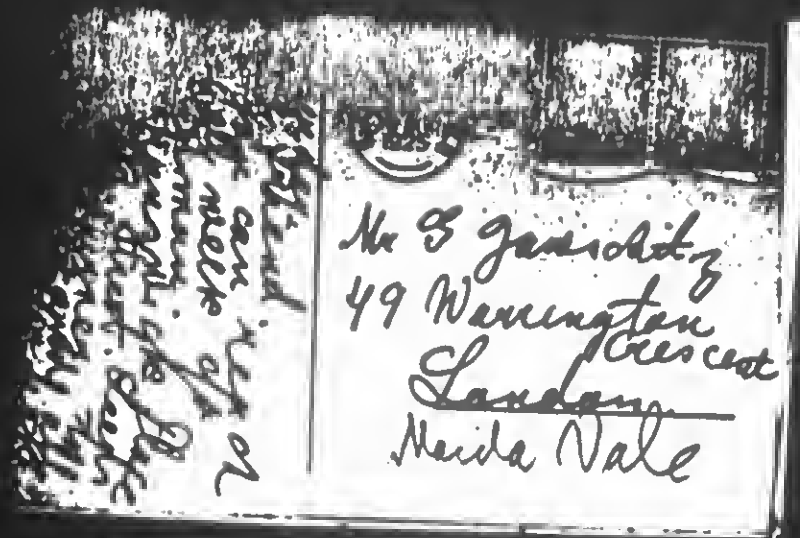
The Puccini Concert was a triumph for Nellie; first of all she looked her best in a new dress of green & white & then her singing brought down the house.

Really, I did not clap once: I wanted to see what the effect would be and it was impossible to deny that she received more applause than all the others put together & one of them was from the Opera Company in Nice. Since then she has been asked to sing on all hands & I'm really afraid I shall soon be known as the husband of the celebrated Singer: "You know Nellie & 'Hara' a lovely nice, Sir & a d-d good looking woman - eh?" "It hurts nothing!"

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Postcard] 1925 [London? to] G[abriel Javicas], London / [Emma Goldman]. — 1 p. ; 6 × 9 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the United States Library of Congress.
Institutional Location: Paul Avrich Papers.



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The Emma Goldman Papers

[Postcard, 1925? London to] Gabriel [Javicas, London] / E[mma]
G[oldman]. — 1 p. ; 4 × 6 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the United States Library of Congress.
Institutional Location: Paul Avrich Papers.

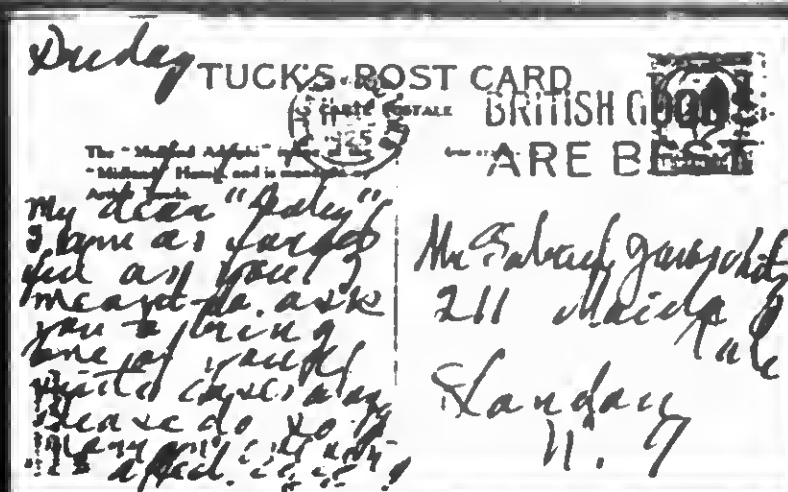
Dearest Gabriel
I hope you
are happy & changed
and I still have the
books belonging
to you. I hope
you will come back
here. I hope to see
you again. Love
Emma

The Emma Goldman Papers

880615068

[Postcard] 1925 [London to] Gabriel [Javicas], London / E[mma]
G[oldman].— 1 p. ; 6 × 9 cm.

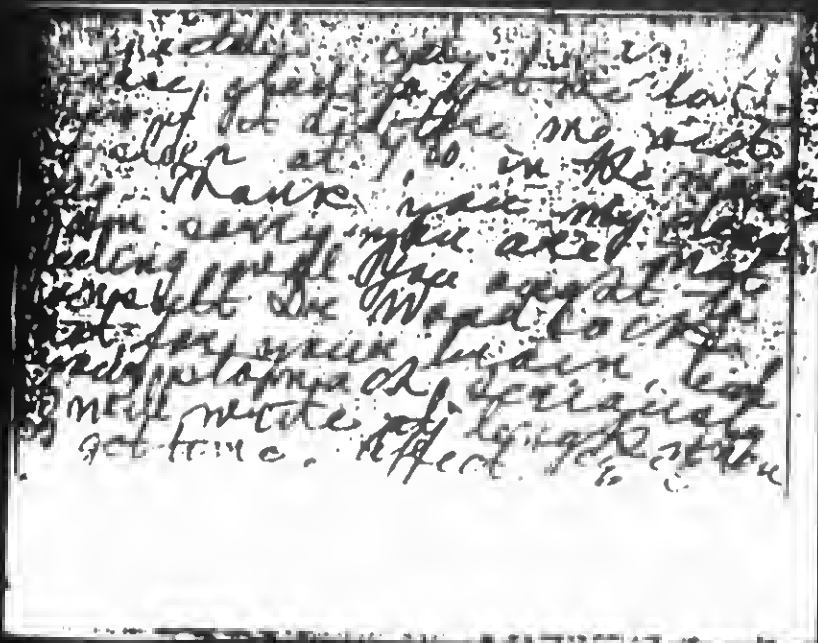
Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the United States Library of Congress.
Institutional Location: Paul Avrich Papers.



The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 1925? London? to Gabriel Javicas, London (fragment)] / E[mma]
G[oldman].— 1 p. ; 7 × 9 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the United States Library of Congress.
Institutional Location: Paul Avrich Papers.

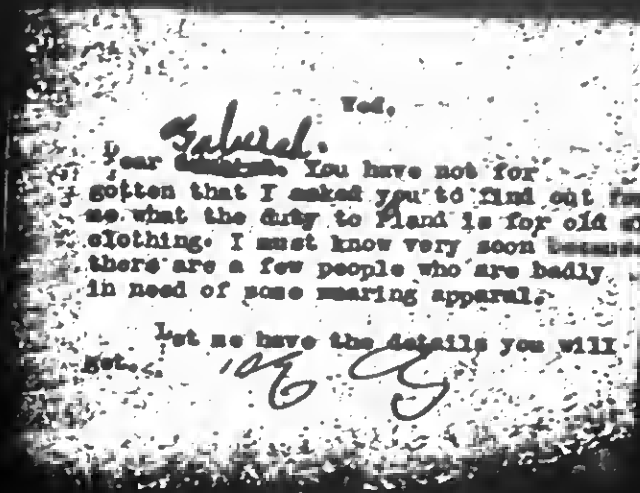


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The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 1925? London to] Gabriel [Javicas, London] / E[mma] G[oldman]. — 1 p. ; 6 × 7 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the United States Library of Congress.
Institutional Location: Paul Avrich Papers.



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The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 1925? London to Gabriel Javicas, London (fragment)] / E[mma]
G[oldman].— 1 p.; 16 × 25 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the United States Library of Congress.
Institutional Location: Paul Avrich Papers.

zu gesetzt. Sie waren
für mich die einzige
Freude, weil Sie
immer so froh und
lustig waren. Was
sich jetzt aus mir
werden, wenn Sie
auf einmal so anders
werden. Einfach
grauenhaft
Auf baldiges Wieder
sehen.
G. G.

The Emma Goldman Papers

880615053

[Letter, 1925? London? to] Gabriel [Javicas, London] / E[mma]
G[oldman]. — 2 p. ; 14 x 26 cm.
Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the United States Library of Congress.
Institutional Location: Paul Avrich Papers.

Sunday

Gabriel, dearest Gay.

Thanks for your
letter, for your sweet
kindness about your
self. I wish I did
not feel so utterly
wretched. I'd really
at length, be still better
I should prefer much
more to spend the
evening with you
so we could talk
over the things which
trouble you than to
stand in audience
and see
may be see to day
in all the wide
world. I are up late
this morning when

I am physically and
spiritually in better
shape.

Will you see about
your translation of your
book? I'd like to see
the difference in price between
the two editions. I'd like
to know if it is not very
great, say, only 10%
I should like to be
in the afternoon and
to be in company
I really feel rather as
can not expose my
self to a long and
repulsive journey
if you have no call
tomorrow, I'd like
we could meet for
the American people.

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The Emma Goldman Papers

880615053

[Letter, 1925? London? to] Gabriel [Javicas, London] / E[mma]
G[oldman]. — 2 p. ; 14 x 26 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the United States Library of Congress.
Institutional Location: Paul Avrich Papers.

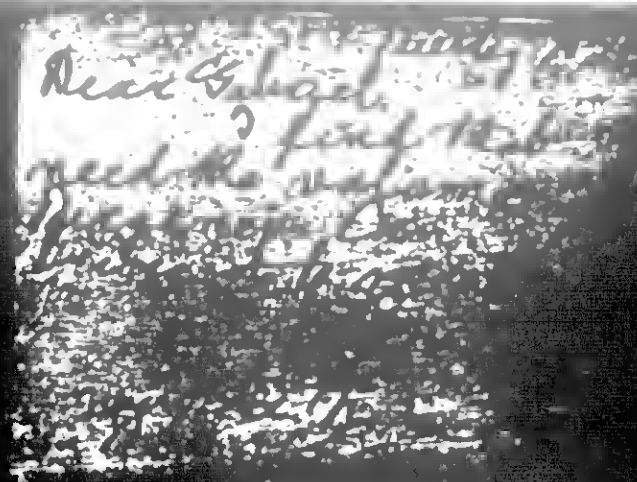
Complaining of me as a
rich living together
the capital of an average
against a few, please
the perfect to please
the balance at 10.50
the importance of I feel
with it. Perhaps you
will get up in time
to phone me.
I enclosed some
checks for \$18.75 to
Cash Bank, filed in
affectionately.
E. G.

The Emma Goldman Papers

880615074

[Letter, 1925? London to] Gabriel [Javscas, London (fragment)] [Emma Goldman]. - 1 p. ; 6 x 7 cm.

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303

The Emma Goldman Papers

880615096

[Letter, 1925? London to] Gabriel [Javicas, London] / E[mma]
G[oldman]. — 2 p. ; 17 × 28 cm.
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Institutional Location: Paul Avrich Papers.

13⁰ a M

Dearest Gabriel.

As I can not sleep, I want
to talk to you. I read your note
you sounded me when we parted. I
was glad you gave it to me, because
I detected a cold note in your voice
when we met yesterday. Perhaps
it only sounded hard to me — like
your voice when we first met.
But like then, I realized that the
kindness of your voice, and the
few cold remarks, maybe a spell
of cover to hide the inner state
of your being which I know is
capable of hardness, or any other
to hurt. But never before I should
have been unhappy if I did not
get your dear note — your own
revelations of our trip together
to my place.

The things you thought are hard
get me wrong. I will try to see
in what I mean. You are
right when you say "she lives
another star" Unfortunately "she
is" on the earth. Perhaps perhaps
another would. You are right
when you say "There is no physical
way to come to her" But that
not because she lives un-
happy star. It is because her
world is removed from yours
many years — not so much
in time as years in
experience, suffering, struggles,
ecstasies, and despair.
And no amount of years ago
is so much as experience
suffering. I had not heard
before you had none so
in. We are therefore removed
by a terrific gulf. There is no
physical bridge to it.

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The Emma Goldman Papers

880615096

[Letter, 1925? London to] Gabriel [Javicas, London] / E[mma]
G[oldman].— 2 p.; 17 x 28 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the United States Library of Congress.
Institutional Location: Paul Avrich Papers.

3
You are not right when you
say that unless we have a
equal the man must be the
inspiration or mentally greater
etc. May exactly the man
not be womanly? Every
one meets girls of 20 who
are in love with men of 50.
No one finds that strange. The
man may always be inspiration
the greater force. But the
contrary. But the thing that is
considered natural for the man
is in considerable unnatural
for the woman of the same
age. It is of course a conven-
tional idea from which every
advanced people are not
except - not even you my
dear. I do not believe in
the least. In fact I understand
much better than you understand
and the storm which makes
- speak out the other corner

4
But it is quite alright. It can
have no effect on my feelings
or you, my dear. I will not
you speak of Ben. because
do not want you disturbed
in any way - mentally, or physically.
We are going to continue as
friends as we have until now.
and if the time ever comes
when the force greater than mere
friendship takes hold of me -
we will be time to act
until then, I want to continue
your life to foster your
sense of beauty, your longing
for an ideal - your striving
towards a great all embracing
purpose in life.
Good night my splendid
day. Affectionately
E. G.

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The Emma Goldman Papers

880615033

[Letter, 1925? London to Gabriel Javicas, London (fragment)] / E[mma] G[oldman].— 1 p. ; 6 × 9 cm.

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you Monday, I shoud be
able to see you all
first m. k. I don't stop
much for you
but I do, my other much
me. I shoud be
in the city in cam
Sunday. Will draw you
a card to make you
accept to see for a
great event you shoud
be very much affected

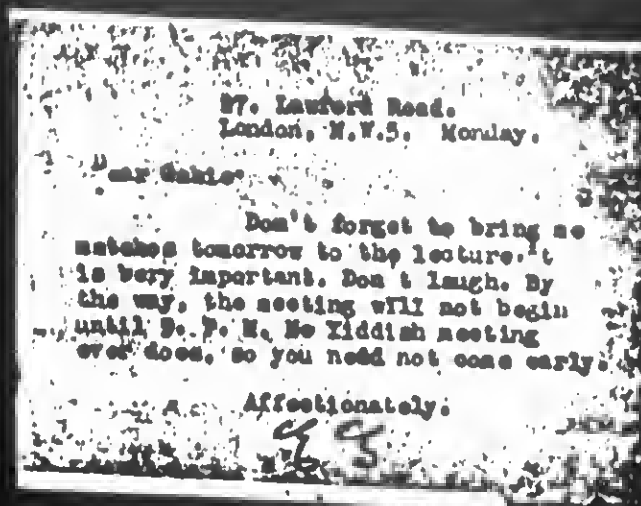
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306

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 1925?] London [to] Gab[riel] Javicas, London / E[mma] G[oldman].— 1 p. ; 5 × 7 cm.

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Institutional Location: Paul Avrich Papers.



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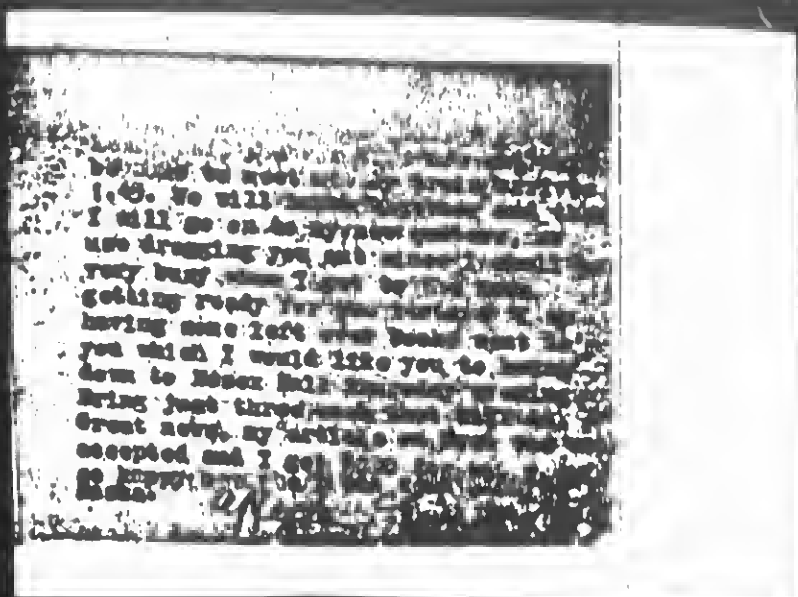
307

The Emma Goldman Papers

890511002

[Letter, 1925? London to Gabriel Javscas, London (fragment)] / E[mma Goldman].— 1 p. ; 6 × 7 cm.

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Institutional Location: Paul Avrich Papers.*

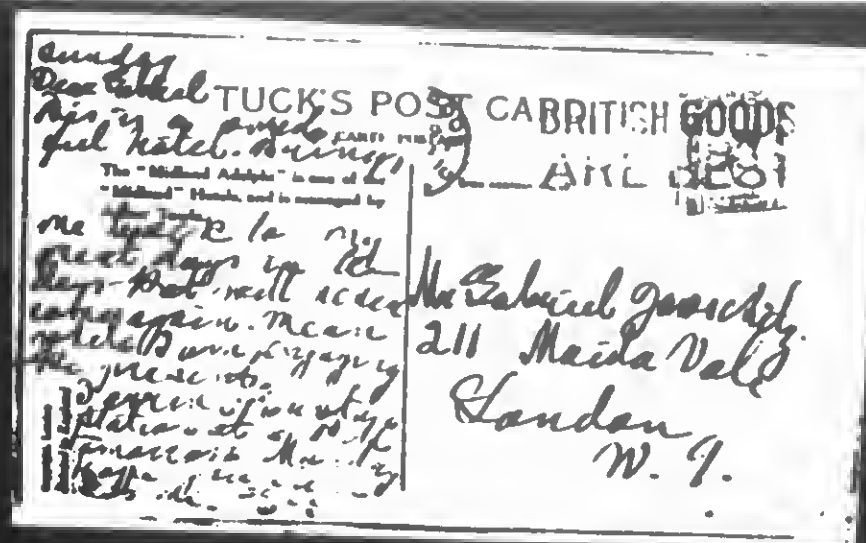


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The Emma Goldman Papers

[Postcard, 1925? to] Gabriel Ja[vsicas], London / E[mma] G[oldman].—
1 p. ; 6 × 9 cm.

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The Emma Goldman Papers

880615050

[Letter, 1925? London to Gabriel Javicas, London] / [Emma Goldman]. --
1 p. ; 16 x 25 cm.

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Institutional Location: Paul Avrich Papers.

Sunday night
My dear young friend.
To congratulate you
on your achievement
in the English language
and if you do, not
mind I prefer to
discuss the matter
with you rather
than correspond about
it.
and please wait
until you have got
used to still writing
in English. I will then
ask you to read my
essays again. I am
sure you have not
understood the essay

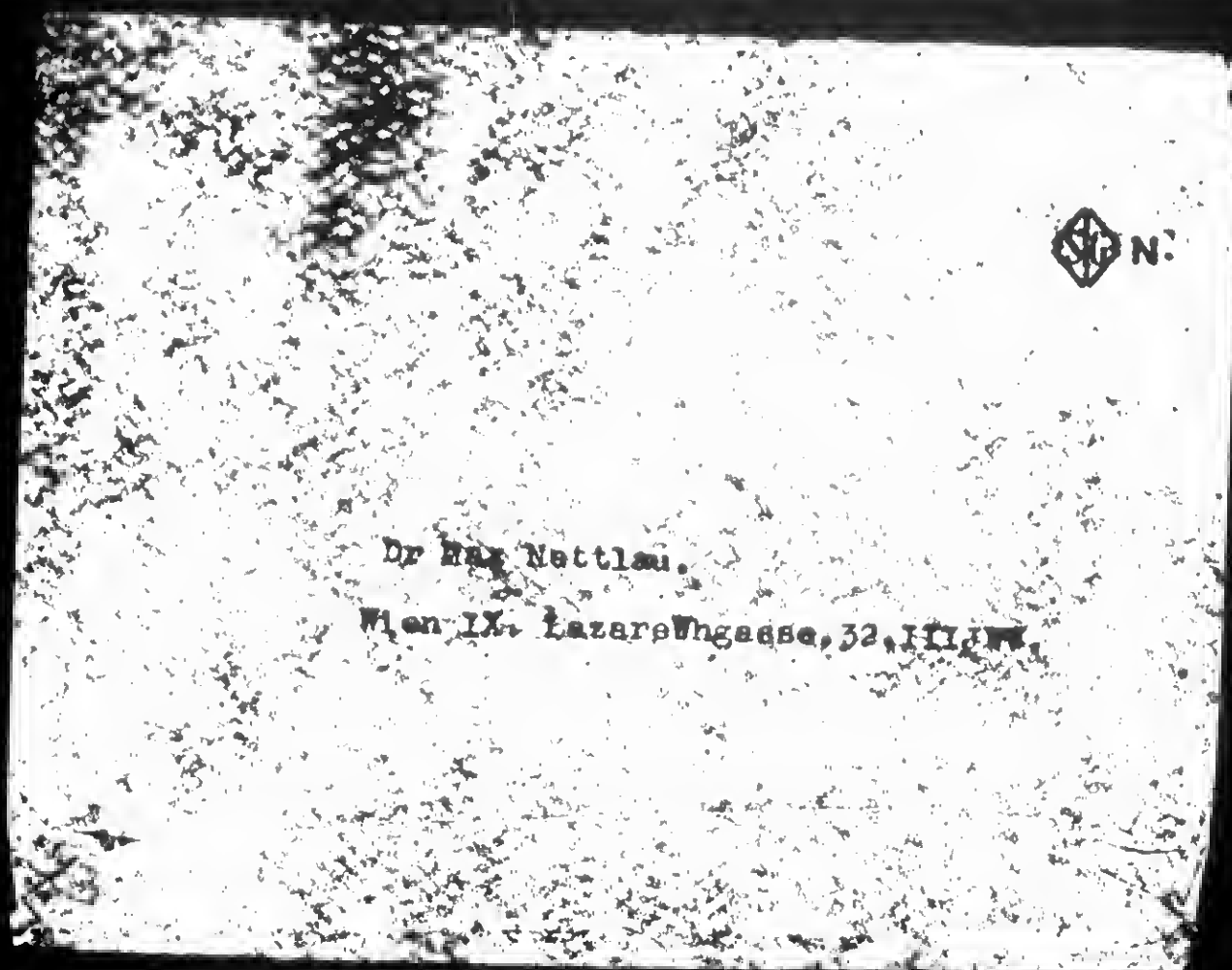
at 11 A.M.
Another thing, are you
free next Friday? An
American friend - a
friend of mine - a
very fine artist is
giving a reception. He
will give you a
ticket for you
if you can attend.
I am going for
a week to the States.
Will be back Monday.
Call me up Tuesday
for no ap.
I'm Gattermiller
werden see next

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The Emma Goldman Papers

[Envelope, 1925? London? to] Max Nettlau, Vienna / [Emma? Goldman?]. --
1 p. ; 11 × 14 cm.

*Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the International Institute of Social History.
Institutional Location: Max Nettlau Archive.*



The Emma Goldman Papers

861029289

[Letter, 1925? London to Emma] Goldman, [London] / Walter Peacock. —
1 p. ; 25 × 20 cm.

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Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

4379

KINGSWAY THEATRE

GREAT QUEEN STREET, W.C. 2

(HOLDINGS AND BRITISH MUSEUM TUBE STATIONS)

BUSINESS MANAGER D. W. WHITFIELD
PHONE GERRARD 2178
BOX OFFICE GERRARD 2022



GENERAL MANAGER'S
REPRESENTATIVE
WALTER PEACOCK

THE BIRMINGHAM REPERTORY THEATRE COMPANY

DIRECTOR HARRY V. JACKSON

GENERAL MANAGER CYRIL L. PHILLIPS

20 Green Street,
Leicester Square,
W.C. 2.

Dear Mrs Goldman,

Many thanks for your message. We shall be very pleased to see you at Birmingham on Friday, which will be the last performance of "St. Bernard". On Saturday we revive "The Romantic Young Lady", by Benevento, for two weeks. If you could come down on Friday we should be very pleased to see you, and if you decide to go, we shall have much pleasure in sending you a ticket for the return journey. It is highly probable that Mr Jackson will be in the theatre on Friday evening, but I am not quite sure, as he is out of town at present.

You may not know that Mr Bache Matthews, who is Mr Jackson's director, has written a short history of the Birmingham Repertory Theatre, a copy of which I shall be pleased to lend you if it would interest you.

Yours sincerely,

Walter Peacock

Mrs Goldman
3 Titchfield Terrace,
St. John's Wood, N.W. 8.

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312

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the International Institute of Social History.
Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

TELEPHONE NO.
RIVERSIDE 002.

5028

**5. GIRDLERS ROAD,
WEST KENSINGTON, W.14.**

Funday

Dear Miss M. W.

the most perfect and last right, and
a friend as much as the enemy
with us.

[Faint handwritten notes]

We have moved to the new office
down by the lake and I will be home

how to ... even for 1

in time when I found
we couldn't start. of course

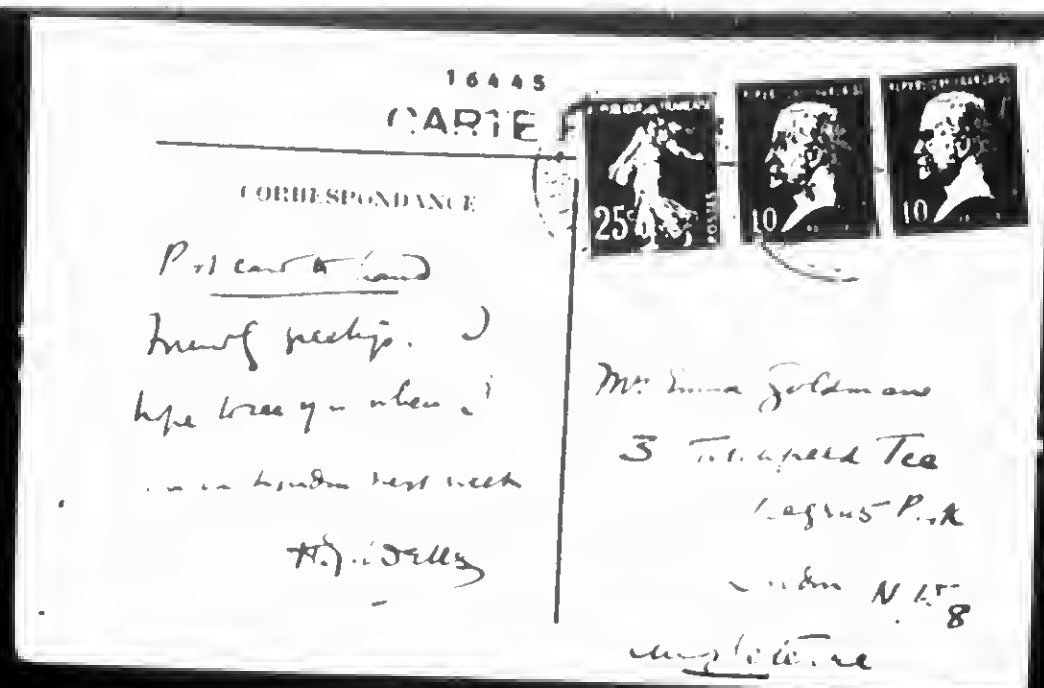
it was much too late to
come by train. I shall call
I am for there till now

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The Emma Goldman Papers

870924380

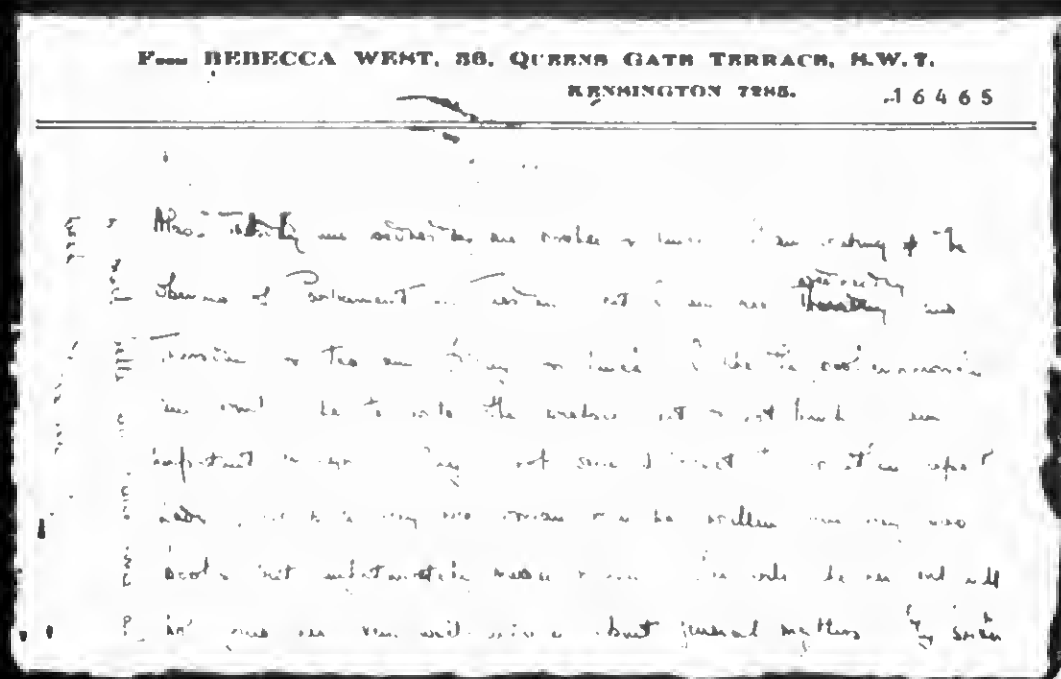
[Postcard, 1925?] France [to] Emma Goldman, London / H.G. Wells. —
1 p.; 8 × 11 cm.
Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the International Institute of Social History.
Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.



The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 1925? London to Emma Goldman, London] / Rebecca West. —
1 p. ; 8 × 11 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the International Institute of Social History.
Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.



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316

The Emma Goldman Papers

840305054

[Letter, 1925? London to Emma Goldman, London] / Rebecca West. —
1 p.; 19 x 30 cm.
Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the Tamiment Library, New York University.

FROM REBECCA WEST, 38, QUEENS GATE TERRACE, S.W. 7.
KENSINGTON 7285,

Alas! ~~Monday~~ and Wednesday are booked for lunch! I am writing up the
Opening of Parliament all Tuesday. but I am free ~~Wednesday~~ and
Thursday for tea and Friday for lunch. I like the book enormously
and would like to write the preface, but do not think I am
important enough. May I not send it direct to Jonathan Cape?
Lady Innes is a very nice woman who has written some very good
books but unfortunately married money. I am very like her but will
not find me very well-informed about general matters. My sister

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

The Emma Goldman Papers

840305055

[Letter, 1925? London to] Emma [Goldman, London] / Rebecca West. —
1 p.; 27 x 40 cm.
Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the Tamiment Library, New York University.

FROM REBECCA WEST, 36, QUEENS GATE TERRACE, S.W. 7. Kensington 7285.

Dear Emma.

I am sending you this in H.S. because Margaret
Anglic keeps me and my typist busy — and we never
get to it! — and you said Dr. J. (?) (can't spell it!)
could type it. Hope it's what you want.

Ree

The Emma Goldman Papers

870927192

[Letter, 1925 between Jan. and June] Biarritz [France to] Emma [Goldman, London?] / Nellie [Harris]. — 2 p.; 26 × 21 cm.
Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the International Institute of Social History.
Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

PENSION DE FAMILLE

LES CHARDONS

AVENUE DE LA REINE NATHALIE

(EN FACE LES THOMAS BALIN)

BIARRITZ

R. C. BAYONNE N° 6171

Biarritz, le

14164
TÉLÉPHONE 0.63

192

Friday

My Dearest Emma. Frank sent
me in my little note. I am
so sorry I won't see Miss Fitzgerald
of course, you know, I would have
loved to have met her, I seem
to know her, just from hearing
you & Pauline talk about her.
I hope Frank will see her, any way
when you meet please tell her
how sorry I am to have missed
her. I am here working with
Lilvins. & getting a holiday at the
same time, it's really a very bracing
place & I feel much better for
the change, tho I'm very lonely.
I do want you to come to Nice
this winter, you must not have
that appalling English winter
again. I'll fix you up, & we will
all be happy & comfortable together.
I suppose Frank told you about
Grant Richards stealing the money
Lady Warwick gave him to give Frank.

The Emma Goldman Papers

870927192

[Letter, 1925 between Jan. and June] Biarritz [France to] Emma [Goldman, London?] / Nellie [Harris]. — 2 p.; 26 × 21 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the International Institute of Social History.
Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

2

14165

of course she ought to have paid.
Frank direct herself, but she did it
it put us in a dreadful state &
then the books being taken in New York
for God's sake & much when you
& write your life, leave the set
out. I'm sure Frank would have
had an enormous sale if he had
only I can't get him to see it. I think
you very brave & I love you for telling
him the truth. I am the only one
except myself that has the courage
to. I read your 2 Vol. on Russia
just before I left Nice. I think
they were beautifully written &
my tears flowed with all the
suffering of those poor people
you dear woman what great
things you do for humanity
I am so proud to be able
to call myself your friend

All my love

Nellie

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 1925 between Jan. and June, Chicago to Emma Goldman, London (fragment)] / [Ben L. Reitman]. — 1 p. ; 27 x 20 cm.

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Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

13574

The hobos and the social outcasts continue to take up much of my time and most of my money. I have a regular distribution agency of my own. All day long a group of pathetic boy tramps, unemployed men, old bums, ex-convicts, financially embarrassed radicals, and others, come to me for help. You know I've got the reputation of being rich and helping everybody. I'm not rich, but everybody I'm kind to, helps me. One of the joys of making money is that you can squander it on apparently worthless people, and you can withhold it from your worthy family.

My Mother is quite well. She is looking fine for sixty-five. She lives with my uncle, but comes often to see us. Anna is a worthy successor. As the years pass on we have learned to make the adjustment that makes relationship fairly beautiful and home desirable. I am truly grateful to the gods for Anna! I think I am justified in believing in God when I remember that you and Anna have been in my life.

Ernest continues to be a thing of joy and beauty. He is really a very lovely son, in form and arrangement, in behavior and mentality, he is extremely satisfactory. I don't know whether he's different from other seven-year-old boys, but he's a very satisfactory son, and helps to keep the little family together, and the home worth working for.

And now about Helen. Fitzzy says 'she's a fine, intelligent girl with character', and most everybody who sees her agrees with Fitzzy. To me my daughter is much of an enigma. Twenty years of neglect and indifference did something to me, as it did to Helen. About three years ago she came to me, not only as a stranger, but as an enemy. We have made some progress toward friendship and understanding, but within both of us I feel there is a good deal of hostility, and I am inclined to feel, some bitterness. I can justify my daughter's attitude, but not my own. But she is my daughter, and I love her, and I think there's a good deal to her. I don't know whether she has my weaknesses and stupidities exaggerated, or minimized. I don't know whether a lonely, unhappy youth will permit her to develop and expand, as I hope. But she has brains, and character, and she has the advantage of a modern education. In spite of many shortcomings, she has a fairly decent heredity. But only the gods can say what the future holds in store. As I look at her closely, I don't see much evidence of a pronounced social conscience. I don't know whether this comes with years of experience, or is a new birth, but I don't feel that she loves the poor, and the people, as her father did. But whatever she is, she's my daughter, and for good or for evil I'm going to do my part until 'God doth us part'. She's a Senior out at Northwestern, and is apparently doing very well. Don't be surprised some day if a smart-appearing young woman, leading an old worn-out man, gets off of the bus in front of your London apartment. The whole family has London in mind for the summer vacation.

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The Emma Goldman Papers

880615062

[Letter, 1925 between Jan. and April, London? to Gabriel Javicas, London (fragment)] / [Emma Goldman]. — 4 p. ; 14 × 17 cm.

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Institutional Location: Paul Avrich Papers.

all the more let me say to you
you have the most of it. I feel rather
you can not imagine what the matter
is about the matter. I mean to goodness
your action mean I did not have
to one who has to have to be more
had such a need to have to be more
field of activity. Mr. Shane says
as said as I have they seem to be
had I will let you know terribly hard up
Monday when I saw I am sure they
here most likely have used up
it will be on the 11 pounds and
naap train. I can not now
let's want to replace it. I get
figure the Woodlark him heartily and
the evening up as said I am
at 4 D all hope therefore

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The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 1925 between Jan. and April, London? to Gabriel Javicas, London (fragment)] / [Emma Goldman].— 4 p. ; 14 × 17 cm.

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get it, yourself
can't get it
new, gotten I keep
that I have failed
to accuse a few
warring people
sufficiently that
they would voluntarily
or gladly are any
lectures. It can
not be that it is
only in the fringity
of the fringe of
must also

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The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 1925 between Jan. and March, London to] Gab[riel Javicas, London] / E[mma] G[oldman]. — 1 p. ; 11 × 9 cm.

*Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the United States Library of Congress.
Institutional Location: Paul Avrich Papers.*

27. Laxford Road.
N.Y.S. Sunday.

Dear Gabia. I have been so utterly miserable and gloomy this week it was impossible for me to see you or write. But do not think I have forgotten you.

Please bring the II. Volume of Harrison Life along tomorrow.

Inclosed is a clipping of my lecture in Norwich.

Affectionately.

E.G.

The Emma Goldman Papers

880615076

[Letter, 1925 between Jan. and March, London to] Gabriel [Javiskas, London (fragment)] / E[mma] G[oldman]. — 2 p. ; 22 x 28 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the United States Library of Congress.
Institutional Location: Paul Avrich Papers

My dear, even if you have
measured, why should you
me money? It is all very well
to be my "hauwex" some time
but I have not yet reached
the stage when I have to
be "wcept" by my friends.
The address of the Warden
is 22 Reuter, Hill, Calder,
Essex. N.W. 11. Mrs. W. W. W.
me, it will be alright - to
late so I may go on
4. Will be in the 24-7. I will
know tomorrow when I go
to the American Express Co.
Will then write you.

I have already made arrangements
for next Sunday. For I am
sure I must look up the
Wardrobe. And in the evening
I must meet some of the
of the "Bach"yd. The only time
I will be able to see you
will be at tea, I suppose. I will
arrange that all your

Dear Gabriel, when you get time will you call up Mrs
Shone and arrange to see her. I have written her several times
but can get no reply. I want to know what she is doing about
the series of lectures I am to deliver in April. Is she
doing anything about them, has she taken a Hall? I suppose
you know that several people guaranteed some money, Mr Daniel
W. Woodcock and I think some one else. I am anxious to know
what has been done if anything. You remember the striking
woman, Mrs Lewis? I heard from her about a Hall in the
Guinea's Club somewhere near Piccadilly that can be gotten for
a guinea a night. Anyway, see Mrs Shone please and tell me
if anything has been done, and if not whether she is going to
attend to the matter.

Another thing, I asked her to send me the four
copies of the Myth which I had left with her. If she has not
yet done so, she needn't. Because I received six copies from
someone else. I need no more. If she has sent them it won't
be helped.

Goodbye dear Gabriel. Affectionately.

E G

P.S. Will you get your newspaper
to get you the new Leader of
the 1st of the second week of the
month? I had a letter from
Barnard that he intended
to publish the letter which the
Daily Herald has refused
to publish. I have got the copies and
send you the one that contains
the letter. Amen

The Emma Goldman Papers

880615076

[Letter, 1925 between Jan. and March, London to] Gabriel [Javicas, London (fragment)] / E[mma] G[oldman]. — 2 p. ; 22 x 28 cm.

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So many a day is from
the Baglinski NY City
important. I have heard
you to get the right people
will you get the right people
have some lunch. I will
you send it to me
at once.

I have a great competitor.
Shakespeare, you can
imagine who will win.
But I can tell myself that
I still have 2 lectures, next
week to bring me up to
the way of Shakespeare
sings in the book. I am
glad I shall not be dead
then. Shall you?
With Wiederschn am Freitag
Mit grüßen Grüßen
C. G.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from The New York Public Library, Astor, Lenox and Tilden Foundations. Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Papers, Rare Books and Manuscripts Division.

1. From the "no" to "all".

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The Emma Goldman Papers

840522338

[Letter] 1925 Jan., London [to] Mar[k Mratchny] / Emma [Goldman]. — 2 p.; 29 × 22 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the University of Michigan, Harlan Hatcher Graduate Library. Institutional Location: Labadie Collection, Mark Mrachnyi Papers, Department of Rare Books and Special Collections.

3. Titchfield Terrace.
St John's Wood. Road.
London, N, W.8.

Jan. 1925.

Mein lieber Marc. Ich glaube ich habe Ihnen einmal erzählt dass ein Amerikanischer Freund mich immer "die Frau mit dem kranken Gewissen" genannt hat. Es ist wirklich wahr. Ich leide vom kranken Gewissen, hauptsächlich wenn ich einem lieben Freund lange nicht geschrieben habe. Ich habe einen krankhaften Drang zum Schreiben und doch erlaubt es die Zeit nicht und das quält mich immer ausserordentlich. Seit Tagen schleppe ich Sie, mein lieber Marc überall mit mir herum, aber es war mir doch nicht möglich zum Schreiben. Heute aber will ich es doch tun, keine Minute länger will ich warten, sonst lassen Sie mich doch nicht in Ruhe. Sie sehen es giebt einen viel grosseren Zwang, als der physische der einen antreibt, nicht wahr?

Mein guter Freund, ich habe Sehnsucht nach Ihnen. Ich wünschte Sie wären hier. Ihre Gegenwart würde etwas beruhigend wirken, wir könnten zusammen herum strolchen und uns etwas erzählen, oder irgen einen Unsinn treiben. Glauben Sie mir es wäre nützlicher und besser, wie die Arbeit die ich bis jetzt geleistet habe und die doch zu nichts führte. Aber Sie sind weit von hier, das macht mich sehr traurig.

Wie geht es Ihnen eigentlich? Sind Sie bald fertig mit der Analyse? Haben Sie wirklich die Tiefen der menschlichen Seele ergründet? Wie empfinden Sie unter Ihrer Weisheit? Ist es nicht noch schlimmer zu leben wo man mehr weiss, von der Verwickeltheit der Menschen? Seien Sie mir nicht böse, liebster Junge, ich will nicht spotten. Mir ist gar nicht danach. Ich will ernstlich wissen wie weit Sie eigentlich schon sind.

Ich danke Ihnen für alles Material das Sie mir sandten. Ich habe zwar noch keinen Gebrauch davon gemacht, hatte nicht einmal Zeit zum Schreiben, aber ich werde es demnächst verwenden. Ob dann die Artikel erscheinen werden, das ist schwer zu sagen. Die Presse hier ist nicht gerade versessen auf Abhandlungen über Russland, es erscheint hier ziemlich viel. Immerhin ist es mir gelungen einen Artikel im Daily News zu veröffentlichen. Beiliegend ein Exemplar. Vielleicht hat S. Ihnen schon eins gegeben, ich bat ihn darum. Auch hoffe ich dass er Ihnen über all die Schwierigkeiten die ich hier habe berichtet hat. Ich lege hier eine Kopy eines Briefes an Hettlau bei, die wird Ihnen Verschiedenes geben und mir die Wiederholung ersparen.

Ein anderes Schreiben von Interesse ist von Have lock Ellis, und meine Antwort. Ich konnte Ihnen ja überhaupt Verschiedenes senden, wie ist es mit dem Englischen, können Sie es leicht verstehen, dann teilen Sie es mir mit, ich sende dann alles direkt. Zuerst ist ja so langweilig, und vergisst leicht.

Ich danke Ihnen dass Sie mich mit Herrn Schwartz in Verbindung brachten, er hat mir sehr wertvolles Zeugnis beiliegt. Nun kann ich ihm unmöglich jedes Mal antworten. Bitte sagen Sie ihm das und geben Sie ihm den Ausschnitt über die Stellung der Schottischen Arbeiter Partei gegen die Kommunisten. Sobald ich mehr Ausschnitte habe die für ihn von Interesse sind, soll er sie bekommen. Danken Sie ihm von mir für den Artikel über die Genossenschaften in Russland. Vielleicht bietet sich die Gelegenheit auch darüber zu schreiben.

Sie haben richtig errathen mein teurer Freund es ist mir zum heulen schwer in der reactionären Atmosphäre Englands über Russland zu schreiben oder zu sprechen. Aber

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The Emma Goldman Papers

840522338

[Letter] 1925 Jan., London [to] Mar[k Mratchny] / Emma [Goldman].—
2 p.; 29 x 22 cm.

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Graduate Library. Institutional Location: Labadie Collection, Mark Mrachnyi Papers, Department of Rare Books
and Special Collections.

noch viel unertraglicher sind mir die Arbeiter und Sozialisten
Führer. Diese Leute haben überhaupt keine Vision, sind uner-
hört feige, und kleinlich, und in nichts weiter auf dieser Welt
interessiert als in ihre politische Chancen. Die Stellung der
Reactionäre kann ich verstehen und die verstehen unsere Stel-
lung nur zu gut, so schrieb eine Amerikanische Zeitung die
ich heute erhalten habe. Emma Goldman ist wohl gegen den
Bolschewismus, aber man würde sich sehr täuschen wenn man an-
nehmen würde, E G ist durch ihre Erfahrung in Russland wenige
Anarchistin oder Revolutionärin geworden. Sie sehen unsere
kapitalistische Feinde täuschen sich nicht, wohl aber
unsere Schiffbrüder, die Sozialisten. Und erst unsere eignen
Kameraden, die treiben einen vollständig zur Verzweiflung. So
jammert die kleine Molly in einem Brief, dass es doch schad-
lich ist, dass meine Article in der täglichen Presse erscheinen.
So ist der alte Sectantismus und Klein-Kramerei. Nur ja nicht aus
den eigenen Reihen heraus, immer schon in der Familie bleiben.
Deshalb haben auch die Anarchisten nie einen Rolle geführt,
als einen besondern Einfluss ausgeübt auf die grossen Ereig-
nisse der Jahre. Nun das quält mich jetzt nicht mehr.

Was Sie wegen die Reaction hier sagen ist etwas
anderes, es ist furchtbar schwer jetzt hier zu wirken, weil
ich bestimmt weiss dass ich eben von der jetzigen Regierung
geuldet werde, weil ich gegen Moscov bin. Und das quält mich
nicht ganz schauderhaft. Aber was ist schliesslich zu machen?
Wenn wir warten bis die Reaction einen vollständigen Frieden
gemacht hat mit Moscov, dann könnten wir überhaupt nichts tun
zur Aufklärung der Massen, oder für die unglückliche Gefange-
ne. Man muss eben seine Wege gehen, immer offen und ehrlich
hervor sagen was wir zu sagen haben, in einer Form dass sie
einander irre führen wird. Das Uebrige muss sich finden.
Scheuen Sie nicht mich?

Unsere Versammlung wie Sie wohl schon wissen
findet am 2ten d. M. statt. Ich bin von der Halle nicht
sehr begeistert, aber sie ist die einzige die wir wirklich
haben konnten. John Turner spricht ebenfalls, es dürfte also
interessant werden. Natürlich werde ich einen Appell für die
Zustimmung machen. Ich habe Sasha geschrieben, ob nicht ihr
Komitee ein Telegramm senden will. Wenn ja so sollte dasselbe
an den Vorsitzenden Wedgwood geschickt werden. Die Adresse
ist South Place Institute Finsbury Pavement, Margate. London.

Sie haben ja den Bericht von Turner erhalten
wissen also wie gut ihn die "Londoner Presse" a la "Veritas" und
Caroline informiert haben wegen Daron, Percy und die andern.
Ach liebster Freund, wenn es nicht so solche Gassen wäre
würde der Anarchismus ein grosses Ideal sein. Aber solchen
Gesindel vertheidigen einen alle Ideale.

Mein mein Freund, ich vergesse den grossen October
nicht, eben deswegen möchte ich ihn reinigen von all dem Schmutz
den der Bolschewismus ihn aufgebürdet hat, ob es mir gelingen
wird? Ich hoffe es, jedenfalls habe ich jetzt keinen andern
und tiefern Wunsch für meine Tätigkeit als das es mir gelingt
den Grossen October im wahren Lichte darzustellen. Wünschen
Sie mir Glück, mein Freund.

Mein Buch ist jetzt in Sweden erschienen, habe
heute ein Exemplar bekommen. Wie steht es mit Ihrem Englisch?
Ich will Ihnen danken für die zwei Schmerzensbände meines Buches
haben.

Leben Sie wohl, mein liebster Ma, und schreiben Sie
etwas öfter, auch wenn ich nicht immer so pünktlich bin. Ich
habe Sie doch immer im Sinn und im Herzen, mein Liebchen was
hilft Du noch mehr.

Was ist loss mit Steinberg? Sie waren ja sol-
che gute Freunde, was hat er verbrochen? Schreiben Sie mir.

Ihre Kameradin Emma

haben die jemals den Gedanken
schaffen dass ich habe
zu sein und zu sein
zu sein und zu sein

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The Emma Goldman Papers

840522339

[Letter] 1925 Jan., London [to] Mar[k Mratchny] / Emma [Goldman]. — 2 p.; 32 x 20 cm.

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Unsere Versammlung wie Sie wohl schon wissen findet am 29ten d. M. statt. Ich bin von der Halle nicht sehr begeistert, aber sie ist die Einzige die wir zur Verfügung haben konnten. John Turner spricht ebenfalls, es dürfte also interessant werden. Natürlich werde ich einen Appell für die Befangenen machen. Ich habe Sasha geschrieben, ob nicht Ihr Komitee ein Telegramm senden will. Wenn ja, sollte dasselbe an den Vorsitzenden Wedgwood geschickt werden. Die Adresse ist South Place Institute Finsbury Pavement, Margate. London.

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Mein mein Freund, ich vergesse den grossen October nicht, eben deswegen möchte ich ihn reinigen von all dem Schmutz den der Bolschewismus ihm aufgebürdet hat, ob es mir gelingen wird? Ich hoffe es, jedenfalls habe ich jetzt keinen andern und tiefern Wunsch für meine Tätigkeit als das es mir gelingt den Grossen October im wahren Lichte darzustellen. Wünschen Sie mir Glück, mein Freund.

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Leben Sie wohl, mein liebster Ma, und schreiben Sie etwas öfter, auch wenn ich nicht immer so pünktlich bin. Ich habe Sie doch immer im Sinn, und im Herzen, mein Liebchen was willst Du noch mehr.

Was ist los mit Steinberg? Sie waren ja solche gute Freunde, was hat er verbrochen? Schreiben Sie mir.

Ihre Kameraden Emma

haben Sie genau den Eindruck
noch mehr als ich. Hoffen Sie

The Emma Goldman Papers

851025002

[Book inscription] 1925 Jan. [London to] Juliet Sos[k]ice, [London] / Emma Goldman. — 1 p. ; 19 × 25 cm.

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I will remember Emma Goldman. She visited my parents when in London after the 14-18 War. She organised and addressed several public meetings at which she violently attacked the Russian Bolshevik Government. At these meetings sometimes I and some of my friends used to act as stewards to keep order.

Frank Soskice
February 1976

Mr Juliet Soskice
The anarchist was was
from the anarchist
was is and never
to remain until
the end of life
Cordially.

Emma Goldman
London Jan. 1925

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 1925 Jan.? Oxford, England to Emma Goldman, London (fragment)] / [Charles Wright] T[h]om[as]. — 2 p. ; 17 × 11 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the International Institute of Social History.
Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

5154

So sorry you won't
be able to come until
next morning. We
will postpone the gathering
at Lydia's house until
Sunday evening. We'll
have something planned
for the rest of the
time before you come.
The dinner is not
going to Stanford; but
will teach philosophy in

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The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 1925 Jan.? Oxford, England to Emma Goldman, London (fragment)] / [Charles Wright] T[h]om[as]. — 2 p. ; 17 × 11 cm.

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5155

Michigan University. We plan
to send D - to establish
connections with some of the
radical spirits in Chicago;
and hope that you and
Miss West may be able to
enable us to meet the
leading lights in literature, etc.
The train from London to
Oxford will leave 11:45 - arrive 1:08;
10:45 - 12:35; 1:15 - 1:55; 2:25 - 2:02;
1:45 - 2:07. The first and last
are the only fast trains; I
expect the first, if that is
not too early for you. If
you are to be here for
lunch, we should like to
know, all of us are ready
to be here on Saturday.
Yours, Tommy.

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The Emma Goldman Papers

870925258

[Letter, 19]25 Jan. 4, London [to] Emma Goldman, [London] / Havelock Ellis. —
2 p.; 20 × 16 cm.
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Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

The Germany album (14 Doves Monuments, ¹⁸⁷⁸⁶
is now uncertain () Cantabrigia Rd
as I am just N. 1000.
changing it Brixton,
4 Jan/25 London. S.W. 9.

Dear Emma Goldman, Thank you for your kind
& interesting letter. I am
pleased you think of putting the Louis
Michel paper in it; I hardly think it is
regarded as an important outside historical
circle; but, even apart from all that,
the paper is too good to be buried
in the Jahrbuch.

I feel sure I should appreciate
the volume of essays you kindly propose
to send me, though perhaps I may not be
able to read it until I am back in
London. The large work on the Russian
political situation I hardly think you ought

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18757
to send me, for I generally have much more
to read than I can cope with, & I am
not interested in the details of these political
questions. I am in general sym-
pathy with what you say of the Russian
situation but I do not feel anxious to see
the Bolshevik regime violently overthrown to
give place to something worse. It may develop
into something better if allowed to grow. It
certainly seems to me that Bolshevism is
an invented Czarism, & I object to
violent denunciation of Bolshevism by people
who so complacently allied themselves with
Czarism. What you say of the
callousness of the public today is very
true. It is an attitude of disillusion
resulting from the war. The public has
been fed up with atrocities, which turned
out to be largely imaginary, & now it can-
not be struck by atrocities however real.

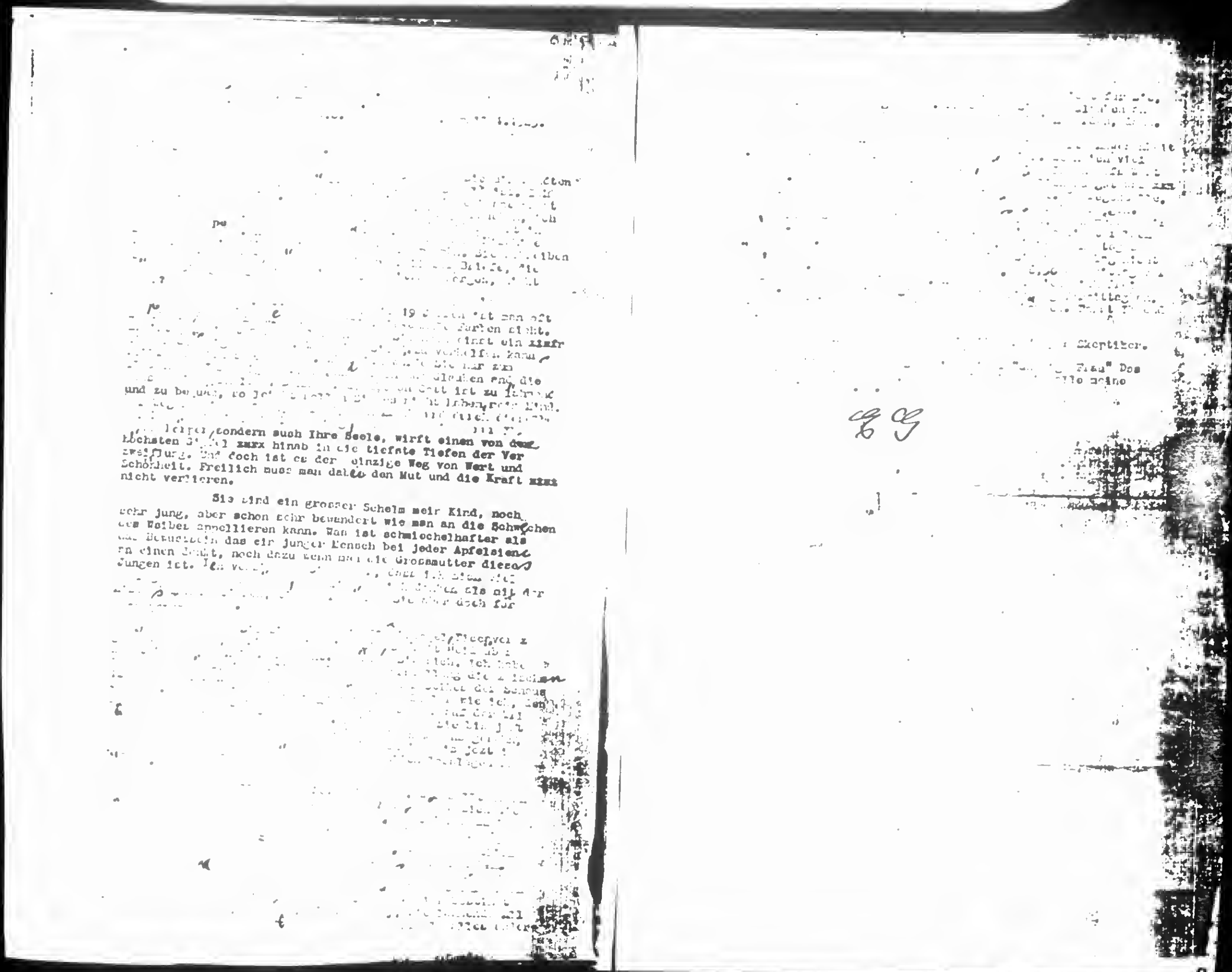
Sincerely yours

Havelock Ellis

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1925 [Jan.?] 4 [London to Gabriel Javicas, London] / E[mma] G[oldman]. — 1 p. ; 20 × 26 cm.

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The Emma Goldman Papers

810519181

[Letter] 1925 Jan. 5, London [to] Roger Baldwin, New York / E[mma] G[oldman]. — 6 p. ; 28 x 17 cm.

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5, Titchfield Terrace,
St. John's Wood,
London, N.W. 4.

January 5th, 1925.

Mr. Roger W. Baldwin,
100, Fifth Avenue,
NEW YORK CITY.

Dear Roger:

It is only now that I am able to reply to yours of November 24th. I have been rushed from one thing to another but I cannot say that I have succeeded very much. True, the reception at the Dinner was very good, much more so than I had expected, but I hate since come to the conclusion that most people at the Dinner expected to see me a champion of Bolshevism. When they realized that I am its critic they not only "dropped" me but have not even had the courtesy to reply to the letter which I sent at 6 weeks ago in regard to the work I mean to do here.

Some people were good enough to suggest that they would loan after my comfort but that they could not support the work by bringing light on the Russian muddle. I am sure that they meant well but in reality it was a polite way of trying to buy my silence. Needless to say I could not consent to that.

However, I had hoped that Laski and his friends would really show interest in the proposition. In fact he told me to believe he would. I called him up and asked whether I could see him. He immediately consented and when I was there both he and his wife showed so much interest that I went away elated thinking that at last I have found people who love the truth above political considerations. The Laski's invite 33 people to tea for Dec. 21st. Meanwhile the preliminary Report of the Trade Union Mission appeared in the leading papers of this city. When I came to the Laski's I realized at once that the Report had done its mischief. I found most people unwilling to take any stand whatever regarding Russia. Laski said he would help the campaign for the political prisoners but he would not help a direct attack upon Bolshevism.

Frankly, I cannot see how any man with some logic can expect to discuss the political without going into the background and the forces which make them. Nevertheless, I was willing to concede that the subject should be treated in the indirect way. I then waited for a number of days to get a reply whether or no Laski group would do anything about the meeting we had in mind in Queen's Hall. When I got no answer I decided to let my friends book a smaller hall, Southplace Institute, which is something on the lines of the Cooper Union. I called up Laski and told him that while the hall had been booked and my own immediate friends were rather insistent that the question for discussion at the meeting should be "The Bolsheviki Myth" I would nevertheless confine myself to the political if I could get some backing from Laski and his people.

I am enclosing a copy of this letter from which you will be able to judge for yourself the difficulties that are confronting me here. The points taken up by Laski are so utterly uninteresting I cannot understand how any man of his mental calibre could raise them.

The first point regarding the Independent Labour Party not being able to engage on an open attack on Bolshevism I can understand. The Labour Party has been at the Government and hopes to be at the Government again. As a political organization with its eye on the House of Commons it cannot afford to quarrel too energetically with another Government. But what is one to think of the point taken by Bertrand Russell for instance. The idea that

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The other points are on a par with Mr. Russell's; illogical and inconsistent for any group of people who claim as such with hard and strong socialistic leanings.

To every thinking person, one of the things must be apparent - either the Dictatorship is justified and termed as a method of maintaining it is inevitable; or it is less inevitable to give all political tendencies which will not recognize the Dictatorship as the principle of terrorism later. Of the Dictatorship as a principle and termed inevitable for a very long time to attempt to not socialize, to rest, and to achieve fair mind, justice loving, laws being must protest that the national terrorism is not even a other national resp. It is far too far people here are able to differentiate and to use a scale for one thing or another.

One thing is certain, unless I succeed in raising £100,000 for me I will have to give up the work I have started here. Political and Trade Union leaders are everywhere a homeless lot. Where they seem to be much more so because of their shyness and shyness. I must therefore get to the workers direct, but unfortunately that too, is going to be a bitter battle. The Labour and Trade Union movement is very thoroughly centralised in England. It is not like with us where you can have a public meeting and expect to get an audience consisting of workers. I am therefore, I shall like to have what to do to get in direct touch with the masses. I may go on tour after I have talked London for another year or so. I have been invited by a group of Irishmen to Dublin, Wales and I am also trying to establish a contact with the C. of Scotland. If I succeed I shall have nothing better to offer.

all I have never before worried about leaders and how to deal with them in reaching the future elements. I must therefore try the same method here. As to the results, the only time I'll prove that you are well understood that I am not very different from the situation. If only I could win and convince I could do it.

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tremendous field here in Britain. I have a few old friends
to whom I have said it is not for me to be a lecturer
again. I rather think the tendency to be a lecturer is like
the tendency towards creative work. One can have it in his
mind and I know that I never had even the inclination.

I was a little amused at your statement that you had written
Laski that he and others should avail themselves of my services
on the lecture platform. You are so naive, dear Roger. What
do you think these political people would have with Emma Goldman
the anarchist? These people neither want the truth nor can
they stand it when it is being told them, and they know full
well, as you will see in Laski's letter that it is quite visible
to any one with such an outspoken person as Laski. I really
believe it is the principle reason for the refusal on the
part of Laski and the rest of working with me for the political
prisoners.

I am very glad to hear that Dr. Ward has given "a most illuminating
material, fair in tone, more complete in its extent of fact and more
documentary in their supporting evidence". But is it not strange
that Dr. Ward, who has been in Russia a very short time and I
believe does not know the language, should have been able to give
such material. Where are those of us who have been in Russia for
two years or more, have studied the situation there very closely,
have gotten to know all sorts of people, those of the old and
psychology we know, that our material should be so far from
considered trustworthy. Not that I care for the report of Dr. Ward,
I myself am concerned, but it shows that the political people, whether
here or in America are much more interested in the tales and legends
of people than in their veracity. In any event, I am glad that
Dr. Ward has given such a dependable report on the situation of the
political in Russia.

No, dear Roger, I do not under-estimate the importance of the
material that your friend has sent me, though by the
table of contents, which Berkman sent me he has made me
getting. Verily, he has accomplished nothing short of a
miracle to have collected so much in such a short period of time.
I do hope that these documents and data will be of some
value to what he was able to furnish until now. So much do I
understand the importance of unimpeachable material that I myself
would give anything if I now had some definite data to counteract
the miserable whitewash of the Trade Union Mission. For it is
primarily this report which has destroyed whatever I have succeeded
in building up during the last two months, although so far it is
only a preliminary report. The main report of the Trade Union
Mission will appear only at the end of this month. The amusing
part is that the only material from which the Trade Union Mission
is drawing consists of official Bolshevik documents, reports and
all sorts of publications. You can readily see how much one
can depend upon that material. If I had recent data regarding
the Trade Unions in Russia, or Education or other issues that the
Mission will deal with, I could of course show up the false material
which they are using. But unfortunately, the various political
groups outside of Russia, although they are in close contact with
the country, are more concerned with the fate of the political
than in anything else.

I did have a very strong letter written by the Ukrainian anarchist
in Berlin in protest against the statements made by the Trade
Union Mission, but that letter is not enough because it does not
specify anything regarding the actual economic and industrial
situation of Russia. Indeed I realize the importance of the
material that you sent. My only objection was that you wanted
such material to be made use of it is impossible to do so,

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My dear Roger, I have received your letter of the 2nd inst. and am glad to hear from you.

I find in your letter the statement that the Russian Government is having the same effect of killing off those spontaneous experimental growths ~~the~~ toward communal production and distribution which alone seem to me an enduring basis of economic stability, in which the individual can find his widest freedom.

Don't you see, dear Roger, that it is precisely because the centralization of power in the hands of the bureaucratic Government has killed off all the spontaneous experimental growth and has monopolized the economic, political and spiritual rebuilding of the country, that it is for this very reason that it has failed to build up its national economy.

I agree with you that the difficulties we encounter here in this country and others that seem to be in regard to Russia is that the difficulties have increased in proportion as the Bolshevik Government has eliminated all the cultural forces of the country and has put the reconstruction of Russia in the hands of a limited political group, while, incompetent and inefficient to do anything practical whatever, except Communist propaganda. You cannot expect the sympathy and co-operation of people in their midst. For the particular work is an adherence to a political party. Yet, that is exactly what has happened in Russia and happens even more so now. No one of any ability has a chance if he does not belong to the Communist Party or if he does not pander to the Dictatorship of the Communist Party. It is to be seen it demonstrated over and over again where scientists, doctors and teachers, men who are the best in their fields of their great intellectual contribution to the country are maligned on every step, hindered and discriminated against by ignorant communists, who as far as knowledge and experience are concerned could not lead the boots of the men under them, and I am convinced that your difficulty experienced as regards Kuzbas is precisely for the same reason as stated above.

Apropos of Kuzbas, you will forgive me when I say that it is among the most criminal things that have been done in Russia — to lure men to Siberia without the least preparation for their physical needs or the possible success of the venture. I have seen a number of them who have come back, broken in health, dispirited, without a penny to their names, and obsessed only by one thing, to get away from that dreadful Russia. Some of them came to me in Berlin on their way back to America or wherever they went. Kuzbas, like every other venture in Russia is primarily for propaganda purposes, that is the one thing that the Third International lives by; no matter how many lives are sacrificed and how discredited the idealist becomes. I do not know what is being done in Kuzbas now, but I do know that the scheme was a means of Communist propaganda for the United States and for no other purpose. When you write next time please tell me if anything has come of the experiment other than that I have stated here.

By the way, John Turner, who is one of the delegates of the Mission, tells me that unfortunate Bill Haywood is disintegrating at a very fast pace and that he will die any day. In the world now if he could get out of Russia and go back to America. Poor Bill is not realizing that a captain of a ship has no right to

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run for safety. The first idea was to hide, but this will be used in Russia and they will also be used for propaganda purposes and then be thrown in the "ung-lug". I tell Bill exactly what is going to happen when he came to see me while in Moscow. Turner's report really made me sick, but that will pass. Men people are not strong enough to face the consequences of their ideas. They must pay the price. They pay the price in either way but at least if they suffer for their ideals physically they still can claim their soul their own and can have the satisfaction that their spirit has remained untouched, but there is nothing more dreadful in the world than to pay a double price, to be carried away by the fleeting nature of glory and success as counted either in money or position. Bill's price is a double price, so I feel deeply sorry for him.

The one person who has been most inspiring to me here is Rebecca West. Have you met her yet? She was in America and you heard her speak? She is not only very brave and talented but she has a beautiful personality and a generous spirit. A very few people I have met for a long time. In fact she wrote the end of articles, and is engaged on a book, etc. and is a good deal and is being entertained. Rebecca still finds time to respond to my request made upon her. I think that I have despaired utterly, if I had met her. I see her first time to time and always come away inspired.

Colonel Wedgwood is a very fine personality. I wonder whether you have met him. I think he was in the States. He has been in the importance of liberty and truth over all other considerations. He is to preside at the meeting if it takes place at all. The difficulties of halls are almost as bad here as in New York, most halls belonging to religious organizations and the others being terribly expensive, but I rather think we will have Southgate Institute. If we do, the meeting will take place on the 25th of this month. Wedgwood will preside, John Turner will speak and so will I.

I hope against hope that out of this meeting I may be able to organize a permanent committee who would undertake to enlighten the English public as to events in Russia and also to help the unfortunate political prisoners and concentration camps. Anyway I have given myself until the Spring here. If I succeed in my object I will try to remain, though in my case it is always God and the Authorities willing. If I fail, I will probably hide somewhere for a while and write my autobiography. I really make no plans. I live from day to day.

I wonder if you intend going abroad in the near future. I would love to see you and thrash out the many points about Russia which still seem very vague to you. Meanwhile, take my best wishes for the New Year and my affectionate greeting. Please give my greetings to Henry ~~and ask him whether he has forgotten me altogether, I never hear from him.~~

Affectionately,
EG

P.S. Several weeks ago I was invited by "Collier's Magazine" to write an article about the "good" points in America which Mr. Cronin the Managing Editor of the magazine thought I ought to be able to do from my "vantage point of Europe." I reflected that I would be willing to do that if I could also write of the evil and reactionary things. The enclosed is a copy of letter I received from him. I have written an article but have no idea whether it will be accepted. I rather think that I succeeded in saying what I wanted to say and yet not cutting off the chance entirely from having the article accepted. If it goes into the magazine you will no doubt read it. It is the first time that I have had a chance to write something for an American magaz

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but I hate become a European "celebrity" now. I am, console
myself that the prophet is never counted for anything in his
own home.

defence - South place I wish to see
place Jan 29th 24 is a meeting
evening. He will spend some
of his people, but not all. The
only place he could go
to have a meeting is
well come to it.

345

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ENCLOSURE

3.

Emma Goldman to Roger N. Baldwin
5 January 1925.

Dear Roger:

It is only now that I am able to reply to yours of November 24. I have been rushed from one thing to another but I cannot say that I have succeeded very much. True the reception at the Dinner was very good, much more so than I had expected, but I have since come to the conclusion that most people at the Dinner expected to see me a champion of Bolshevism. When they realized that I am its critic they not only 'dropped' me but have not even had the courtesy to reply to the letter which I sent out eight weeks ago in regard to the work I mean to do here.

Some people were good enough to suggest that they would look after my comfort but that they could not support the work to bring light on the Russian muddle. I am sure that they mean well but in reality it was a polite way of trying to buy my silence. Needless to say I could not consent to that.

However I had hoped that Laski and his friends would really show interest in the proposition. In fact he led me to believe he would. I called him up and asked whether I could see him. He immediately consented and when I was there both he and his wife showed so much interest that I went away elated thinking that at last I have found people who love the truth above political considerations. The Laski's invited 35 people to tea for Dec. 21st. Meanwhile the preliminary Report of the Trade Union Mission appeared in the morning papers of this city. When I came to the Laski's I realized that the Report had done its mischief. I found most people unwilling to take any stand whatever regarding Russia. Laski said he would help the campaign for the political prisoners, but he would not help a direct attack upon Bolshevism.

Franklin I cannot see how any man with some logic can expect to discuss the political without going into the background and the forces which made them. Nevertheless I was willing to concede that the subject should be treated in the indirect way. I then waited for a number of days to get a reply whether or no Laski's group would do anything about the meeting we had in mind in Queen's Hall. When I got no answer I decided to let my friends book a smaller hall, Southplace Institute, which is something on the lines of the Cooper Union. I called up Laski and told him that while the hall had been booked and my own immediate friends were rather insistent that the subject for discussion at the meeting should be 'The Bolshevik Myth' I would nevertheless confine myself to the political if I could get some backing from Laski and his people.

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4.

I am enclosing a copy of his letter from which you will be able to judge for yourself the difficulties that are confronting me here. The points taken up by Laski are so utterly untenable I cannot understand how any man of his mental calibre could raise them.

The first point regarding the I.L.P. not being able to engage in an open attack on Bolshevism, I can understand. The Labour Party has been at the Government and hopes to be at the Government again. As a political organization with its eye on the House of Commons ~~it~~ it cannot afford to quarrel too energetically with another Government. But what is one to think of the point taken by Bertrand Russell for instance. The idea that because there is no other political group to take the place of the Bolsheviki they must be permitted to get away with murder, for that is really what it means, though perhaps Russell himself has not yet drawn the logical conclusions of his suggestion.

The other points are on a par with Mr. Russell's: illogical and inconsistent for any group of people who claim sympathy with Labour and strong socialistic leanings.

On the other hand, Laski's suggestion that I am more interested in attacking Bolshevism than helping the politicals is absolutely unfounded. To be sure I consider it of utmost importance to the revolutionary movements of the world to investigate the confusions created by Bolshevism. But I do not have to tell you that my interest in the terrible fate of the politicals is beyond even that of exposing the Bolsheviki. The only thing I fail to see is how they can discuss the condition of the politicals without discussing the very institution which made political terror inevitable.

To every thinking person, one of two things must be apparent:- Either the dictatorship is justified and terror as a method of maintaining it is inevitable; then it is also inevitable to gag all political tendencies which will not make peace with the dictatorship as the principal, and terrorism added. Or the dictatorship is fallacious and terror inadmissible for a party which claims to attempt a new social experiment, and then every far-sighted, justice-loving human being must protest against the continued terrorism against every other political group. But so far very few people here are able to differentiate and to take a stand for one thing or another.

In a measure the various socialistic and radical groups in England are really in the same muddle as our own in America. Not while there is some justification for most radicals in the U.S. to continue ~~existing~~ in the fog regarding the Bolsheviki regime (very little authentic data has come to America) it is amazing to find the same situation in England where so much has already been written

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5.

and said about the situation in Russia. Some of it very dependable and of an unimpeachable character. Yet there is no end of ignorance and to a large extent cowardice on the part of the political organizations in regard to the Bolshevik misrule. Verily, Moscow has demonstrated the truism that 'nothing succeeds so well as success'. Having bluffed the whole world the Bolsheviks are now considered successful and therefore must not be handled too roughly. I confess I am very disappointed and dispirited by the situation.

One thing is certain unless I succeed in reaching labour direct. I will have to give up the world started here. Political and Trade Union leaders are everywhere a hopeless lot. Here they seem to be much more so because of their chances of success. I must therefore get to the workers direct but unfortunately that too is going to be bitter hard. The Labour and Trade Union movements is very thoroughly centralized in England. It is not like with us where you can have a public meeting and expect to get an audience consisting of workers. I am therefore, at a loss to know what to do to get into touch with the masses. I may go on tour after I have tested London for another month or so. I have been invited by a group of Anarchists from South Wales, and I am also trying to establish connections with the workers of Scotland. If I succeed I shall want nothing better. After all I have never before worried about leaders and have yet succeeded in reaching the Labour elements. I must therefore try the same method here. As to the results, that only time will prove but you can well understand that I am not very cheerful over the situation. If only I could trim and compromise I would have a tremendous field here in Britain, but I have not learned to do so fortunately, and I am afraid it is too late for me to learn such things. I rather think that the tendency for compromise is like the tendency towards creative work. One must have it in him and I know that I never had such inclinations.

I was a little amused at your announcement that you had written Laski that he and others should avail themselves of my services on the lecture platform. You are so naive, dear Roger, what do you think these political people would want with Emma Goldman, the anarchist? These people neither want the truth nor can they stand it when it is being told them, and they know full well as you will see by Laski's letter that it is not advisable to ally oneself with such an outspoken person as E.G. I really believe that it is the principal reason for the refusal on the part of Laski and the rest of working with me for the political prisoners.

.....I would give anything if I now had some definite date to counteract the miserable whitewash of the Trade Union Mission, for it is primarily this report which has destroyed what I have succeeded in building up during the past two months, all though so far it was only a preliminary report. The main report will appear at the end of this month. The amusing part is that the material from which the Trade Union Mission is drawing consists

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official Bolshevik documents, papers and all sorts of publications. You can readily see how much one can depend upon that materials. If I had recent data regarding the Trade Unions in Russia or education or other issues that the Mission will deal with I could of course show up the fake material which they are using. But unfortunately the various political groups outside of Russia, although they are in close contact with the country, are more concerned with the fate of the politicals than anything else.

I did have a very strong letter written by the Russian Mensheviks in Berlin in protest against the statements made by the Trade Union Mission, but that letter is not enough because it does not specify anything regarding the actual economic and industrial situation in Russia. Indeed I realize the importance of the material that you want. My only objection was that you wanted such material which on the face of it was impossible to obtain, with the complete autocracy and inaccessibility which exists in Russia.

.....By the way John Turner, who was one of the delegates of the Mission tells me that unfortunate Bill Haywood is disintegrating at a very fast pace, and that he would give anything in the world now if he could get out of Russia and go back to America. Poor Bill did not realize that the captain of a ship has no right to run for safety and leave his crew behind, and that he will be used in Russia as everybody else is used for propaganda purposes and then be thrown on the dung-heap. I told Bill exactly what is going to happen when he came to see me while in Moscow. Turner's report really made me sick, but what will you when people are not strong enough to take the consequences of their ideas. They must pay the price. They pay the price in either way but at least if they suffer for their ideals physically they still can claim their soul their own and can have the satisfaction that their spirit has remained untouched, but there is nothing more dreadful in the world than to pay a double price, to be counted either in money or position. Bill's price is a doubled price and I feel deeply sorry for him.

The one person who has been most inspiring to me here is Rebecca West. Have you met her when she was in America, and have you heard her speak? She is not only very brainy and talented but she has a beautiful personality and a generous spirit, as very few people I have met for a long time. Though she writes no end of articles, and is engaged on a book, entertains a good deal and is being entertained, Rebecca still finds time to respond to any request made upon her. I think I should have despaired utterly if I had not met her. I see her from time to time and always come away inspired.

Colonel Wedgewood is a very fine personality. I wonder whether you have met him. I think he was in the States. He was

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7.

believes in liberty and truth over all other considerations. He is to preside at the meeting if it takes place at all. The difficulties of halls are almost as bad as in N.Y., most halls belong to religious organizations and the others being terribly expensive, but I think we will have South Place Institute. If we do the meeting will take place on the 29 th of this month. Wedgwood will preside, John Turner will speak and so will I.

I hope against hope that out of this meeting I may be able to organize a permanent committee who would undertake to ~~try~~ enlighten the English public as to events in Russia and also to help the unfortunate politicals in prisons and concentration camps. Anyway I have given myself until the Spring here. If I succeed in my object I will try to remain, though in my case it is always God and the Authorities willing. If I fail, I will probably hide ~~nowhere~~ somewhere for a while and write my autobiography. I really make no plans. I live from day to day.

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1925 Jan. 5, London [to Alexander Berkman, Berlin] / E[mma Goldman]. — 2 p.; 29 × 19 cm.

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Institutional Location: Alexander Berkman Archive.

3 Titchfield Terrace.
St John's Wood Road.
London, N, W.8.

Jan. 5th. 1925.

Dearest Sash. Just a few lines to day to make up for that dreadfully typewritten letter which I mailed Saturday night. After I ruined a perfectly new ribbon I discovered that the cause of the awful typewriting was my inserting the ribbon wrongly. Can you beat that for stupidity? Well, there is no use doing like Lenin, always admitting once mistakes when like him I go on doing them all over again. I am a hopeless proposition when it comes to spelling and typewriting.

Rebecca will not have the Preface until Friday, the holidays she tells me have made it impossible for her to work, she had her son with her, she is therefore overwhelmed with work, but she promised faithfully to have the Preface ready Friday. If only you will let me know that I may send it on if I consider it all right, otherwise I fear it will come too late. To day I received a second cable from Fitzie. Bless she is great on cables. If only she would once write a letter giving details of her arrangements she would be able to save lots of money on cables. For instance if she had written you exactly when your book is to come out, I could have induced Rebecca to hurry. I can not do it now and must depend on her promise to let me have it Friday. But you can see that the Preface seems to be very pressing at the N, Y, end. If I send it to you there will be more delay and it may even come too late. What shall I do? Meanwhile I am sending F a cable to day though I hate to spend money. But I must put her at ease. Will cable "sending Saturday sailing" I believe Saturday is better anyway because fast steamers always go then. I certainly hope it will not be too late.

Yesterday I wasted another evening to speak before a group of Fabians about thirty in the home of a woman who is a Fabian. She thought that it would help getting people interested and perhaps to join a committee. When I saw the gang I realized at once there will be nothing doing. The only value of the evening was this; among the invited was one of the Labor Mission a Mr Young who is evidently a Communist though he does not say so. He delivered himself of a eulogy on the "great" achievements in Russia which I was able to nail down as lies. It was a lively affair. I rather think the people present saw the fake of Mr Young. But how much will that help? More and more I appreciate the struggle Henry must be making and how impatient we were with him. To move Anglo Saxons from any of their preconceived ideas is like moving the Rockies. By the way, I had a letter from Henry this morning, the first in a year. He also inclosed copy of the "appeal" to the Soviet Government in behalf of the Politicals. In case you did not see it, I inclose a copy. Of course, it will not have the slightest effect. Still it is a beginning. I am glad to get the names of signers they may help me here. For instance, I have not yet given up Russell or Mevinson, I am going to ask them see me again and will pin them down to a definite refusal or promise. Why should I take Laski's interpretation of Russell's ideas on the subject of Russia? If only I were not myself to speak at the planned meeting it would be easier sailing for me. As it is the gang here may get the idea that I am concerned in the meeting because I want to speak. You know how people are.

Worst of all is that we are not yet certain about South Place Institute even, I am waiting to hear from the chap who went to see the Care Taker of the Hall. As I have already written you, if that Hall too fails us I do not know what we will do. They have two Halls in various parts of L. I understand they can be gotten. In fact Roseise suggested that we should have a number of meetings in Town Halls rather than the one in Queen's. The trouble is it will now take another month or two to organize anything in those Halls. Meanwhile

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2.

I am using up what I earned because of the terrific expense of living, postage, stenographer cost, and there is no particular prospect of getting articles accepted so readily as it appeared after the publicity here. My main hope now is to go on tour and try to reach the workers direct. I had another invitation from some town to speak in March. I am going to insert an appeal to our comrades in Freedom to get in touch with me if they can arrange meetings. After all, we have done that in A. for many years until I was able to launch out on my own. And as here too I am starting from the bottom up, I will have to depend on our comrades for the present. I have no hopes to go out independently and have not the means for it. My main regret about the failure in this City is that I will not be heard under favorable circumstances by the Agency that would be likely to book me. It is some situation I can tell you.

Meanwhile our dear Stella is shouting from the house tops how wonderfully I am getting along and how I have been received and what a wonderful future I have. You should read the letters I am getting from our American friends they would make you swear.

Inclosed are some reviews of my book, please send them back dearest. I wonder when my article reached you and when I may hope to get it back. Poor Sash you have so much to do and here I am adding to your troubles. Blame it all on my undying faith in your literary ability, see.

Dear please tell Maro that the booklet he sent me must have been lost, only the wrapper was received. Let him be more careful when he sends printed matter. And let him send me another copy of the pamphlet on the Trade Unions, I need the data it evidently contains even if it is a bit old. I am sure the functions of the Trade Unions in Russia continue to be what it was in our time, to make "Communists". That fake Young had the advantage over me that he just came from Russia whereas I am 13 years from there. No doubt some apparent advance along industrial lines must have been made, but they touch the surface only. Thus the man had the gall to tell the people last night that the Toheka is abolished and that the G. P. U. has no more power than Scotland Yard. Just think of such brazen conscious lies.

I must close now dear Sashuk, I have a lot to do and I want to get this to the P. O so it might reach you Wed. In my last letter I started to tell you the different views about my book, Nettlau, Turner, Laski, very amusing, when I get time I will quote from their letters.

I embrace you dear.

Devotedly.

I will send you Kury's letter another time. I have no photo of dated in the appeal, still the copy may help me here.

The Emma Goldman Papers

870920242

[Letter, 1925] Jan. 7 [London to Emma] Goldman, [London] / Juliet Soskice.—
2 p. ; 16 × 20 cm.

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Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

5038

TELEPHONE NO.
RIVERSIDE 882.

5, GIRDLEERS ROAD,
BROOK GREEN,
W. 14.

Jan. 7/25

Dear Miss Goldman.

So many thanks for sending
me your book. I shall enjoy reading
it. My little one returned yesterday
to his nursery school so I shall
not be so fearfully rushed.

What a shame about the
bills! The right of free speech
seems to be very easily done away
with!

I hope we shall see you
soon and learn what has

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5039

finally been ~~back~~.

Dand sent last week

Yrs very sincerely

Juliet Soskice.

354

The Emma Goldman Papers

870924391

[Letter, 19]25 Jan. 7 [London to] Emma [Goldman, London] / W.
Wise. — 3 p. ; 14 × 18 cm.

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Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

36452

7-1-'25

Dear Emma,

Thanks for your p.cards. It
is good news indeed that Sol Place
is secured, at last for Thursday 29
inst., and please remember this
hall is a very respectable one,
with very interesting traditions.

I am very sorry but I shall
not be able to be with you
tomorrow evening, & would
therefore ask you to kindly
forward me some tickets — most
likely Doris could bring it along.
Should somewhat have liked to
hear what Laski & the American

355

The Emma Goldman Papers

870924391

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16462 A

friends write, but I hope to hear
first later.

Now, I presume the Committee
will arrange the order of the
meeting: probably Cal J. Woodman
in the chair, with Turner &
Madison, & perhaps Rob. West
to support you. What about
a resolution — do you propose
to have one? Then some ought to be
drawn up now. The Steward
must be provided for about 10
if possible, & downstairs & up
stairs. If a collection is to
be taken the caretaker will have
to be asked for plates or bags & other
things to pass them round.
I hope everything will be most
successful. Oh, yes, as to advertising

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16463

I would suggest to insert ^{even if} small adverts in all
Socialist papers ~~from~~ after next week, with
pairs in the same as well as in the
liberal papers. But I hope no money
will be wasted on ~~the~~ ^{the} ads or bus adverts.

With all the best wishes
& greetings from us all.
Sincerely W. W. Lee

Love to Louis

The Emma Goldman Papers

870930157

[Letter] 1925 Jan. 8, London [to] A[lexander Sc]hapiro, Paris / [Emma Goldman]. — 2 p. ; 32 x 22 cm.

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Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

3, Titchfield Terrace,
St. John's Wood.
London, E.W. 8.

January 8th 1925.

Mr. A. Chapiro,
26, Rue Bouscington,
Paris, 13.

Dear Sania:

I should have written you sooner but did not wish to intrude upon your holidays which I hope were more cheerful and pleasanter than mine. But now I suppose the gaiety is over and you are again back at the old grind.

I cannot say that I have pleasant news to write. My efforts of the last three months have been knocked on the head by the preliminary Report of the Trade Union Delegation. I had almost perfected a Committee which was to launch a concerted campaign against the continued terror in Russia and even more so, a campaign to enlighten the English masses as regards the relation of the Russian Revolution to Bolshevism. All that has been set aside for the present anyway.

I am enclosing copies of letters which will explain the whole unfortunate business. They will save me repeating the whole thing. The letter of Professor Laaki is particularly interesting because of the points he enumerates. I am also enclosing my reply to him. Imagine if you please, the suggestion of Laaki that it is necessary to talk to the Labour Delegation "privately" in view of the fact that the Russian source of the Labour Delegation is the Government and its material exclusively official documents and decrees, it does not require much intelligence to foretell what the reaction of that Delegation will be to any suggestion of a campaign against Bolshevism. But as I said, you will get the whole difficult situation I am confronted with from the various enclosures in this letter.

After the preliminary Report I wrote to John Turner pointing out the fact that he is involved in a misrepresentation of the actual situation in Russia. I am enclosing his reply. Since then we had a talk of 5 hours. I cannot go into all that he said. I can only give you the gist. It is to this effect. That while Turner is by no means as blinded as Purcell and the rest by the officially conducted tours and demonstrations, and while he is more convinced than ever in the evils of the Dictatorship and its results of terror and wholesale persecutions, there can be no doubt that John has not been able to escape Bolshevik mesmerism. You will laugh when I tell you that one of the things which impressed him was the easy access to all the high officials in Russia, forgetting that he came as a Government guest and not as an ordinary citizen.

I pointed out to him that if he had gone to America, not as a guest of the U.S. Government but as the guest of the American Federation of Labour, he would have been received in Washington with the same readiness and courtesy as he was received by M. Zinoviev, Rykoff and the rest. What possible argument can that be for enthusiasm as regards the regime; or John thought it marvellous that a man whom he used to know in the East End of London I believe Splenchansky is his name, is now a Judge in Moscow. But then I have it not in my heart to be impatient with John when I know how long it took us to see behind the scenes, and when I know the tremendous effort made by the Moscow outfit to dazzle every visitor and every delegate.

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1874

2.

The Queens Hall venture is off. There is no financial response to speak of, altogether about £45 was collected for the purpose, of which the Jewish comrades gave £25 and there is no moral backing, and you know yourself how difficult it would be to fill Queens Hall ~~when~~ without either of these factors. We have therefore decided upon Southplace Institute. The meeting takes place on January 29th and Josiah C. Wedgwood will preside. The Committee we have is very small, it consists of Rebecca West, Mrs. Wedgwood, John Turner, Owen and an American Professor who teaches history at Oxford, besides our own people. But we must hold the Meeting even if it is on a small scale.

The most tragic thing to me is the fact that in 30 years our ideas have made such little impression upon the country and its people that there are not enough to back a meeting in Queens Hall. It is almost funny if it were not sad. 30 years ago I spoke in Southplace Institute on behalf of a political - A.B. and now again I must go to Southplace to speak on behalf of a cause which involves thousands of political. Where is the fault I wonder.

My main hope is centred on the provinces. I have already had a request from comrades in South Wales who want to arrange 15 meetings attended by miners and now I have a request from comrades in the North. If I can cover the country, reaching Labour direct I shall be much more satisfied than dealing with the Leaders who are everywhere a hopeless lot and here more so than ever.

I will keep you posted of course. I often think of how much distance lends enchantment. Our dear people, Millie and Rudolph always raved about England and the soil I would find here. To be sure I found the soil but it is as hard as the Rocky Mountains and I have no longer the same strength to break stones as I had when I began my career in the United States. The trouble with these people is that they still dwell in the pre-war England. They forget that the country and even more so the Russian situation have uprooted everything and make the work on behalf of the facts on Russia, much more difficult than anything that was done before. Do not think I am too pessimistic. To be sure, I am depressed but nevertheless I mean to forgo ahead. Perhaps something will come from my tour. If not, well I shall content myself with the fact that I have tried my utmost.

One thing is certain, I have no desire to remain in England for the pleasure of it. Unless I can gain a footing and do work with our ideas, I shall again become the wandering Jew. For the present I make no plans, I live from day to day.

Thanks for your card you sent me. All good wishes for the New Year.

Affectionately,

The Emma Goldman Papers

871014195

[Letter] 1925 Jan. 9 [London to] Harold J. Laski, [London] / [Emma Goldman].—
3 p. ; 36 × 19 cm.

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3, Titchfield Terrace,
St. John's Wood,
N.W. 8.

9th January, 1925.

Prof. Harold J. Laski,
16, Warwick Gardens,
W. 14.

Dear Prof. Laski:

I tried to get you on the phone twice today, but once received no reply at all, and in the evening Mrs. Zhook who spoke for me, was told that you were out. I am very anxious to get the document which is the signed statement of the physicians who examined the bodies of the unfortunate victims at Soloveteki. I wonder whether you could let me have it by tomorrow evening? If you have sent it to Mr. Nevinson or Bertrand Russell, perhaps you would call them up and ask them to return it to me by express post. The matter is rather urgent, because I am writing an article for a London paper about the politicals and I must have the documents to quote from.

Your letter of Dec. 29th reached me safely. I should have replied to it ere this, but I have been very busy with articles for America and an ever increasing correspondence in this country. As you see, I am not easily daunted. I feel I must go ahead on behalf of Russia, even though you and your friends do not feel inclined to help.

I confess, I was not particularly disappointed in what you had to say in your letter. Already at your house on the 21st. Dec. I had formed a definite feeling that most of the people present are entirely too aloof and too remote from the woes of Russia to make a stand against the forces which continue to crush the country and its people. I am, however, disappointed in Mr. Bertrand Russell and yourself. Since I began to read Mr. Russell's works and when I met him in Russia, I believed that he held the principles of political freedom to be above any other consideration. In fact, at the Dinner he was much more outspoken against the curtailment of liberty in whatever form that I was sure he would be among the first to want the evils of the present regime in Russia disowned and that he would come to the assistance of the men and women who are languishing in Russian prisons for opinion's sake. The argument advanced by Mr. Russell that since there is no other political group of an advanced nature to take the place of the Bolshevik Government, he does not believe in the effectiveness of my work, seems to me to be out of keeping with the scholarly mind of a man like Mr. Russell. What possible bearing can that have on the stand on behalf of some justice to the political victims of the Government? I have said on the occasion of your gathering, that as long as every political opinion is dead, the organisations broken up and their adherents wasting their lives in Russian prisons and concentration camps, it is difficult to say, what political group is likely to be superior to the present on the throne of Russia. But, granted that Mr. Russell's contention is logical it does that mean that all liberty-loving men and women outside of Russia must supinely sit by while the Bolsheviks are getting away with murder? Frankly, I see neither logic or justice in the argument advanced by Mr. Russell. In connection with this, it may not be amiss to state that effort on behalf of the Russian politicals or a frank and fearless expose of the actual conditions

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Prof. H.J. Laski.

9/1/1925.

-2-

in the country have no relation whatever with any attempt or desire to overthrow the Bolshevik Government. These efforts would, however, tend to have a modifying effect upon the Bolshevik Government - would certainly help to ameliorate the present appalling conditions of the politicals and possibly also induce the present regime to establish at least a limited amount of freedom of Press, Speech and Assembly.

I wonder whether Mr. Russell would have hesitated to lend his name or use his pen and voice on behalf of the politicals under Tsardom? What then, is the impelling reason for a man of his fine qualities to refuse assistance to the victims who are crying for help under the present regime? Is it not perhaps because he, like Mr. Clifford Allen and many other good people in the Labour and Socialist movement, believes that the "Bolsheviks are engaged in an experiment which is going in the right direction." I am inclined to think that it is this delusion more than any other reason which has such a tremendous sway over the advanced section of the various movements. I have found the same delusion at work in the United States and here, too, it is at work. No doubt, that is the most impelling force which is deciding the unwillingness of the I.L.P. to take a stand. Or, is it that as a Party already having tasted power and determined to take hold of power again, that it cannot afford to quarrel with colleagues in the Russian Government?

The Labour people who, as you say, would rather not oppose things in Russia, because they feel that the Mensheviks would probably not have been better, seem to have forgotten the old proverb that "two wrongs do not make one right". I readily concede that the Mensheviks may not have been better; in fact, I have pointed out in the closing chapter of my book that every political Group which stresses dictatorship and holds to the Jesuitical formula that the "end justifies any means" would have been driven to do exactly as the Bolsheviks are doing until this day. But, that cannot excuse the extermination of the Mensheviks by the present regime any more than the extermination of the Bolsheviks would have been excused had the Mensheviks been in power. The question, as I understand it, is the Dictatorship and the terror such a dictatorship must make use of, not the name of the particular group at the back of it. This seems to me the dominant issue confronting serious men and women of Revolutionary leanings and not, who is being persecuted, or by whom? I hold, therefore, that the argument of your Trade Union friends is very lame, to say the least.

The suggestion that the Trade Union Delegation should first be talked to privately, before any public work ought to be started, would be in order if the Delegation had been in Russia long enough to go beneath the surface & not as guests of the Government - not officially conducted. But, with only five weeks in the country, depending largely upon biased interpreters and listening only to the glowing accounts received from those in whose interest it is to proclaim that there is "peace in Warsaw", - such testimony can have no weight with people who know the country and its language. The other night I had an opportunity to convince myself of the utter falsity which must have been conveyed to the delegates by one of their interpreters. I was present at Miss Booth's when Mr. Young had the affront to state that the "Toheka is abolished and that the G.P.U. has no more power than Scotland Yard." That, in the face of the overwhelming facts of the arbitrary power of the G.P.U., recorded in the entire Bolshevik Press in Russia, (mind, I do not mean to impugn the sincerity of the Trade Delegation, but I do mean to charge them with lack of political grasp of the Russian situation, ignorance as to the terrible conditions of the masses, above all excessive partiality

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Prof. H.J. Laski.

9/1/1925.

-3-

to the ruling regime, - all of which makes the opinions of the Delegation utterly worthless to fairminded men and women. I therefore do not see the contribution they could make, if they were consulted, as was suggested by some of your friends.

You and your friends have stressed the point that anything that might be done for the politicals, must not be done under anti-Bolshevik auspices "such as yours" (e.g. mine) I confess, I do not understand, what is meant by that, unless it is my position as an Anarchist which so frightens your friends. I am sure, this cannot be the motive in Mr. Russell's objection. Nor do I believe that this has anything to do with yours. If I am not mistaken, Mr. Russell is pretty much of an Anarchist himself. Certainly, his attack of all Governments at the Dinner was anarchistic enough even to suit me. On the other hand, you, Dear Professor, were willing to concede on the evening when I first called on you that "the ideas of Bakunin and Kropotkin have been quite vindicated by the Russian experiment." - I should say, by the bankruptcy of the State everywhere. And, if it is not my Anarchism, what else is it that your friends mean when they say: "Anti-Bolshevik auspices such as yours?"

However, it is not a question of what I will or will not do. The cause of the politicals is sufficiently urgent to be taken up by you and others of your friends, if you are really interested in helping them. I shall, of course, go ahead in my own way, which does not mean that I am unwilling to render whatever assistance I can in furnishing you with authentic material, or in any other way possible. In connection with this I am enclosing copies of a letter from my friend, Henry Aleburg, and an Appeal signed by a Committee of men and women whose names, I am sure, are familiar to you. Could you not undertake to start a similar organization here? I am sure, I have no desire to be in the forefront, or having my name broadcasted; my fervant desire is chiefly to bring some encouragement and relief to the thousands who are languishing in Bolshevik prisons, concentration camps and places of exile. By-the-way, it took Henry Aleburg nearly a year to wake the American Labour and radical elements to the crimes that are a daily occurrence in Russia. Perhaps I ought not to be discouraged that I have accomplished as little in three months.

In the end, the truth will out, though I often think that the power of a Lie is more persevering than the truth. Yet, for those of us who will make no peace with a lie, there is no other course, but to go on, determinedly and unafraid. If I can even in the least expose the Bolshevik myth, arouse people to its danger and help the politicals, I shall not mind the difficulties confronting me in this country.

Yes, my book is episodial. It was not intended to be anything else. Your contention that the closing chapter of the second volume should have been enlarged is correct. The subject it treats would need a whole volume, but as I was limited by space, I had to confine myself to the concentrated form. I thank you very much for the names of the publishers you have suggested. One of them has read the MSS. and refused; the other one will be seen if Jonathan Cape who is now reading it, refuses to handle it.

Sincerely yours,

The Emma Goldman Papers

870924079

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16018

3, Fitchfield Terrace,
St. John's Wood,
N. W. 8.

9th January, 1925.

Prof. Harold J. Laski,
16, Warwick Gardens,
N. 14.

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Prof. H.J. Laski.

9/1/1925.

16019

-2-

in the country have no relation whatever with any attempt or desire to overthrow the Bolshevik Government. These efforts would, however, tend to have a modifying effect upon the Bolshevik Government - would certainly help to ameliorate the present appalling conditions of the politicals and possibly also induce the present regime to establish at least a limited amount of freedom of Press, Speech and Assembly.

I wonder whether Mr. Russell would have hesitated to lend his name or use his pen and voice on behalf of the politicals under Tsardom? What then, is the impelling reason for a man of his fine qualities to refuse assistance to the victims who are crying for help under the present regime? Is it not perhaps because he, like Mr. Clifford Allen and many other good people in the Labour and Socialist movement, believes that the "Bolsheviki are engaged in an experiment which is going in the right direction." I am inclined to think that it is this delusion more than any other reason which has such a tremendous sway over the advanced section of the various movements. I have found the same delusion at work in the United States and here, too, it is at work. No doubt, that is the most impelling force which is deciding the unwillingness of the I.L.R. to take a stand. Or, is it that as a Party already having tasted power and determined to take hold of power again, that it cannot afford to quarrel with colleagues in the Russian Government?

The Labour people who, as you say, would rather not speak things in Russia, because they feel that the Mensheviks would probably not have been better, seem to have forgotten the old proverb that "two wrongs do not make one right". I readily concede that the Mensheviks may not have been better; in fact, I have pointed out in the closing chapter of my book that every political group which stresses dictatorship and holds to the Jesuitical formula that the "end justifies any means" would have been driven to do exactly as the Bolsheviks are doing until this day. But, that cannot excuse the extermination of the Mensheviks by the present regime any more than the extermination of the Bolsheviks would have been excused had the Mensheviks been in power. The question, as I understand it, is the Dictatorship and the terror such a dictatorship must make use of, not the name of the particular group at the back of it. This seems to me the dominant issue confronting serious men and women of Revolutionary leanings and not, who is being persecuted, or by whom? I hold, therefore, that the argument of your Trade Union friends is very lame, to say the least.

The suggestion that the Trade Union Delegation should first be talked to privately, before any public work ought to be started, would be in order if the Delegation had been in Russia long enough to go beneath the surface & not as guests of the Government - not officially conducted. But, with only five weeks in the country, depending largely upon biased interpreters and listening only to the glowing accounts received from those in whose interest it is to proclaim that there is "peace in Warsaw", - such testimony can have no weight with people who knew the country and its language. The other night I had an opportunity to convince myself of the utter falsity which must have been conveyed to the delegates by one of their interpreters. I was present at Miss Booth's when Mr. Young had the affront to state that the "Tcheka is abolished and that the G.P.U. has no more power than Scotland Yard." That, in the face of the overwhelming facts of the arbitrary power of the G.P.U., recorded in the entire Bolshevik Press in Russia, (mind, I do not mean to impugn the sincerity of the Trade Delegation, but I do mean to charge them with lack of political grasp of the Russian situation, ignorance as to the terrible conditions of the masses, above all excessive partiality

The Emma Goldman Papers

870924079

[Letter] 1925 Jan. 9 [London to] Harold J. Laski, [London] / [Emma Goldman]. -
3 p. ; 33 x 20 cm.
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Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

Prof. H.J. Laski.

9/1/1925.

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to the ruling regime, - all of which makes the opinions of the Delegation utterly worthless to fairminded men and women. I therefore do not see the contribution they could make, if they were consulted, as was suggested by some of your friends.

You and your friends have stressed the point that anything that might be done for the politicals, must not be done under anti-Bolshevik auspices "such as yours" (e.g. mine) I confess, I do not understand, what is meant by that, unless it is my position as an Anarchist which so frightens your friends. I am sure, this cannot be the motive in Mr. Russell's objection. Nor do I believe that this has anything to do with yours. If I am not mistaken, Mr. Russell is pretty much of an Anarchist himself. Certainly, his attack of all Governments at the Dinner was anarchistic enough even to suit me. On the other hand, you, Dear Professor, were willing to concede on the evening when I first called on you that "the ideas of Bakunin and Kropotkin have been quite vindicated by the Russian experiment." - I should say, by the bankruptcy of the State everywhere. And, if it is not my Anarchism, what else is it that your friends mean when they say: "Anti-Bolshevik auspices such as yours?"

However, it is not a question of what I will or will not do. The cause of the politicals is sufficiently urgent to be taken up by you and others of your friends, if you are really interested in helping them. I shall, of course, go ahead in my own way, which does not mean that I am unwilling to render whatever assistance I can in furnishing you with authentic material, or in any other way possible. In connection with this I am enclosing copies of a letter from my friend, Henry Alburg, and an Appeal signed by a Committee of men and women whose names, I am sure, are familiar to you. Could you not undertake to start a similar organization here? I am sure, I have no desire to be in the forefront, or having my name broadcasted; my fervent desire is chiefly to bring some encouragement and relief to the thousands who are languishing in Bolshevik prisons, concentration camps and places of exile. By-the-way, it took Henry Alburg nearly a year to wake the American Labour and radical elements to the crimes that are a daily occurrence in Russia. Perhaps I ought not to be discouraged that I have accomplished as little in three months.

In the end, the truth will out, though I often think that the power of a Lie is more persevering than the truth. Yet, for those of us who will make no peace with a lie, there is no other course, but to go on, determinedly and unafraid. If I can even in the least expose the Bolshevik myth, arouse people to its danger and help the politicals, I shall not mind the difficulties confronting me in this country.

Yes, my book is episodic. It was not intended to be anything else. Your contention that the closing chapter of the second volume should have been enlarged is correct. The subject it treats would need a whole volume, but as I was limited by space, I had to confine myself to the concentrated form. I thank you very much for the names of the publishers you have suggested. One of them has read the MSS. and refused; the other one will be seen if Jonathan Cape who is now reading it, refuses to handle it.

Sincerely yours,

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

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The Emma Goldman Papers

850702122

[Letter] 1925 Jan. 12, London [to] Harry Weinberger, New York / E[mma] G[oldman].— 3 p. ; 34 × 22 cm.

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3, Titchfield Terrace,
St. Johns Wood,
LONDON, N.W. 8.

January 12th, 1925.

Mr. Harry Weinberger,
32, Union Square,
New York City. U.S.A.

My dear H.W.

I was very glad to get your letter of December 24th. It was welcome after such a long silence and extremely interesting. I knew that you had gone to Mexico so I was not impatient. I am glad to hear that you are hopeful of success on behalf of Rangel and Cline. It would certainly be a feather in the hat of Women's advancement if "Ma" Ferguson as the new Governor would do what her male predecessors had failed to do—if she would show enough humanity to pardon the men who had already spent so much time behind prison bars. I certainly hope that this may actually be the case.

Lest you do what many short time visitors to Russia do, be carried away by the surface of events in Mexico, I am enclosing copy of a letter which I received from Magon; surely being a Mexican and having been there now for nearly two years he is in a better position to know how much truth there is in the supposed efforts on behalf of Labour on the part of the Mexican Labour Government. I am sure that Magon is not exaggerating because there is no reason to believe that the Government in Mexico is any different than other Labour Governments. I know you are eager enough for facts not to be hurt at my suggestion that your statement in regard to Mexico is perhaps the impression from superficial things.

Yes ! I think that Doubleday Page have acted beautifully. To my mind much bigger than Mr. Liveright for instance in regard to Berkman's book. The latter evidently insisted on all the rights including Syndicates. Besides that he refused the concluding chapter which is of the utmost significance in Berkman's book. After all, it is not enough to criticise Bolshevism. It is necessary to give some constructive lessons of the Revolution and the regime in Russia. All of that Berkman has done in his concluding chapter. With that eliminated his work will stand merely as a criticism and nothing else. However, I think that F did the best she could under the circumstances. To come back to Doubleday Page. They wrote me that they are sending fifty sets which means fifty each of the first and second volume of my book free of charge that I might use them for English reviews. They did send me a hundred copies but they were all of the second volume. They are useless to me unless I can also get an equal number of the first volume. Besides that they have sent me fifty sets but have also included the bill for the latter. I have written them more than a month ago about this and have asked them to ship me one hundred copies of the first volume as quickly as possible. I wonder whether they have done so. Will you please see them about it. I daresay that the extra number of pages in the second volume did mean the extra expense which they claim. I hope that the book will have sufficient sale to make good the entire sum of \$647.35. I shall

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[Letter] 1925 Jan. 12, London [to] Harry Weinberger, New York / E[mma] G[oldman].— 3 p. ; 34 x 22 cm.

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want nothing more if I know that Dr. Cohen and Doubleday Page have been reimbursed for the expenses.

I am not hopeful of finding an English Publisher. Quite a number have read my manuscript and have refused. Brentano's were willing to publish it and even promised to have the book ready for our Meeting, which we had hoped would take place in Queen's Hall, but they insisted that I guaranteed five hundred copies. Of course I could not do that. If I were assured I am permanently staying in England I probably would have done so but I am swinging between Heaven and Hell; you can imagine that it is not a very safe and pleasant position to be in. I could not therefore bind myself with such a huge undertaking as five hundred copies. Now the volumes are being read by Jonathan Cape who became interested through Rebecca West. I ought to have some kind of a reply pretty soon but I dare not hope. Do I understand that Doubleday Page cannot furnish sheets; that will certainly be too bad because I am hoping to go on tour speaking through the Provinces on Russia which would give me a chance to dispose of a number of sets. However, it cannot be helped. If no publisher in England takes the book it will have to be where it stands today. By the way, I learned in a roundabout way that my book has appeared in a Swedish edition. Do you suppose the publisher had courtesy enough to send me a copy. I wrote him in no mistaken terms of what I think of such a method of dealing with an author. Nearly every publisher has been tried in France but all refused; the same in Germany. But I have stopped worrying about my book, I am content that the work is out in complete form. I hope though, that B's book will meet with greater success than mine.

I daresay that you have received glowing accounts of my reception here and of the "wonderful chances just awaiting around the corner for me to pick up". Distance always lends enchantment. It is true that my reception at the Dinner was more than I actually expected but I have since come to think that most people at the Dinner came to greet me as a champion of Bolshevism or what they think Bolshevism is. Nearly all of them have gone by the board since they realised that I have looked the Bolshevik gamblers too deeply in their cards and therefore will never make peace with ~~it~~ ^{them}. Anyway, during three months I have not succeeded in arousing enough interest among the Labour and Socialist elements to back a meeting which would give me a chance to present the whole Russian situation or to consent to do anything for political prisoners in Russia, and would you believe it I saw more people since I am in London than I have all the three years since I am out of Russia. I have accepted invitations for morning, noon and night; I have talked until I am worn out and in the end it is all for nought. Perhaps if the preliminary whitewash of the Trade Union Delegation had not appeared I might have succeeded in organising a Committee on behalf of the Politicals. But they all withdrew the moment they saw what the English guests of the Russian Government had to say. I am not going to enlarge on the whole situation because I am enclosing copies of a lot of letters which I received and have answered, that will give you an insight into the difficulties with which I am confronted.

Thirty years ago, during the Boer War, I spoke in South Place Institute on behalf of an American Political A.B. and now again I am going to speak at South Place Institute the difference being the number of Politicals in a Socialist Republic. ~~and then after~~ God save the mark! Things have moved slowly, have they not, but one must go on whether one wants to or not if one is possessed by an ideal. My position as you can imagine is very involved. If I confine myself to work on Russia I will be left alone by the Government but will receive very little support from the Labour Leaders. If on the

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850702122

[Letter] 1925 Jan. 12, London [to] Harry Weinberger, New York / E[mma] G[oldman].— 3 p. ; 34 × 22 cm.

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other hand I launch out on other subjects I may have some support from the Radicals here but will certainly not be tolerated by the Government for very long. In other words, if I do I will be damned and if I don't I will be damned. For the present I am determined to go ahead on behalf of Russia even if I have to do it on a small scale and what is going to happen after that only the Good Lord knows.

I see that you are almost as much of a Jew as I am as far as your persistence is concerned. You cannot let well enough alone. I mean your fight in re "God of Vengeance". I wish you luck. Do write me oftener now since you are back in dear old New York. May the New Year bring you success in love as well as in oards.

Ever your friend,



The Emma Goldman Papers

870920217

[Letter] 1925 Jan. 12, London [to] Emma Goldman, [London] / David Soskice.—
1 p.; 23 × 19 cm.
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Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

5 Girdlers' Road, Brook Green, W.14.

WINCHESTER HOUSE

OLD BROAD STREET

LONDON, 12th January 1925.
E.C.

Miss Emma Goldman,
3 Titchfield Terrace,
St. John's Wood.

Dear Friend,

I am in receipt of your letter of January 9th with
enclosures, for which I thank you.

The number of tickets enclosed was stated by you
erroneously. I found only 8 tickets @ 5/-, 10 tickets @ 2/-
5 tickets @ 1/- and 10 tickets free. Accordingly, I enclose
a cheque for £2. 9. 0. in payment for the lot.

With best wishes,

I am,

Yours sincerely,

David Soskice

Encl. Cheque.

The Emma Goldman Papers

870924389

[Letter, 19]25 Jan. 12 [London to] Emma Goldman, [London] / Josiah C. Wedgwood. — 1 p. ; 14 × 9 cm.

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Oct 25th 1912

16459

12, Deanfort House,
Chelsea, S.W. 3.

12-1-25

Dear Emma Goldman

Right. Go ahead. Personally
I dislike a ticket meeting,
but I do not want to make
difficulties.

I know that the Tory press
will extract all the wildly
hostile things you say about
the Bolsheviks & omit the
parts I shall approve of.
But I am accustomed to
hot-water & have a pathetic
faith in principle!

Yours is the Cause

Josiah Wedgwood

My wife has, deaf is no good for
Committee.

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The Emma Goldman Papers

870920014

[Letter] 1925 Jan. 13, New York [to] Emma [Goldman, London] / Leonard D. Abbott. — 4 p. ; 19 x 27 cm.

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imprisonment, deportation, & all the myriad
sorrows, hardships & obstacles that you
have had to endure, is, as I see it, little
short of miraculous.

I send you "Illustrated London News"
article, & shall look with interest for your
"Collier's" article. There was an article
in "Collier's" for January 10 entitled
"Rebels in Retirement" which would amuse
you. Perhaps Stella sent it to you.
Berthman, Marie, Rachel Edelson, Plunkett,
Marie Gans, & many others, figure in it.

2970 Marion Ave.

Bronx,

New York City.

Jan. 13, 1925.

Dear Emma,

The arrival of your letter was
a real event for me. I was gladdened
by the evidence that the newspapers gave
of your renewed strength, & I was equally
gladdened by the evidence that your letter
gives of the same thing. To have come
back, as you have, in the face of your

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[Letter] 1925 Jan. 13, New York [to] Emma [Goldman, London] / Leonard D. Abbott. — 4 p. ; 19 x 27 cm.

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I read with interest your letter to Madame Krum. I have read a number of reviews of her book (though I have not read the book itself), & I have its tone & spirit.

Stella Smith, of California, brought me news of you & Berkman in Berlin. I have also heard from Minna Bernstein.

I read your letter to the family at home, & shall show it to Marie. It was inspired by it.

Your letter shows an understanding of my problem, & of all I have seen through, that is

more complete than any other word that has come to me.

[I & my family].
We have, indeed, in a sense, been ^{going} through

hell, & we go through it still. I have often been tempted to suicide, & sometimes I have wished I could take my whole family with me! You know what I mean. This is the social, ~~in a sense~~

It is a matter of actual fact, I have had more good luck as well as bad. Financially, at least, I have been free from worry during the last year. Thanks to the sale of my Westfield cottage & to

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870920014

[Letter] 1925 Jan. 13, New York [to] Emma [Goldman, London] / Leonard D. Abbott. — 4 p. ; 19 × 27 cm.

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bequests of poor relatives.

Marie's trouble is now four or a half years old, & is not due to child-birth, though the birth of her little daughter probably hastened the disease. For two or a half years she has been more helpless than the baby.

Dr. Michael Cohen, who has been very kind in several ways, gave me the wheeling-chair that his wife's first wife used. I also have an indoor wheeling chair.

Markus Agoston, as you say, has been a bump throughout the entire affair; & the children, I am glad to say, are both

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[Letter] 1925 Jan. 13, New York [to] Emma [Goldman, London] / Leonard D. Abbott. — 4 p. ; 19 x 27 cm.

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coming along nicely.

As to my own inner life, what am I saying that is not depressing ~~in the extreme~~? I have never been so melancholy. I know that life was bad, but I didn't know it was as bad as this!

Yet I feel just a bit ashamed to put on paper even so much. Self-pity is the weakest & least attractive of moods, & in a sense, it can be hidden under foot.

If only I had faith in something, I might pick myself up even yet. But what is there? I have never, in 25 years,

known the radical movement here so weak & anemic as it is now. Anarchism is practically non-existent (though I am glad to see "The Road to Freedom"). Socialism is no more than a bad state.

I have held on to my job on "Current Opinion", but I am not doing myself or the job justice. I have lost my inspiration.

I don't enough of this. I did not mean to make this letter a dirge. There is a brighter side to the picture, & you can fill it in.

Sincerely & affectionately,

Leonard D. Abbott.

The Emma Goldman Papers

870819387

[Letter] 1925 Jan. 13, Rochester, N.Y. [to] E[mma] G[oldman, London] / Saxe [Commins]. — 3 p. ; 28 x 21 cm.

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FIVE TWENTY NINE MERCANTILE BLDG.
ROCHESTER, N.Y.

January 13, 1925.

Darling E.G.

Of late letters have been impossible, I don't know why. It has been on my conscience for months that I have neglected you shamefully, finding for myself the most unreasonable excuses, such as would be an affront to your intelligence. I say, from time to time, why burden her, why make her walk the dismal miasma of my despair? See how childish and transparent such meagre explanations are. They won't go down with you. They are as preposterous as they look on paper.

When your letter of Dec. 26th, in answer to my cable, arrived I determined forthwith to write you at very great length. Instead I got the inspiration or insolence to write a very short and wholly inadequate note to Rebecca West, saying a meagre portion of my reflected admiration for her. Not as a writer, but as a human being who had befriended the person dearest in the world to me. It is my prayer that she won't take it as an uncalled for piece of invasion. In that letter I tried to say very briefly what you meant in my life, and after sending it I realized I had said no portion of it. Nor to you can I say it, except by whatever inference you may draw from my incoherencies. Nietzsche's aphorism about our deepest emotions being unloquacious must be true. Equally are they ungrammatical, formless and stammering.

All that you write me concerning your experiences in England trying to interest the apathetic Anglo Saxon in Russia arouses my keenest curiosity. Not so much as to their response or lack of it but as a revelation of your renewed fervor and energy. You can't realize how glad I am to see you back in the old mood of fight and work, intense preoccupation and those few other devices by which we find an anodyne against life. You must not cherish the idea that I am impressed at all by your reception among people in the so-called high places. That means nothing to me. What means a great deal is the intensity with which you have undertaken your work after the long period of enforced inactivity. You come back with no lapse in energy. Nothing shows with what force you have come back more than your direct summary of your attitude in that letter to Madam Keun. I thought it was remarkable, not so much as a book review as it was for a manifesto. Thru it I saw most clearly precisely what you have in mind to do, and if it means anything in your young life, you have all my moral support.

By the time this arrives your large London meeting will have taken place. News of it will undoubtedly be cabled over. Then surely you will write to Stella and she will forward all the dope. I await it with the greatest avidity.

With me there is very little of interest. I have been trying to build up my health a little bit and with some success. I find the only tonic worth anything to me on the ice skating rink. Whenever I get the chance I rush away to skate for hours and get something of the exhilaration but none of the inspiration they

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[Letter] 1925 Jan. 13, Rochester, N.Y. [to] E[mma] G[oldman, London] / Saxe [Commins].— 3 p.; 28 x 21 cm.

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13457

say Goethe found when with his long red hair streaming in the breeze he left his whole world behind him and with the most rythmical of all motions glided to escape and serenity. ~~What~~ Stella wrote me that Ian has taken up skating. If he gets one part of the pleasure it gives me, he'll be made very happy. Incidentally it's no bad training for a kid who is as ungraceful as Ian. He runs like a duck, cannot throw a baseball and handles himself generally like a lamenergolem.

I suppose you have heard of the tragic death of George Bellows. Last summer when I was up in Woodstock I saw him for the first time since the old Ferrer days. He greeted me very warmly and most charmingly. It's a sad blow to American painting.

No need to argue the point about Mrs. Hay and David. In the first place I have never met her and anything I might say would be unfair on that account. When I spoke of her in a letter to Stella as one of that gang, it was for purposes of identification rather than blame. I certainly do not hold it against her personally. But never will I forgive those rich exploiters of poor David who worked so despicably on his weaknesses at the time, flung into his teeth his heritage and his background. Unfortunately David did listen to them and was more effected by their opinion than ever he could be by ours. It's impossible to write with any detachment about David. You of all people know or have guessed what his death has done to my life, which has been empty ever since, and perhaps would have been in any case.

Yes, Mother is having the vacation of her life. Her accounts are very glowing, tintured by worries about Lou. He has never fully recovered from a serious kidney illness and must adhere to a very rigid diet. To make that possible Mother has taken a flat with him in L.A. and devotes herself to his care. How long she will stay depends upon his condition. For my part it can be indefinite, because I know she gets a great deal of happiness out of her two kids.

You ask when I am coming over. I wish I could answer that with "now". But the dream of escape grows ever more remote. I am so deeply involved in Rochester economically that to cut loose before I settle a few huge obligations would be suicidal and would mean many more years to extricate myself. I am indebted to the bank on several notes for almost \$4000 and its going to take all sorts of conniving to hold them off. Don't ask me how I incurred such obligations; its too long a story.

But nothing in the world would make me happier than to throw off the chains that tie me to this despicable place. It would have to mean a complete emancipation or nothing. I will not go away and have the doom of a return to Rochester staring me in the face. I am thirty three years old now. In fact today is my birthday, come to think of it. Should I go away this time and have to come back again, there would never be escape again in my life. Not that its of such great importance.

I've been wondering whether you had a visit from my you g friend Rush Rhees. I gave him a letter to you, which he had planned to present during the Christmas holidays. If he hasn't you have in store for you a meeting which will bring delight to your soul.

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[Letter] 1925 Jan. 13, Rochester, N.Y. [to] E[mma] G[oldman, London] / Saxe [Commins].— 3 p. ; 28 × 21 cm.

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13458

FIVE TWENTY NINE MERCANTILE BLDG.
ROCHESTER, N.Y.

Never have I known a youngster with his avidity for ideas, nor his joy in revolt. Not so incidentally he is just about the easiest thing on earth to look at. If you could only get him to tell you the story of his secession from the local University, of which his own father is President, and all the publicity his act got for him you will realize that even in Rochester an occasional gesture is made. I do hope he presented my letter to you. There was another letter for a Miss Bingham which I sent on to London, presenting her although I have never met her myself.

I hear all sorts of praise for Sasha's book from those who have seen it in script or proof. Naturally I am keen to read it for myself. How is the old boy, anyhow. When you write to him convey my very best wishes. And you might get me his address so that I can tell him a few of the things I think about him.

Everything is serene in Rochester with what remains of our Mespoche. Miriam is much better now. She tells me that she had a lovely letter from you and will reply very soon. Herman's boy is now convalescing from a minor operation for an abscess on his tear duct. It was successful. Hymen is getting on splendidly at his job. From the other kids I hear now and then. I do not deserve to hear from Smee at all for the manner in which I have treated her. The score stands five to one in her favor in the exchange of letters.

Is this a letter? Even if it isn't it can serve to carry the only thing worth writing and that is my love....

Saxe

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861029358

[Letter, 19]25 Jan. 14, Stockholm [to] Emma Goldman, London / Albert Bonnier. — 1 p. ; 29 × 21 cm.

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ALBERT BONNIER
STOCKHOLM
Å.B./Kbg.

Stockholm den 14/1,25.

Miss Emma Goldman,

3 Titchfield Terrace, St. John's Wood Road,
London, N. W. 8

Dear Miss Goldman,

I beg to thank you for your letter of January 8th. Your book was published before Christmas but I cannot tell you yet how many copies are sold because the books are delivered to the booksellers in commission and they have to render account of the sale only once a year, the 1st of May. After this date I shall be able to give you further informations regarding the sale of the book.

Under separate cover I am sending you a copy of your book.

I have advertised the book in several papers and I shall try to get clippings of the reviews and send you them.

I thank you for your offer to send me a copy of the second volume which I shall look through with interest.

Yours sincerely

Albert Bonnier

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The Emma Goldman Papers

870924401

[Letter] 1925 Jan. 14 [London to Emma] Goldman, [London] / G. Wood. —
1 p. ; 10 × 16 cm.

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Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

FROM REBECCA WEST, 36, QUEENS GATE TERRACE, S.W.7. Kensington 7285. 16475

Jan. 14th, 1925.

Dear Miss Goldman,

This is to let you know I cannot let you have Miss West's article by the end of the week as I hoped to do when I phoned you yesterday. Miss West has rather a bad nervous breakdown and the doctor will not let her do any writing for a fortnight.

I will ask her about the tickets for the Meeting in a day or two, but at present she is so poorly that we are not letting her do any business at all.

Yours sincerely,

G. Wood.

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*Saunderlee
of John H Coors
one of the best men*

5544

15/1/25.

I hope you will forgive me addressing you in such a familiar term but I knew you when you were a little girl in your pigtails, and since I have resumed correspondence with your dear Father, he has sent me your letters, which made me feel that I have known you all my life. This explains my familiarity.

I cannot tell you how much Joy I find in the fact that you show interest in the Cause so dear to the heart of your Father. I have found in my experience that the children of most of my comrades, in fact Radicals at large, are not only not congenial to the ideas held high by their father or mother, but that they are mostly diametrically opposed to them, and what is more to the point, I have found that not the children but the parents are to blame for that. Unfortunately most Radicals, whatever their political tendencies may be, were like most Christians, they preached one thing, and lived another. Young people are very sensitive to such inconsistencies. They can therefore not be blamed if they refuse to have faith on social theories which had so little effect upon their parents that it in no way changed their mode of life.

In your case however, it is not surprising that you should be so close to your Dad, who has been not only a fighter for his ideals all his life, but who has consistently lived up to his ideals in the face of all hardships and difficulties. Such spirits are very rare in the world, but when they do happen they must needs inspire emulation. You have had a great example. Inex dear, I hope that it will help you towards loftier heights and that it may give you strength to continue the battle so bravely fought to this day by your Father for all the beautiful things he is holding high.

There is no greater comfort to a brave spirit than the knowledge that his own flesh and blood has remained skin, not merely to the blood relation, but also in a spiritual sense.

Father sent me your letter of December 17th, which contains a description of the funeral of Sam Compers, and your own sweet devotion to the memory of the man who stood at the head of the American Federation of Labour for so many years. But even at the risk of causing you pain, I must disillusion you in your estimate of Samuel Compers. You called him a "leader of men". That he certainly was, but rather than to consider this capacity an attribute it is really a vice. For those who have the gift of leading others have never yet led them towards a broader basis and a higher ideal. Nearly always they have kept their followers in submissioin, and have prevented their growth and development. Samuel Compers was particularly great in that respect.

It is only necessary to examine the spirit of the American Federation of Labour to see my meaning. What is the basis of the organization provided over by Mr. Gompers for so many years? It is the fallacious contention that there is something in common between the producers of wealth and the class which lives off the product of labour. Added to this is the purely material character of the American Federation of

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861114217

[Letter, 19]25 Jan. 15, London [to] Inez [Cook, Providence? R.I?] / [Emma Goldman]. — 3 p. ; 29 × 19 cm.

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5548

Labour. I mean by that that it is absolutely no ideal of the future and that all its strength and energy is concentrated on immediate results. That is to say on better pay and less work; not for one moment do I mean to suggest that it is not necessary that the workers should try for better conditions and a higher standard of living but unless they have as their ultimate goal the overthrow of the Capitalistic Regime and the establishment of the economic, social and spiritual independence of Labour, a body of workers has no meaning whatever. I repeat there is no idealism among the American workers; no understanding for their class struggle and the reasons for this must be laid to the door of Samuel Gompers.

I doubt whether Gompers ever had a Radical vein, if he did it was lost with growing age; he was Conservative in fact Reactionary to the bone. As a result of it he became not the champion of the disinherited but the protector of the rights of vested interests. I do not mean to say that he was dishonest, probably his light did not lead him very far, but that does not do away with the fact that Gompers' leadership retarded labour in the United States, and that it is due to him that there is no proletarian consciousness of spirit in the rank and file of the American Federation of Labour. The leadership of Sam Gompers, therefore, has done more harm than good to the workers of America.

I said that a "Leader of men" is by no means an attribute. I think I can better prove what I mean with the example of Lenin. Whatever may be said against him it is certain that as a leader of men he towered high above Sam Gompers, and yet it was his great capacity for leadership which emancipated the Russian Revolution, and established a system of chattel slavery in Russia. You see then, dear, that to call anyone a leader does not make him great. However, I wish to come back to Gompers. If I believed all the nice things you say about him, I should yet insist that he was much more of a menace to Labour than a friend; he certainly never showed strength of will or courage in crucial moments, quite the contrary.

Are you at all familiar with the McNamara Case and the poor victims who were sacrificed by the greed of the Steel Trust on one side and the cowardice of Mr. Gompers on the other. The McNamaras who were at the head of the Iron Structural Union waged a desperate battle against the Steel Trust and finally landed in prison, one for life and the other for fifteen years. Together with these two men were Matthew Schmidt and David Caplan. The older McNamara and Caplan have paid their toll while Jim McNamara and Mat Schmidt continue in the dreadful St. Quentin to pay the price for their devotion to Labour and their unwillingness that the men at the head of the American Federation of Labour should suffer.

Now that Mr. Gompers is dead it is not out of place to remind his admirers that he knew all along the methods employed by the Iron Structural Union. When the McNamaras were finally caught in the net, thanks to one of the despicable Burns spies, Gompers at first backed them and pledged the Federation to their assistance, but just as soon as the two brothers confessed to their acts it was Mr. Gompers who denied them as the followers of Christ denied Him. Is it then surprising that the late President of the American Federation of Labour while alive, was the sworn friend of the very people who hounded the McNamaras and the other two men and that after his death he should be hailed by the enemies of Labour.

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- 3 -

5546

I do not doubt that Compere had all the facts in the autocratic regime established in Russia, but his antagonism to the Bolsheviks was based on something deeper than his opposition to their autocracy. It was based on his hatred of the Revolution as such, the Revolution which was made by the Russian people and not by a small political group. Being a reactionary by nature, Mr. Compere could not understand the sweep of the Russian Revolution; could not understand the idealism of the Russian people which the Revolution merely symbolised. It was this which Compere was fighting during the last seven years and not really the Bolsheviks. At any rate, he never made an effort to find out the difference between the two and to take his stand with the Revolution and the people against the Bolshevik Government. He simply lumped everything together, thereby making himself one of the White Forces which by their intervention and blockade actually strengthened the hand of Bolshevism at the same time starving Russian men, women and children. Perhaps Compere could not help his reactionary leanings any more than those of us who are revolutionary can help our leanings. It is not a question of blame or commendation; it is merely a question of fact and the fact remains that Compere was a reactionary force; reactionary check on the growth of labour in America and an evil influence in regard to Russia.

You have been told that Compere declared himself in favour of war only after the German Socialists betrayed their ideas. Granted that that is true it does not justify Compere stand because two wrongs do not make one right, but that is not quite the case. Compere turned the American Federation over to the moloch of War because he was not strong enough to stand out against the forces he had always used before the War. I mean against the American Government and the American Reactionaries. Having spent his time with all these people in the Civic Club, having been the bosom friend of Messrs. Belmont, Mark Hannah, McKinley and the rest, he could not very well stand out against their colleagues in the crucial moment. Hence primarily the type who goes with popular opinions. Well, Compere is dead. Let us hope that his soul will not be marching on thereby holding the American Federation of Labour in the same reactionary position as he did during his lifetime.

In justice to Compere it may be said that if the rank and file were more awakened to the pressing social questions of the day, if they were not steeped in rank materialism, if they had even a spark of an ideal, Compere probably would never have succeeded. In the end then the late President of the Organisation was probably as good as the vast membership comprising it deserved. I am not one to blame everything on one person; I hold the workers much more responsible for their slavery than I do the Masters for they are many and the Masters are few. They can if they only will change conditions by a stroke of their hand but they have demonstrated that they have no vision of anything better or greater. In this regard the members of the American Federation of Labour represent the general spirit prevalent in America and recently demonstrated by twelve million voters who declared themselves on behalf of such a dullard as Coolidge. Perhaps then Compere was a mere atom in the general reactionary atmosphere of the United States and deserves no more condemnation for it than the rest of the country.

I wanted you to know my attitude towards the man whom you seem to revere so deeply; if I have hurt me I hope you will forgive me. I am sending a lot of enclosure to Father asking him to forward them on to you; you will then know all about what I am trying to do here and what I have unfortunately not yet succeeded in doing. I am sending my letter to Father because I do not know your address. When you write me I will be able to keep in touch with you direct. I want to very much. Have you ever looked up my dear friend and comrade, Lillian Winick? I gave Father her address. If you have not yet please do so, you will find her very charming and interesting. When you do see her give her my best love.

Affectionately,

The Emma Goldman Papers

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[Letter] 1925 Jan. 15 [London to] Havelock Ellis, [London] / [Emma Goldman]. —
1 p.; 31 x 20 cm.
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3, Titchfield Terrace,
St. John's Wood,
N.W.8.

January 15th, 1925.

Havelock Ellis, Esq.,
14, Dover Mansions,
Canterbury Road,
Brixton, S.W.9.

Dear Mr. Ellis:

I have your kind letter of the 4th inst.. I appreciate greatly your writing me so promptly when I know you must be crowded with work. I cannot tell you how much your letters mean to me. After three months of desperate effort to interest people in the woeful situation of Russia, I find myself defeated on every step. Fortunately, I do not easily give up so I must continue until I have aroused men and women in England who still have retained the sense of justice and humanity.

I am sure I do not wish to have the Bolsheviks overthrown forcibly, not because I believe that anything which may follow them can possibly be worse than what they have made of Russia, rather do I not want it because I know that the Russian people are exhausted by years of hunger and dispirited by the failure of their attempt to establish a new mode of life in Russia. I do not want a new autocratic regime I posed upon them against their will.

However, I do not see why criticism of the present conditions and the authentic data on the terrible condition of the Politicals, must needs lead to a forcible overthrow of the Bolsheviks. Even if I believe with you, and with many other good people that the Communist State may become better than it is, I still feel it imperative to acquaint the world outside of Russia with the barbarous methods employed against thousands of men and women in Soviet prisons, Concentration Camps and desolate places of exile.

But you are quite right when you say that you have no patience with people who have condoned Tzarism and find it necessary to fight Bolshevism ^{and} as you so forcibly put it "is really inverted Tzarism". For this very reason it seems to me of the utmost importance to plead the cause of the Politicals. So much was done for the victims of the Tzar by English men and women, yet when they are approached on behalf of the victims of Bolshevism they show no interest whatever, rather resentment - and fear more than anything else that they may be claimed by the reactionary forces in this country.

I am enclosing a copy of an article of mine which appeared in "The Daily News". I would like to hear your reaction to it. Yesterday I sent you a copy of the Essays. I hope they will reach you because I have evidently addressed you wrongly. I wrote Bakton instead of Brixton, but fortunately I put S.W.9 so you may get it. If not will you be good enough to let me know and I will send you another copy. I do so hope that we may be able to meet when you get back to London.

Cordially,

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18784

3, Titchfield Terrace,
St. John's Wood,
N.W.8.

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The Emma Goldman Papers

890126134

[Letter] 1925 Jan. 15, London [to] Max Nettlau, Vienna / E[mma] G[oldman].—
2 p.; 29 × 19 cm.

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3, Titchfield Terrace,
St. John's Wood,
London, N.W. 8.

January 15th, 1925.

Mr. Max Nettlau,
Lasarethgasse 22 111/22
VIENNA, IX/2
VIENNA. AUSTRIA.

Dear Comrade:

Thanks for your good letter of December 26th and all the kind words about my book. I was sure that the concluding chapter would meet with your approval, since you had for years attempted to establish some kind of a harmony between theory and practice.

I still remember very vividly the discussion which took place, I believe it was over the public house kept by Tom Mann where you first propounded your ideas on the subject. I know that Tchaikovsky, Tcherkesoff and many others of the old Russians were present. Dear me, how changed most of them have become. Tchaikovsky for instance, making common cause with the Interventionalists and going down on his knees almost before the Commandant in charge of the English troops in Archangel. While there, I came across a document which really made me sick, because of the tragic end of a great beginning. By the way Tchaikovsky is now in London. A little while ago I was asked to meet him but I had to refuse. I simply could not face him after having read the document I referred to above; and then Tcherkesoff a raving Georgian Nationalist without any interest in anything else. Yes, it is heartbreaking.

But to come back to the closing chapter. I am so glad that you think it contains a new spirit in Anarchist thought. It is being suggested here that the concluding chapter should be published in pamphlet form. It is a good idea except that I am still hoping to find an English Publisher who would get out the two volumes in one and until that is definitely decided I cannot consent to the proposition.

If I succeed in establishing myself in England at all, I mean to concentrate on educational work both by pen and speech along the ideas outlined in the chapter. I have come to them through terrible anguish of spirit. It was not easy for me to set aside the old ideas, but in the two years in Russia and after months of agony and sleepless nights I came to the conclusion that the thoughts expressed in the last chapter are the only things rescued from the collapse of the Russian Revolution. It is that which I mean to stress if ever I get the chance to do general propaganda in our movement.

I knew that you would sympathise with the chairman of the Kieff Board of Education. The only thing is that the Ukrainians having had about 17 changes of Government when I was there and in constant danger of more changes, it seemed to me ~~it~~ nothing short of a crime to risk the material which was in charge of that man. What we were particularly anxious for was to rescue whatever could be rescued from the possibility of being destroyed by the Whites.

However, I do not see what makes you insist that Kieff is more accessible than Petrograd. You can get to Petrograd from Germany in 24 hours or even less and from here in about 15 hours. Why then is Kieff a more centrally located place for revolutionaries who will interest themselves in the material of the Russian Revolution. Historically speaking, it is

the Revolutionaries, all the 17 — — —

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SGN:

Petrograd and not Kiev where the Revolution has taken place. As such it will always remain the most important and significant part of Russia.

However, to me this whole thing is not important enough to start a long discussion. More important is your objection to the "execution of Mirbach". I do not think that anyone reading the whole chapter dealing with Spierdonova will credit that passage to me, but if I had been in Russia at the time I would probably have thought as she did as regards Mirbach, and here I wish to lay special emphasis on the fact that of all the revolutionists I have met Sp. is the one who is not Nationalistic nor did she believe in the act from any such point of view. The objection of Sp. which I share is that a revolutionary country like Russia had consented to make peace with Germany, which was then under the Kaiser and that Mirbach was the representative not of the German people but of the German Government. I should probably, therefore, have believed in the necessity of executing him except that I am a very poor revolutionist and have never been able to see that acts of violence could possibly bring great results. Certainly Sp. and her people were willing to take the moral responsibility for that act; in fact she came to the Congress of the Peasant Soviet attended by 500 Peasant Delegates and openly avowed sympathy with and responsibility for the killing of Mirbach. I therefore do not see the connection between her position and that of the hirelings of the German Nationalists, who, too cowardly to do the job themselves, made the young boys kill Rathenau.

However, this too we cannot thresh out now as I have very little time at this writing. You probably will be sorry to hear that the Queen's Hall venture had to be given up as without moral backing and financial support it was impossible to undertake such an expense. But we are having a meeting on the 29th January in Southplace Institute. Outside of myself, John Turner who has recently come back from Russia as one of the Trade Union Delegation, will also speak. Is it not tragic that after 30 years, so little headway was made that we must again come to Southplace Institute where I spoke for the first time in 1899.

I am enclosing copies of letters I have written to Schapira and also to Prof. Laski in reply to the points of objection taken by his colleagues. You will see the difficulties confronting me.

Always cordially,

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Envelope, 1925 Jan. 15? London to] Max Nettlau, Vienna / E[mma] G[oldman]. —
2 p. ; 15 × 21 cm.

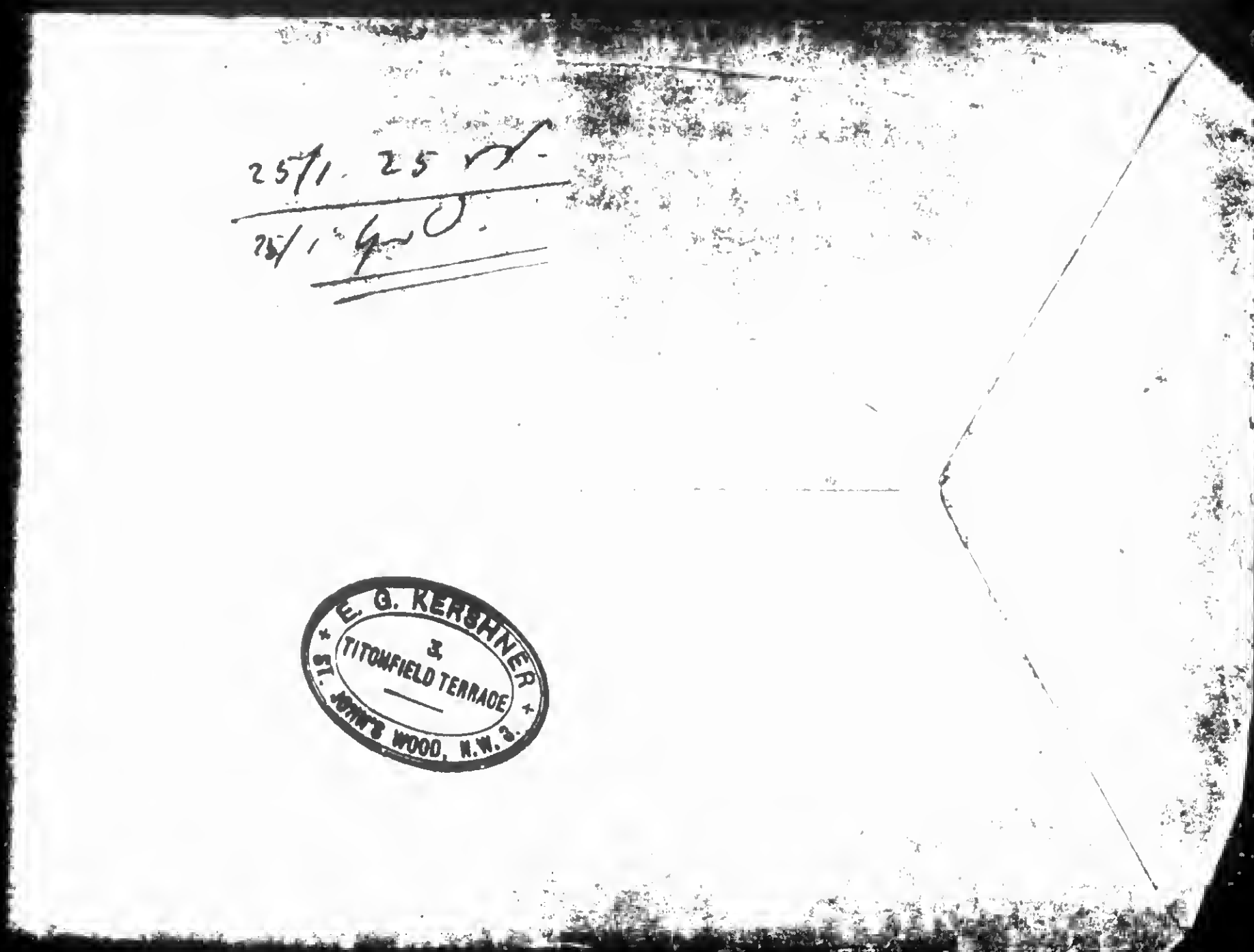
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Max Nettlau
Wien IX, 2
Lazarusgasse, 32, III/22
Vienna Austria

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The Emma Goldman Papers

870928080

[Letter] 1925 Jan. 19, London [to] Emily Holmes Coleman, Rochester, N.Y. / [Emma Goldman].— 2 p. ; 26 × 16 cm.

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Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

3, Titchfield Terrace, 14375
St. Johns Wood,
LONDON. N.W. 8.

January 19th, 1925.

Mrs. Emily Holmes Coleman,
32, Alliance Avenue,
Rochester. NEW YORK.

Dear Emily Holmes Coleman,

I feel very guilty not to have replied to your beautiful letter for so long but I have been desperately busy trying to awaken the deadened consciousness of the English Labour and Socialist elements. I must say that I have not been successful. Perhaps Saxe has shown you some of the letters which I sent to him and to Stella which she in return must have forwarded to him. In any event I am enclosing copies which will interest you I am sure.

The letter of Professor Laski is particularly significant because it gives one an insight into the psychology of most of the people here who presume to speak on behalf of Labour. It is also significant because Laski has had to meet with no end of difficulties while one of the Faculty in Cambridge University. I do not know whether you remember his case. Because he participated in the Policemen's Strike he was hounded by the Faculty and the students and was literally forced to resign. One would expect a man like this to show deep sympathies with people who are being persecuted for sake and yet although he went through so much himself and after reading a document comprising 78 typewritten pages about the dreadful conditions in Russian prisons, he could write a letter of such a nature. Or take a man like Bertrand Russell who is really a very great outstanding figure in the world of social thought, yet see his argument in regard to Russia, but I have taken up the excuses given by the various groups in my reply to Laski and I will therefore not waste space to repeat what I have to say.

I find the situation here in a measure more difficult than in the United States. True, people are more tolerant here but they seem to move in flocks. It is amusing in a way because the English are extremely individualistic in their private lives, but in social and public affairs they are terribly gregarious, no chance whatever for individual initiative. It is quite different at home. While there is no tolerance, and reaction has run amok, still the individual if she or he have any ability at all can assert themselves; in fact America is made up by individual effort and perseverance. I rather think that this explains the intolerance and impatience on the part of so many Americans. By sheer dint of will power, ability and perseverance they have made their mark, and they have no patience whatever with anyone who cannot do likewise. This trait, as well as the gregarious tendency of Europe, both have their evils. It is only when the two will be blended into one harmonious whole that some changes will really take place in the world. For the present however, it is extremely difficult for one in alien ground and not universally known to have much success

through one's own efforts but I am not discouraged because I feel that all great things have had their small beginnings. Then too, I have long ago realized that in a utilitarian and mechanistic age like ours, one must "hitch one's wagon to a star" or suffocate.

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I cannot tell you how happy I am to know that my own beloved Saxe who has been to me more than my own child, has two such fine companions in you and Mr. Coleman. I know how terribly lonely he must feel in Rochester. It is amusing how little the city has grown up since I came to it so many years ago. It seems to me that other American cities have gone ahead much more. Rochester alone seems to be standing still or is it that Saxe has not been able to discover the restless spirit that may be found in Rochester as well as everywhere else. I wonder. At any rate I am delighted to know that he is not quite so isolated as he used to be, that he has friends in you. I sincerely hope that you may be able to come abroad this Spring; if you do please take Saxe along. Make him go. Rather a strange expression to use for an anarchist, isn't it? But I know that darling Saxe has a tendency of drifting and who needs somebody to pull him out of his mourings. If then you have no other way of inducing him to come along just pack him in your trunk. I really believe that these months abroad would do him a world of good, for one thing it would give him a different perspective about the good as well as the evil in the United States. After all, none of us can appreciate the obvious until we have come in touch with the remote. That is exactly what many Americans need and my own Saxe more than many others. The most delightful experience I have had here was meeting a group of American Students at Oxford; they are Rhode scholars, so virile, alive and interested in all the pressing questions. I have not found among the English intellectuals I have met one single person who compares with the freshness of these American boys. They told me that until they came to Europe they were as reactionary and provincial as their surroundings but that the short period abroad has changed their entire attitude towards life. I am hoping that it will do the same for Saxe and like you, I am praying, in my pagan way, that he may determine to come away for once.

I have written an article for "Colliers" which I have called "America by Comparison"; I do not know whether it will be published, if not I will send a copy of the MSB to Saxe so you can take an hour off from poetry reading and see what I have to say about "the good and the evil things" in my erstwhile country.

Thank you so much for the sweet spirit of your letter and for all the beautiful things you are saying about me. You must not be carried away by the wonderful things that Saxe is telling you about me; he belongs to the people who love blindly. I should not like to have you disappointed when you meet me, so do take some of the things with a grain of salt. Please remember me kindly to Mr. Coleman.

Cordially yours,

The Emma Goldman Papers

830720004

[Letter] 1925 Jan. 19, London [to] Powers Hapgood, Rome / Emma Goldman. —
1 p. ; 34 × 22 cm.
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3, Titchfield Terrace,
St. Johns Wood.
LONDON. N.W. 8.

January, 19th, 1925.

Mr. Powers Hapgood,
c/o American Express Co., Inc.
Rome. ITALY.

Dear Powers Hapgood,

I was terribly shocked to hear of the accident to your hand. I do hope that you have recovered from it without any lasting injury. Certainly the dangers of labour are terrible, so many lose their lives or are maimed by the industrial moloch. My friends in Berlin put you on the list for the Syndikalist papers, some of which you may have gotten before you left Dordtmuth. They were also going to get you in touch with a comrade, who I believe works in the mines in that neighbourhood. I do not know what has come of it.

I daresay you are glad to meet your mother. Please give her my affectionate greetings. I hope that you will take a rest and enjoy the beauties of Italy which have of late been marred by Fascism. If you will send me the address of some of your friends in South Wales I will forward copies of the correspondence I have been having here with people who still feel that the truth must be told about every evil except the ones in Russia.

Nothing new has developed since I wrote you last except that the tickets for the meeting on the 29th are selling nicely, and that we hope to fill South Place Institute. I ought not to be difficult in view of the fact that the hall holds only 650 people.

Today I am also enclosing some letters which may interest you. After three and a half months of desperate effort I have succeeded in getting the co-operation of a mere handful of people; of course my own comrades are heart and soul with me but there are so few people in England to whom the principles of Liberty of Truth are of greater importance than the profits so dear to the shopkeepers' mind and psychology, but one must go ahead determinately and unafraid. After all, all great things had a small beginning. Perhaps something worth while will come out of the meeting in South Place. By the way, Mr. John Turner who was with the Trade Union Delegation to Russia is also going to speak.

Let me have your next address; I will send you a letter which we are mailing to people interested in the venture.

With all good wishes to you and hoping to hear from you soon,

Sincerely yours,

Emma Goldman

Hapgood Mrs.
Manuscripts Department, Lilly Library
Indiana University, Bloomington, Indiana

The Emma Goldman Papers

860115200

[Letter] 1925 Jan. 19, New York [to] Emma [Goldman, London] / [Kate Richards O'Hare]. — 3 p. ; 27 x 21 cm.

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6076

46 King St.
New York,
Jan. 19, 1925.

My Dear Emma;

I returned home last night from a trip west, and because so many things connected with it will be interesting to you I am going to answer your letter the very first of all the while on my desk.

The campaign against prison labor is coming on on wonderfully well. I have been able to line up all sorts of groups and the Union made Garment Manufacturers Association appropriated \$50,000 for the 1925 campaign. I am in charge and will decide largely on the methods of procedure. I agree with you perfectly in all you say. I have little or no faith in legal enactments, except the educational value of a campaign to secure such legislation. I am building my horses, and they are coming true, on a general arousing of public opinion. I have placed magazine articles with most of the big liberal magazines and be in toorrow getting material ready for the A.F. of L. news bureau. These articles will go to all the labor papers in the country, and because they are "kosher" they will go into the labor press.

I know quite well that prisoners would go mad without work to do and we are working towards the plan of employing them at making the supplies used by the state and its sub-divisions for which they will receive normal wages and be charged for their maintenance, the balance going to their families or kept for them until release. We are rapidly getting this idea over, and I expect great changes in our methods of handling prisoners in the next few years, in fact they are coming now.

You will smile when I tell you my mission west. I was invited to come to San Francisco and confer with the newly elected governor and the members of the Legislature. I went and after long conferences it was decided to call a public conference within sixty days and ask all interested groups and individuals to bring forth some solution for the problem of employing the prisoners. You can imagine how a sensation was caused in the town, it fairly buzzed all day. I was too busy to get out to the prison in time to get in, but we made a lot of photographs and I will send some on to you as soon as they arrive. I met Winter and he had a very painfully polite talk. Naturally he was all at ease, and naturally I enjoyed his discomfort. Miss Smith is still there and she told some one that she was sorry I did not have time to come out, that she really liked me in spite of all I had said about her and the management of the institution.

My friend was revealed about two years ago. Appie Myers was pardoned as the last official act of the outgoing Governor. But

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860115200

[Letter] 1925 Jan. 19, New York [to] Emma [Goldman, London] / [Kate Richards O'Hare].— 3 p.; 27 x 21 cm.

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Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.*

6077

-2-

poor thing she was reduced to a state of almost complete imbecility before they released her. Mattie Lowe and big Icy are still there, almost the only ones who served with us.

I wonder if you ever got the copy of my book? I sent it to you somewhere in Germany. If you did not I will send another copy and you will find that I am stressing the very points you mention. I will also send you my magazine articles as they appear.

I had Ella Antolina's address and meant to call on her while in Chicago on this trip but other things to absorbing came up and I failed to see her. Hope to do so next time I am out that way. She is happily married however and doing quite well I think. I visited her sister in New Britain recently and she said Ella had a lovely boy about two years old I think.

This will sound strange to you I am sure, but I attended Kathleen's wedding while in Chicago. It don't seem possible does it that she can be a married woman, it seems only yesterday that she was a little girl. She is an artist of some promise and had been attending art classes in Chicago. Her marriage came to me as soething of a shock, I knew nothing of anything being in the air until I arrived and had the new son hurled at me without warning. There was nothing for me to do but accept the situation, and really no fault I could find with the man, it is only that she is so young, nineteen, and life can be so terribly hard. He too is an artist, a portrait painter of real merit and fairly well established. He is clean and fine and sweet, intelligent and cultured and I grew very fond of him in spite of the difficulties under which we met. I think as time goes by and I adjust myself to the thought of Kathleen being married I will grow to love him and accept him as a real son. He is a Russian and Jewish with the good qualities of both, and let us hope few of the bad ones. They seem to be very deeply and sincerely in love with each other, and with all that face the facts of life very sanely. It is pretty hard to give up your only girl to an unknown man, but it is life and there is no way to escape it.

I visited Dick and Eugene, who are in college, while I was west and really they are splendid. Dick is so sound and sane and dependable, a good student and a perfectly reliable man. The president of the college says that he can turn work over to Dick and he could trust to very few men of twice his age. Gene is a little-pate and has not thrown a life without a care. He has a brilliant mind, but never seems to do much study, and yet manages to sail through his courses like a bird. He is really one of the most attractive boys I have ever known, so handsome that it annoys him to be reminded of it.

I am still living here in the house with Edwin Meebe, but we are moving to an apartment the first of the month. Kathleen and her husband are going on to study and we will take a place together. Edwin is such a darling that I feel badly at leaving. The kids are wonderful to me. I want to be here in the village where we will be near our friends.

I am very much interested in all you tell me of conditions in

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[Letter] 1925 Jan. 19, New York [to] Emma [Goldman, London] / [Kate Richards O'Hare]. — 3 p. ; 27 x 21 cm.

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6078

Russia and your work in England, but I am too tired to discuss it this time. Next time I will not start your letter at the fag end of the day.

I will try to write you something of the chaos that exists in the radical movement here also. You are right when you say that the Communists would be just as reactionary as the Coedlidge gang, they would be and more ruthless. I am a sort of a political orphan now with no place to lay my head. But the story is too long for this letter.

Do write me when ever you find time, I am always glad to hear from you. As you say we may differ in some of our beliefs, but down at the bottom there is a very real bond of love between us. I was speaking at an Episcopal Divinity School recently at Middletown Conn. and shocked the students and faculty into speechlessness when I told them that the only person I ever met who gave me a real conception of what Jesus of Nazareth might have been was Emma Goldman.

I had hoped to get to Europe this coming autumn, but too much of the responsibility of the prison labor campaign has been thrust on me and it will have to go until next year. I do so want to see you and talk over all the things that have happened to us. I have changed very little in looks, not quite so heavy as when you saw me last but well and strong; and really younger looking I think. I had the typhoid fever last year and my hair was cut while in the hospital. It came in thick and wavy and I wear it bobbed. Every bit of my outer skin peeled off and my complexion is better than when I was a girl.

I will be glad to remember you to all our mutual friends. With love and best wishes,

Affectionately yours,

The Emma Goldman Papers

870924376

[Letter, 19]25 Jan. 19 [London to] Emma Goldman, [London] / Josiah C. Wedgwood.— 1 p. ; 14 × 9 cm.

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Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

Oct 7th 1915

16440

12, Beaufort House.

Chelsea S.W.3.

19125

Dear Emma Goldman

Your reasons are quite adequate!

Alas I have not read your books, too busy writing for the moment. But

My wife has read both with profit & pleasure, & has been writing endless letters to my constituents about it. So the seed sown.

Yours in the Cause

Josiah C. Wedgwood

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1925 Jan. 20 [London to] Mrs. J.D. Campbell, Paisley [England] / [Emma Goldman]. — 1 p. ; 32 x 21 cm.

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1925.

1, Titchfield Terrace,
St. Johns Wood, N. W. 8.

January 20th. 1925.

Mrs. J.D. Campbell,
Hon. Sec. The Women's Guild of Empire,
Paisley Branch,
Redcott, Aiton Road, PAISLEY.

Dear Madam,

Thank you for your letter of explanation of the First. Last. I regret deeply not to be able to accept your invitation. All my life I have been against the iniquitous arrangements in society which force one man to a king, while compelling others to remain paupers for life. In other words, the conditions which make for difference among human beings.

I do not happen to belong to the kind of revolutionaries who believe that all the good in the world is the heritage of the poor, and all the bad represents the characteristics of the rich. Indeed not. To me all human beings are alike in the sense that I want to reach their minds and their hearts. But, on the other hand, the present conditions of society of to-day, unfortunately, create barriers between those who produce the wealth of the world and those who make use of that wealth, and, since my sympathies are with those who toil, as against those who lead idle lives, I cannot very well speak under the auspices of any society which upholds the forces that make for social and economic inequality.

Perhaps if it were any other subject but Russia, my literature of the Women's Rights or Education, it would be less difficult for me to speak under the auspices of any organization, as neither has seeps from my social philosophy. But the Russian situation is so involved that one cannot be too careful in presenting the various phases. I mean by that, that while I am opposed to Bolshevism and fight it with all my abilities, I am yet in deep sympathy with the Russian Revolution and the Russian people; it is because I feel that there is an abyss between the Revolution and Bolshevism that I have taken my stand against the latter.

Having read your programme, I am quite certain that your opposition to Bolshevism includes also your opposition to any theory which stands for fundamental changes of a social and economic nature. Am I right? While I am sure that you are faithful to your conviction, I feel that I cannot discuss Russia under the auspices of a group of people who have no point of contact whatever with the ideals of the exploited and oppressed masses.

For this reason, I am compelled to decline your kind invitation. I have no desire to hurt your feelings, or the feelings of the members of your organization, but I believe frankness is always the best policy; I should not like to come to you under false flags. I therefore wish you to know that I am an Anarchist, though not of course, in the sense that you may have conceived Anarchism to be. I stand for the ideals of such eminent spirits as Shelley, Tolstoy, Kropotkin, and many others of the world's greatest minds. You see then, dear Madam, that we are far apart in our outlook upon social affairs.

Sincerely yours,

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The Emma Goldman Papers

870924230

[Letter] 1925 Jan. 20, London [to Emma] Goldman, [London] / [Lady] Rhondda. —
1 p. ; 24 × 18 cm.
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Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

TELEPHONE
VICTORIA 7174-8-8.

22, Victoria Road,

LONDON, ENGL.

January 20th, 1925.

Dear Miss Goldman,

I am so sorry, but the 29th is the day of the quarterly Dinner of the Women's Provisional Club, of which I am President, so that it will be quite impossible for me to come to your meeting as I should much like to have done.

I wonder whether we could be of any use to you in this office by putting up notices of the meeting? We should be delighted to do so if you think it worth while. I am disappointed that I shan't be able to come, but I hope that you may have others following it.

I have only just got back to the office and found your letter awaiting me today.

Yours sincerely,

Rhondda

Miss Goldman,
3, Fitchfield Terrace,
St. John's Wood Road,
N.W.8.

The Emma Goldman Papers

881010437

[Letter, 19]25 Jan. 20, Dresden [to] Emma [Goldman, London] / Rudolf [Rocker]. —
4 p. ; 24 × 18 cm.

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Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

Dresden 20.1.25.

25693

Liebster Emma,

endlich komme ich dazu, Deinen letzten Brief zu beantworten. Ich gehe schon drei Wochen mit der Absicht schwanger, bei zu schreiben, wurde aber stets durch andere Dinge abgehalten. Bekümmungen brauchen ich bei ja nicht zu haben, da wir doch gegenseitig bekannt sind, wie es bei uns zugeht.

Nach allem was Du mir geschrieben hast und was Mithy mir erzählte, scheint aber in England doch ein Boden für Dich zu sein. Leicht wird es bei ja ~~nicht~~ werden, aber die Tatsachen, daß wenigstens eine Möglichkeit vorhanden ist, ist schon von Bedeutung und nicht zu unterschätzen.

Wenn ich es irgendwie möglich machen kann und mir die konservative Regierung die Erlaubnis geben wird, einige Wochen zum Besuch nach England zu kommen, so werde ich versuchen mir Laufe des kommenden Sommers noch einen Besuch abzustatten, denn mein Herz zieht sich danach Dich und die alten Freunde wieder zu sehen.

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881010437

[Letter, 19]25 Jan. 20, Dresden [to] Emma [Goldman, London] / Rudolf [Rocker]. —
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Es ist ein Unglück, daß den Menschen der gegenseitige²⁵⁶⁹
Verkehr heute so furchtbar schwer gemacht wird.

In der alten Zeit, wo alle neue Erfindungen
neueren Technik die alten Lehren der Abgeschiedenen
nicht widerstehen, wünschten die Menschen, respekt.
die Regierungen immer höhere christliche Mannern
zwischen den Völkern — auch eine Trennung der Geschlechter.

Darüber dankt für dein Buch. Das war eine
schwere Geburt, aber immerhin ist es dir gelungen,
das Ganze herauszugeben. Ich wünschte mir, daß
der arme Sasha ebenso glücklich wäre mit noch
all den langen und kurzen, Befahrungen mit Lust.
Anmerkungen endlich einen Vorzug finde. ~~hier~~
das letzte Angebot, sein Buch ohne die letzten Kapitel
herauszugeben, die doch gerade die Schlussfolgerungen
des Ganzen enthalten, ist doch noch zwecklos. Eine
solche beschränkte Ausgabe ergibt immer noch mehr
als keine. Der Freund von mir hat Sasha endlich
den lang versprochenen Buchdruck fertig gemacht.
Ein kleines Kunstwerk, sag ich dir, und der gute
Sasha freut sich darüber wie ein Schneekönig.

The Emma Goldman Papers

881010437

[Letter, 19]25 Jan. 20, Dresden [to] Emma [Goldman, London] / Rudolf [Rocker]. —
4 p.; 24 × 18 cm.

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28698
Ich sehe es für mein Leben gerne, wenn Lotta sich
dunkel. Sie wird dann wie ein Kind und geht ganz aus
sich heraus. Besonders ist es jetzt sehr beschäufelt,
wie sie weilt und das gibt ihm mehr Lebensfreude
und das Gefühl nicht mehr so verrostet. Ich wünsche
von tiefstem Herzen, daß auch Sie, liebe Emma,
in London in Betätigungsfeld finden möchten, das
Sie gesucht und die Gelegenheit gehabt, die von der Lotta
zu sprechen, was Sie bedrückt. Amerika wird Sie ja
auch bald nicht sehen können, aber wenn es
für ein gutes Stück ein gewisser Ersatz für manches
fehlen könnte so wäre es auch sehr viel gewonnen.

Mein Buch erscheint nächsten Monat, ebenso
ein Nachtrag zum Moskauer. Dazwischen habe
ich noch eine Nummer Schickel und zwei Bro.
schreiben geschrieben. Nun habe ich hier in Dresden
vier Versammlungen, von denen ich drei, die sehr
gut besucht waren, bereits hier für mich habe. In
14 Tagen fahre ich nach dem Seengebiet, wo ich
ich nahezu drei Wochen bleiben werde. Dann geht
es nach Amsterdam zum Kongress und nach dem
Kongress soll ich auf Bitte der Holländer noch

The Emma Goldman Papers

881010437

[Letter, 19]25 Jan. 20, Dresden [to] Emma [Goldman, London] / Rudolf [Rocker]. —
4 p. ; 24 x 18 cm.

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25696
zwei Wochen in Holland bleiben und in verschiedenen
Städten sprechen. Ich befürchte jedoch, daß die
holländische Regierung ihr Visé einlegen wird. Jeden-
falls habe ich Betätigung mehr als genug, wie du
siehst und empfinde schon aus diesem Grunde das
Leben nicht als Last.

Nach du Turner gesehen. Wir hatten nur Gelegenheit
ein paar Stunden mit ihm zusammen zu sein, da er
noch am selben Tage weiter fuhr, konnten aber nicht
viel mit ihm reden. Welche Hindernisse hat er aus
Russland mitgebracht. Proudhon und Ben Jett sind
zu großen bolschewistisch besoffen. Doch glaube
ich nicht, daß sie viel Nutzen stiften werden denn
dazu ist es schon zu spät. Nach du gehört, daß man
in Spanien das ganze Komitee der Confederacion
verhaftet hat, darunter auch Pestana? Hoffentlich
wird das unsere Bewegung nicht schaden.

Willy hat noch immer mit ihren Augen zu
tun, die absolut nicht besser werden wollen. Es ist
ein Jammer.

Und nun, liebe Emma sei herzlich ge-
grüßt und umarmt und vergiß nicht, am
Freitag zu Zeit etwas herein zu lassen
Freund. Grüße an ~~Benjamin~~
Wiss. Dein Rudolf

The Emma Goldman Papers

880817087

[Letter] 1925 Jan. 22, London [to] Minna [Lowensohn, Rochester? N.Y.?] / E[mma] G[oldman]. — 1 p. ; 36 x 24 cm.

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3 Titchfield Terrace
St John's Wood Road.
London, N.W.8.

Jan, 22nd, 1925.

Dear Minna. I got your card telling me of the trouble you had when you got to Southampton. That always comes from going on cheap steamers. I sincerely hope this was the only mishap, that the rest of your journey was pleasant and without clouds.

Dear girl, you not only left your tray but also your scissors and you forgot to leave me your address. I suppose you took it for granted that I have it. But in as much as you never wrote me in all the years since I left America, it was just mere guesswork to assume that I must know where you live. However, I had written Sasha for it and then your postal has the address, so I am alright.

I will send the little tray tomorrow, had intended doing so as soon as I would have gotten your address from S. Inclosed is a letter that came for you. I stupidly did not see your name on the envelope. I must, therefore ask you to forgive my opening the letter. I assure you I have not read it.

At this end there is very little news, except that my feeling about the check from Manchester was correct, it does belong to the Times. Being inexperienced the editor simply took advantage. He must have sold my article to American papers as well because I got a lot of clippings containing parts of the articles. You see, I never looked that the letter Rees wrote, did not specify the territory where their allied papers are. The Times must have made a nice bit of money. But it can not be helped. I returned the check of course. I am glad I did not wait until the Times asked me for it.

The Committee met again last night. I am glad you were not here, it would have made you sick to see the dead "souls" discuss for an hour whether thousand cards should be printed for distribution at the Sunday affair of the I. L. F. which is now being held at the Strand theatre. The only man who offered to go over and distribute the cards was Sweetlove. How on earth I am ever going to accomplish anything with such lifeless, uninteresting and uninterested people I do not know. As I said, if I find no better material in the provinces I will have to return to Germany, I can not stand living corpses.

I will be glad when the meeting is over, I am so weary with the whole thing and with the hopelessness of the situation, I hardly know what to do.

I suppose you will have seen all the folks when this reaches you. Do write me about them, Max, Milly Baginski, their daughter Paula, Stella, Ian and Teddy, Fizzie and Pauline, my brother if you saw him, Harry K and Kerr of course. Give them all my love. I had a beautiful letter from Leonard, he is a wonderfully fine human being.

Inclosed is a copy of the Daily News article, I believe you wanted it. Also copy of the letter which goes out to the Press.

Affectionately,
E.G.

Have you seen Havel? Give him my kindest greetings.

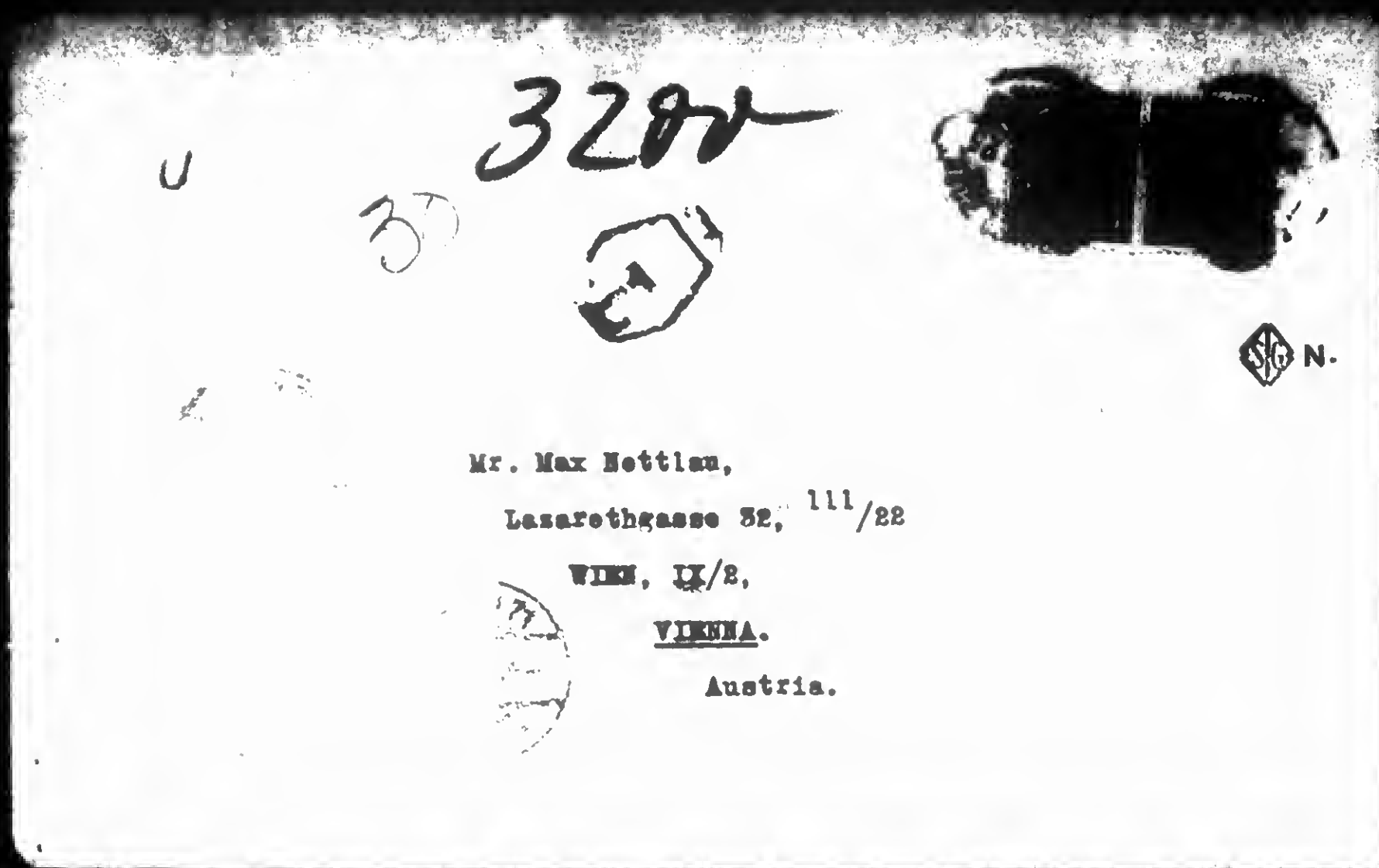
Emma has resigned Harry Callaghan just my letter back. Better call Stella and tell her to get in touch with Callaghan about my article.

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890126141

[Envelope] 1925 Jan. 22 [London to] Max Nettlau, Vienna / [Emma Goldman].— 2 p. ; 12 × 19 cm.

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Institutional Location: Max Nettlau Archive.



403

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890126141

[Envelope] 1925 Jan. 22 [London to] Max Nettlau, Vienna / [Emma Goldman].— 2 p. ; 12 × 19 cm.

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Jan. 22. 1925.

22/125. 81

The Emma Goldman Papers

870924089

[Letter] 1925 Jan. 22 [London to] Emma Goldman, [London] / Marie Belloc Lowndes. — 1 p. ; 23 × 18 cm.

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Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

TELEPHONE
849 VICTORIA.

16033

9, BARTON STREET,
WESTMINSTER, S.W.

January 22nd. 1925.

Dear Miss Goldman,

I am much interested at hearing from you, and I look forward to hearing your lecture. I am taking three tickets.

If you will send me one of your sets I will see that it reaches the Editor of "The Times". I cannot, of course, ensure that it will be given attention but I will do my best. Everything to do with what is put in the paper is settled by the Editor; from his decision there is no appeal. *My husband is a member of the Staff. He is not an Editor.*

I will also send a set of your books — I possess one which was given me by Messrs. Doubleday Page — to the Editor of The Literary Supplement of "The Times".

I was intensely interested in both your books, and I was very sorry that I was not in England at the time the dinner was given to you, as I should like to have attended it.

I shall hope to make your acquaintance on January 29.

Yours very sincerely,

Marie Belloc Lowndes

Miss Emma Goldman.
3, Titchfield Terrace.
St. John's Wood Road. N.W.8.

The Emma Goldman Papers

870930021

[Letter] 1925 Jan. 22, Vienna [to] E[mma] G[oldman, London] / M[ax] Nettlau. — 8 p. ; 21 x 33 cm.

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Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

Wien, IX/2, Laxenbgasse, 32, III/22, 14811
Vienna, Austria. Jan. 22, '25

Dear Comrade P. G.,

I received your letter and enclosures: this is a charming novelty in the epistolary art — said to be extinguished almost by telegrams and the telephone —, to send Puffblower letters for one. It is charming indeed and very instructive and welcome; if possible, keep up patience with me in such reports — I really enjoy it. I am sure, most people never think of this and, of course, the multiplicant has to be there to do the work; still, as I said, it is a pleasure, it shows a person not only in direct letters to the correspondent, but in her general action all round.

Well, you would have preferred not to have needed all these letters. You could write a book in 18th Century style: Philosophical Travels among the advanced minds of modern England in the cause of — or Life and Adventures of Common Sense in the World of Advanced Labor, and all that — it would be quite an adventurous journey with shipwrecks and attempted crossings of very Rocky Mountains and Breen ground and Extinct Volcanos and disappointing Will-o-the-Wisps and all that. I was so glad to see in Freedom (Dec.) that B. Russell at the dinner

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I made almost an anarchistic speech — and your letter to Prof. L. confirms this — and now this disappointment, at least as the professor — in his classical letter — resumes N. R.'s standpoint. It was my hope that B. R. who in his works may have neglected anarchism and freedom, because they are in our days not sufficiently efficient and substantial factors that he could take account of them in his calculations as against the heavy forces of labor, capital etc. all inspired by authority, — I believed that in spite of this present situation, he would examine some day their potential and future value, and that the acquaintance with you would make him study these questions of freedom. — Perhaps he still may; I admire his intelligence, but ignore his character: does he think that he knows about all that is worth knowing or has he still the mind of a student in social matters? He may know most things, but he has to learn in the domain of freedom — can he be made to see this point, or is he frank in his opinion and no longer evolving? —

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[Letter] 1925 Jan. 22, Vienna [to] E[mma] G[oldman, London] / M[ax] Nettelau. — 8 p. ; 21 x 33 cm.

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Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

Nothing more difficult than to make people see what they do not wish to see. Tell these well-meaning English people anything whatever against Germany and they will crowd to sign with both hands — but the Bolshevik Myth (an excellent title, if not used already) is taboo — and they pursue the usual abstraction of the bureaucratic mind: the dead victim must arise and file affidavits, and the Landman must have every chance that fair play is applied to his delicate sentiments and if the victim has not a certificate of vaccination in good order, the case looks doubtful, and all that: there exists a special kind of red tape, spectacles for not seeing, ear trumpets for not hearing.

Better a good South Place meeting than a meagre Queen's Hall audience. It was here the famous international socialist Congress was held 1896, when anarchists were definitely excluded from socialist congresses. South Place is historical ground where all good causes have been pleaded, where the walls might still echo the voices of William Morris, Kropotkin, Rodas (1895), Louise Michel, Lillie Withington Smith and so many of the departed. Beyond of Place.

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870930021

[Letter] 1925 Jan. 22, Vienna [to] E[mma] G[oldman, London] / M[ax] Nettlau. — 8 p. ; 21 x 33 cm.

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4) Is it not possible to appeal to the sense of honour and fair play against usurpation, monopoly, fratricide which is what the bolsh. in Russia do against all other socialists whom they have outlawed and deprived of their equal birthright. Russia could be the experimental laboratory of socialism and anarchism of every description and, with Siberia, is a world of its own, not requiring foreign capitalism, if all her socialist and anarchist forces and those of other countries coming there, had been able to set to work in fraternal emulation. How easy then, to establish some mutual understanding for such co-operation, by neutralizing certain questions common to all, and specializing, diversifying peacefully in all other respects. Such a picture held out to the people might make them see the monstrous crime of usurpation by one set.

I am just writing a long essay on utopias and came across remarks of professor Tugan Baranowski, 1907, certainly a well-known and well-meaning economist, resumed 1915 by
Molotov

The Emma Goldman Papers

870930021

[Letter] 1925 Jan. 22, Vienna [to] E[mma] G[oldman, London] / M[ax] Nettlau. — 8 p. ; 21 x 33 cm.
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Karl Ballod ... "Tugan-Baranowski" ¹⁸⁸¹³ (5)
zeigte in einer unglücklichen Weise, wie der
"wissenschaftliche Sozialismus" eines Marx und Engels
um keinen Cent wissenschaftlicher wäre als der
utopische, wie auch wie der "wissenschaftliche"
nur deswegen keine Ideale [eine Utopie] aufgestellt
hätte, weil er sie fix und fertig von den Utopisten
bezogen hätte, daher allerdings von der automatischen
viel vollständigeren wirtschaftlichen Entwicklung des
Triumph des Sozialismus erwartete". ... I do not know
where T. D. wrote this (the book or article must have
been translated into German, 1902). The point is that
nothing is more absurd and impudent than
formerly the theoretical pretensions of Marxists
to science and the contempt and vilification of
every other kind of socialism by him, on paper, and
now, since 1917-18 the consequent practical
pretensions, to vilify and ill-treat and exterminate
all other living socialists, just like Marx and
Engels in their time despised and despised every
other socialist book and theory, outside their own.
What Marx did to theories and books, Lenin did
to living socialists. The English have never
admitted the Albion of Marx in theory —
why should they now mentally and morally
cringe before the monarchy of these ideas in
practice, executed by governmental repression — they

The Emma Goldman Papers

870930021

[Letter] 1925 Jan. 22, Vienna [to] E[mma] G[oldman, London] / M[ax] Nettlau. — 8 p.; 21 × 33 cm.

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Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

Have stood up against religious monopoly
in the 16th 17th centuries — now they bow before
the bolshevik usurpation — "give them a fair chance"
is their argument — seven years were close enough.

Havelock Ellis published 1900: *The Heterosexual
Century: a Dialogue in Utopia* (J. Frank Richards,
166 p.), containing his social views; almost or
entirely socialist.

— I believe you feel ein menschliches Pathos
after all for the poor Librarian in Kiev?

How could all the 17 revolutions and governments
be studied in Petersburg? Suppose a few of them
got lost or mislaid — incalculable harm! The
Ukrainia is the place to study the Ukrainians,
where 1. the Russian revolution

2. the Ukrainian nationalist hopes and wishes,

3. the war on the spot or close by, the actual
German occupation, the resistance, Poles, the
Poles — where all that produced an impregnable
and convulsions which — if at all — can only be
untangled on the spot — so besides unadulterated
revolution (relatively) in Petersburg — Moscow — Kiev
is probably a local center of extraordinary
importance. — Studies must be made at
various distances — Kiev — Petersburg — Polish
Museum — and after seeing events in these
three spheres and many more (Warsaw, Berlin,
Wien, Paris...) finally someday a historian.

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may arrive at a general understanding of these matters. During the war and after and still now historical information is divided as in prehistorical times — Here is a different version for each country — The Libians look different from wherever looked at, and as people act on the information they possess, we wonder that they act at cross purposes and do so still. The collective mind of humanity has been shivered 1914 and still is scattered in smithereens (if that is the word!) and requires to be patched up and now like B. Russell ought to work at this and not be very, very, little minded as they seem to be, when put to proof.

— We will not discuss Libians; to me the fact that with all the immense support given to Darwin, Falshak, Prangel by the Entente, to my knowledge not a finger was ever lifted against an Entente statesman, whilst two Germans, Pichon and Sirbach were killed in the most methodical, premeditated way (I have read the scenarios of Kalkorshain on Sirbach's death) — this leaves a disagreeable impression. Whatever the theoretical arguments brought, to the people it must have been a patriotic act: the killing of a German. But let me drop the subject: I do not think Germans superior of others, but neither do I think them inferior, whilst some, because Marx was wrong in his theory or Bismarck was a bad man or Wilhelm 2 was a fool, think the Germans on the whole inferior: this feeling I do not share, perhaps your friends

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I do not accept antisemitism or as I have no animosity against Russians or French or any others — as I do not claim faultlessness, I admit that I dislike the Tcheks, curiously enough the few Tcheks I know quite excepted, but all whom I do not know, included... But these are trifles.

I had a letter from Harry Kelly a week ago and The Road to Freedom, 3, this morning and Freedom three days ago where I see the absurd difficulties your action meets. You meet everywhere the results of careful bulshavist hardening of the ground, which you mean to till; it is an uphill fight, but do go on; the thread must be unravelled some day and yours have been lost already. I did not think John T. (Dec. 29) wrote so shocked of "quick, impulsive, impatient, premature" (last line) — does he wish that those who remember him in the old days should think that he never was anything of all this himself? I remember him since 1888; he always had a cool mind, but seemed to have a warm heart. And he must know what such official delegations can explore — official truths, plausible explanations, just as a government never admits to be wrong.

I return to my utopian articles; I wish I had the Mittel Museum to hand. — I have not yet read the article America by comparison, will first finish my own writing. — You are episodic — had you been general, this would have been blamed as well, for want of proof! You go your own way; good luck for South Africa!
Yours sincerely Dr. Nettlau

The Emma Goldman Papers

870919191

[Letter] 1925 Jan. 23 [New York to] Emma [Goldman, London] / M[ichael] A. C[ohn].— 2 p.; 28 x 21 cm.

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Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

January 23, 1925.

11752

Dear Emma:-

I need not tell you how glad I was to get word from you. I should have answered sooner but didn't. You know what a poor correspondent I am, unless I have something of real importance.

It was very kind of you indeed to send me your speech and a copy of your article in the London Illustrated News. I read both before the meeting of the Neighborhood Centre, and quite a hot discussion followed.

I do not know how it is in London, but here in New York, as well as all over the United States, things are pretty lively in the matter of Bolshevist Partisanship. They had a meeting last Sunday in the New Star Casino, Manhattan, on the occasion of the reception given the Menshevik leader, Abramowitch. Thousands of people attended, but amongst them unfortunately were a couple hundred fanatical Bolsheviks, who started a riot, with the result that quite a number of people were injured, and a squadron of police had to be called to keep the rioters in order. There are tens of thousands of them in every big city here. They are ready to destroy everyone who dares to utter a word against Holy Russia. They are disrupting the entire Trade Union Movement in this country, and conducting a campaign of propaganda by deed. Nothing is too mean for them to resort to. It is too bad, for amongst them there are very many earnest young men and women imbued with the spirit of idealism and self-sacrifice. Alas, their energy is misdirected, because of a few wretched leaders who live on the fat of the land furnished by the head office of Kremlin.

The "Daily Freiheit" is a sheet full of abuse and slander, falsehoods and misrepresentations. They will go to any extreme in condemning everyone who dares to oppose them.

Sometime ago, Joe Cohen, Kelly and I were invited to speak at Philadelphia. When arriving there, the meeting was in a condition of riot and chaos. The police had to be called to disperse the crowd.

Am very glad to hear that you are active again in the movement, and heartily wish you success. Am very anxious to hear from you in re the Queens Hall meeting that was being arranged for you in London. You ought to feel your old self again now that you are active once more in the cause that is so near your heart.

How about the committee to relieve the politicals in the Russian Prisons?

Was very glad to hear of the opportunity the Welsh Miners gave you to address a number of meetings for them. Are you now on tour?

Lillian Wisliuk, whom you well know, is just now spending a few days in New York, and was with us last Sunday night. She is busy obtaining subscriptions for Sasha's book. She is certainly a very fine, energetic spirit. When in Washington a few weeks' ago, we spent two days at her house.

I am in frequent correspondence with Sasha, but of course not to the extent that you are, I presume.

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[Letter] 1925 Jan. 23 [New York to] Emma [Goldman, London] / M[ichael] A. C[ohn].— 2 p. ; 28 × 21 cm.

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Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

--2--

11753

I can about imagine how you kindred spirits miss each other, having worked together so many years.

The Linders are our neighbors in Sea Gate. Louise is about to go over there to stay with the boy while they will be away to see the Provincetown Players.

I don't have to tell you much about the convention, as you unquestionably read the R.A.S. I am preparing a series of articles on the "Tactics and Principles of Anarchism", in the light of the recent campaign of a revision and evaluation, which has been going on in the paper recently.

No doubt you did not fail to notice the views of Yanofsky on Government and Anarchism, in the last week's issue of the paper.

Of course, you are following the articles of Comrade Cohen in re Politics and Parliamentarism.

Is there any chance for the comrades to start the Workers' Friend again?

Anne wishes me to thank you very cordially for your beautiful New Year's card. She joins me in greeting you very heartily, and thanking you for your kindness of keeping us informed of your activities. Write us more about yourself and your material and social life, as well as about the movement in England in general.

fraternally yours,

mac

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840222037

[Letter] 1925 Jan. 23, London [to] W.S. Van Valkenburgh, New York / E[mma] G[oldman].— 3 p. ; 27 x 21 cm.

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3, Titchfield Terrace,
St. John's Wood,
N.W. 8.
London.

January 23rd, 1925.

Mr. W.S. ⁴⁰Van Valkenburgh,
c/o. The Elliott Fisher Co.,
342, Madison Avenue at 43rd Street,
New York City, U.S.A.

Dear Van:

Your letter of December 24th was quite an event but I was amused to read your opening lines "Whatever has happened that you never write". That is exactly what I would like to ask you, old man. What have I done to thee that you have not written in many years. In fact, I do not remember having received a letter from you since I came out of Russia three years ago. I did not expect you to write while I was there because I knew how difficult it was to reach me. But fortunately, Bolshevism is not yet in European countries, one still has a semblance of right to one's privacy. I would therefore have received your letters had you written.

As to myself, I wrote you one letter shortly after that infamous meeting arranged in judgment over me by the brainless Rose Pastor Stokes. I saw your protest in "The Call" which Stella sent me. I confess I was more hurt by your defence which seemed to me so lame, than by anything the Communist mob may have said at that meeting, and my letter to you therefore was rather epic. I thought that perhaps your silence was due to this fact but on the other hand it may also be true that you never received the letter.

In any event, that is all so long ago and so far behind me that I do not care to even think of it. One thing I can assure you of, however, is that my affection and friendship for you have not lessened in the least, I simply did not write because I did not think you cared to hear from me, but now that we have established communication I hope you will write at length and tell me all about yourself and your family.

About myself, there is much to say. I could not possibly cover it in one letter. You know of course that I left Germany after 2½ years and I am now in England. How long I will remain only the Fates know, I have stopped making plans, I live from day to day. One has to do it when one is ruthless everywhere, always dependant on the "good will" of those in power. However, for the present I am not bothered, perhaps because I am concentrating primarily on exploding the Bolshevik Myth. I consider that of the utmost importance

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[Letter] 1925 Jan. 23, London [to] W.S. Van Valkenburgh, New York / E[mma] G[oldman].— 3 p. ; 27 x 21 cm.

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-2-

The new religious superstition which has been foisted upon the masses by Moscow is disrupting whatever of a true revolutionary nature has been established during the last 25 years. Friends and enemies notwithstanding, I feel the need of rescuing the Russian Revolution and the ideals of the Russian people from this superstition. In that way alone will the masses everywhere learn to differentiate between the rulers of Russia and the great event that happened in October 1917.

Alas, the Bolshevik myth, like the Christian myth has befogged the minds and has made people so callous that one meets with almost superhuman difficulties in presenting the actual facts of Russia. Here I met with a conspiracy of silence and no end of cowardice in Labour ranks regarding this question.

I am enclosing a lot of copies of letters I have recently had occasion to write on the subject which will give you an idea of the insurmountable wall confronting me, but you know me enough to realize that it will take more than that to discourage me. I am determined to go on to the bitter end.

The few people who are interested in my work have organized a meeting for the 29th of this month in Southplace Institute. I am sending you copy of the circular letter so you will know all about it. After that, unless I succeed in holding another meeting in London I mean to try to tour through the Provinces and to reach the rank and file of Labour direct. I suppose you have read in the American papers of the success of the Dinner given me here. I am enclosing clippings which will interest you. I have since come to think that those people who attended the dinner came in the hope of finding in me a champion of Bolshevism. When they realized that I am its critic they fell away like all people who are only interested in the moment. That too, doesn't bother me very much. The most amusing aspect of my so-called "success" here is the fact that I seem to have gained in importance in the United States Press. I do not know whether you have followed up all the twaddle and rubbish by our brainless Editors, but it is amusing indeed. I think most of them are just too sick for words that monarchial England has not yet picked me out and should show some tolerance and hospitality, than Democratic America.

I hope that you have not believed the stuff; for instance, that I am "crying at the gate" or attempting to get to America. I do not deny that I long for what is best in the country, especially the few friends I have and who mean so much to me, but never would I compromise one single shred of my ideas if thereby I could buy me re-entry into America.

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-3-

I hope you understand that.

There are many more things I would like to talk to you about but I cannot do so now, but as I am sending you a lot of letters you will really know all there is to be said regarding my stay here, my plans and my efforts.

Do write me soon and tell me about yourself.

Always affectionately,

EG

418

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870927160

[Letter, 19]25 Jan. 23, Nice [to] Emma [Goldman, London] / Frank Harris. — 1 p. ; 21 × 27 cm.
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Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

Has answered all yr
letters & always
do's

14089

Villa et Boul. Edouard Sept. Cimiez
Nice (u.m.) France 23/1/'25.

My dear Emma, your letter with its melonies
didn't surprise me: the English Labor party is the
most timid & cowardly I know anything about,
& they have to boot a contempt for truth that goes
with their lack of knowledge. You will not be
forced, I think, to come here & write up life: I'm
just about to publish the second vol of "My Life".
If I can get 10000 or 15000 £ out of it, I shall
be on my feet again & I'll be paid to learn the ropes
& you can profit by my knowledge. Furthermore
we want a woman's view of life & freedom in sex-
matters, want it badly: your life & mine will be
the first chapters in the Bible of Humanity. Tell me
about Rebecca West; she interests me; they say she
was Wells's mistress: was she? Has she brains?
She wrote about me as God might write about a
cockroach; but that only shows she didn't under-
stand or hadn't read enough. Here's a new word:

Erdachtes mag ja Denken geben

Aber nur Erlebtes kann beleben —

Wife singe tomorrow in a Convent: doggie has a old
ohness we are all well. Full of good wishes for
you. Ever yours Affectionately Frank Harris.

The Emma Goldman Papers

870924122

[Letter] 1925 Jan. 23 [London to Emma] Goldman, [London] / S[amuel] E[liot] Morison. — 1 p. ; 27 x 21 cm.

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Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

16071

23 Jan. '25

Dear Louis Goldman

after reading your letter & copies of correspondence
I shall certainly make every effort to attend your meeting at
~~Queen's Hall~~ South Place Institute on Jan 29, and
shall arrange to stay the night in London so we can get together
and chew it over after the meeting. Mrs M. reports that
she will be unable to come — but she joins me in inviting you
& Louis West to lunch, tea, drive or sup with us when you
come to Oxford, and she would be glad to put one of you
up for the night.

With your kindly mail tickets to the following:—

- Miss Mrs N. V. Nash, 92 Church Road, Richmond
- " " Horra Fleming, 13 John St., Adelphi, W.C. 2.
- " " Albert Mansbridge, 38 High Oke Road.

With your London City, West.

Dr. J. C. M. Barnett, 1 Foley Ave., Hampstead, N.W. 3.

Raymond B. Spring, Daily Herald Bldg, Salisbury Square, Fleet St. E.C. 4.

and kindly mark me in each envelope "Compliments J. E. Morison"

Check for 24s. inclosed.

Yours faithfully

J. E. Morison.

The Emma Goldman Papers

870116000

[Letter] 1925 Jan. 23 [London to] Emma [Goldman, London] / John Turner. —
1 p. ; 25 x 20 cm.
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17 Herburn Sq. W.C.1
January 23. 1925

6690

Dear Emma

Letter of yesterday with enclosure to bank -
quite understood about my name not being on the ticket.
In my case, except that it was drawn a few to the meeting.
my name was not official. It is unusual for any speaker
to give a lecture, except in discussion, and I take it
I shall first say a few words, when you finish, about my
impressions while in Russia.

As for a resolution it might be useful, as you suggest, to
send to the Russian Embassy. I'm enclosing a
draft for your consideration.

I've been going through the proofs of the delegation's report -
in addition to the General Council committee work -
even day this week. We want to get it into the hands of
the General Council members by Monday or Tuesday, as
the Council meets next Wednesday. As however, it
will be 200 to 300 pages - perhaps more - it will, I
fancy, necessitate a "special" meeting to go through it!
I hope when it is published I will be able to get you
a copy. — Your article in the Daily News I had
seen. I will return Problems of Life in a day or
two. Sincerely & fraternally Yours John Turner

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The Emma Goldman Papers

870924090

[Letter] 1925 Jan. 25, London [to] Marie Belloc Lowndes, [London] / [Emma Goldman].— 1 p. ; 18 × 20 cm.

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Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

16034
3, Fitchfield Terrace.
St. John's Wood Road.
London, N. W.8.

Jan. 25th. 1925.

Dear Mrs Lowndes.

Thank you for your kind letter and your offer to help me reach the "heart" of the Literary Review of the Times. I am sending you a set of my work on Russia for the purpose. If you would rather not part with your own set, I can send another for the Literary Supplement of the "Times" Please let me know.

I am glad to know that you will attend the meeting Thursday. The seats are unfortunately not numbered, but only as many tickets are being sold as there are seats. Still, it might be advisable to come a little earlier.

Please introduce yourself to me after the meeting. I will be very glad indeed to make your acquaintance.

Yours very sincerely.

Mrs Marie Belloc Lowndes.
9, Barton Street.
Westminster, S. W.

The Emma Goldman Papers

861114040

[Letter] 1925 Jan. 25, Oxford [England to Emma] Goldman, [London] / [Charles] Wright Thomas. — 2 p. ; 17 x 22 cm.

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Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

with the writer —
attached what came of
them some about I
have not had a chance
to look at yet.
Berkman's letter, but I
shall read it as soon
as a mail comes in
my work.

Of course you
coming home for
Purdue, etc.

5172
Pembroke College,
Oxford,
Jan 25, 1925

Dear Miss Goldman:

Mr. Barker

has given me the copies
of letters you have
written to various people
concerning our work.

Thank you so much for
sending them. I am
as interested as you

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861114040

[Letter] 1925 Jan. 25, Oxford [England to Emma] Goldman, [London] / [Charles] Wright Thomas. — 2 p. ; 17 x 22 cm.
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a goodly crowd of
others, & one of them
I shall have to return
that night, as I think
is a busy day for me.
However I hope we shall
have our mid-end here.
I have not heard from
Miss West. I am so glad
she cannot come for
Saturday. I do not
all to answer my letter,
which I am meeting
with this, could not

5173
now to see me at my
apartment? I know you are
very busy and I do not
expect an answer to this.
I do not see you before
you reach Thursday,
because there is one
thing to you whose whole
heart is wishing that your
work may burn home
the truth you have to
declare.

Sincerely,

Wright Thomas.

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The Emma Goldman Papers

870925313

[Letter] 1925 Jan. 26 [London to] Emma Goldman, [London] / Prince Hopkins. —
1 p.; 21 × 16 cm.

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Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

15870

76, Palace Court, W.2.
January 26th, 1925.

Miss Emma Goldman,
3, Tichfield Terrace,
Albert Road,
Regent's Park, N.W.8.

My dear Emma,

I am returning with this the copies of your letters and also some other papers which I think will interest you.

No doubt it was through Keell that you heard that I was back in London, as I wrote to him asking for the address of someone who could give information of political prisoners in Spain. Roger Baldwin is very anxious to get this information, but I believe you told me in December that you did not know of any Spanish addresses that would be of use. I found matters in Spain are gloomy, as you will gather from my letter to Louis Budenz. Very few Spaniards have read Ibanez's exposures of Alfonso, or even heard of them, except very conservative critics. I don't know whether his method of having the book printed and circulated outside of Spain is one which will have other than a reactionary effect upon his own countrymen. They resent this action as disloyal to them, and their emotion seems to be predominantly one of hostility to him and of rallying around the monarch. When I left Barcelona preparations were being made in all the principal towns of Spain that there should be big petitions on hand at the chief street-corners, and citizens would be expected to show their one-hundred-percent-ism by signing these as a protest against Ibanez's action.

I had a letter from Peggy Tucker a few days ago. I had told her that you were here in London. I believe that was before I saw you, and I told her of your distress at conditions in Russia. She mentions a Henry W. Nevins. He is always in great sympathy with the oppressed everywhere. I forget whether your letters mentioned having talked with him.

~~Please send me two tickets at 5/- and two tickets at 2/6 to your meeting at South Place, London, on Thursday night (Jan. 29th) to attend a lecture by Dr. J. H. P. The tickets should be sent to me by post, as I am unable to attend the office to get them.~~

Yes, the death of De Silva is a very great loss. Most of the American Liberal weeklies and monthlies are including an obituary.

Sincerely yours,

Enc.

Prince Hopkins

The Emma Goldman Papers

831121216

[Letter] 1925 Jan. 26, Ann Arbor [Mich. to] Emma [Goldman, London] / [Agnes Inglis]. — 3 p. ; 30 x 22 cm.

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Ann Arbor Jan 26th 1925.
809 South Division Street,

Dear Emma, —

I've been months writing to you ! And at last I did write a long letter , but you know I am not going to write a long letter and say everything .So I'm going to write you a little letter just to let you know I think of you a very great deal.

When it comes to all the things we are thinking of these days I do not know what to say .Some day if I ever can I'll take a trip and come over and have a real visit with you - thats what I'd like to do .

I've been very near to you through the Grennells . They say you are lovely and fifteen years younger . Xenia Burt and I had several evenings with them and we talked of you mostly .

I am not taking any part in things now, but am trying to write a little while I am living here in Ann Arbor again quietly .I am glad to do it but activity is my forte and not writing about things . However people think I should write up those experiences I had with the work in Detroit so I am trying to .

I am still helping Steve and his family so he can sing . I'm glad to be doing it but am also glad that I see the end coming . I have to live very simply in Ann Arbor in order to do it and I don't like Ann Arbor much .

Life is very odd. Everyone seems to be trying to do the best they can , and no one is doing what he dreamed of doing in those great years we all shared together.

I've gathered together some clipping about Ben . You will be interested in them . I was over in Chicago just before the Thanksgiving dinner and he was full of his interest in that . The hand bill was his work .One cannot judge another so one must take Ben as always as he is . I see almost nothing of him In fact until this summer I had not seen him for a long time . He came to Detroit to a doctors convention this summer . He has his hands full what with Anna and Brutus and Helen and his mother . But he lets them do the adjusting . Helen is a very fine girl and gets along with Anna, Brutus is a nice boy .

The Emma Goldman Papers

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He is going to be a little like Ben but he is fair and rather quiet and very nice in his ways .But large and energetic. Helen is in college yet.

I do not hear from Stella or Fitzie . But someone told me that Fitzie was pretty tired . That was some time ago. I have not been to New York for years.

It was good to talk to the Grennels about you . They like you so much . You know I see so few people who are associated with those days .

I saw Cass the other day and had quite a long visit with him He was most interesting , as he always is when you do not see much of him.

I had a letter from Lillian Kisluik about Sasha's book and have ordered a copy for myself. I have not as yet read the second half of your book. But shall.

I have a feeling that I know all about Russia from my experience in Detroit during the raid with all the factions. I think it will be a good thing when something big happens somewhere else so we can localize our ideas there . Ive associated so much with Russians and after all they are just like the rest of us, but they dont think so . The Russian Revolution put a halo around their heads and they think a great deal of themselves . If only Italy had gone a little further and Mussilini had not become the whole thing there.As it is however things are anywhere else, in America there is a slump and one has to find ones self outside the movement for the present.I dont suppose you have the remotent idea how dead it is over here.

Only the Workers Party has any life at all and of course I am not in that .But that does what it can according to its light .The I.W.W. is as dead as the real Ellwood is at Yale studying forestry. "e passed throug on his way ,—such a fine man as he is ,— true and staunch and going his way as best he can,— helping when ever he can .

I am living with the Burts . They are more of the Communist mind so I either have to argue or keep still and both are hard on me .But we manage somehow.

Well, when I get str ightened out and can I shall come over for a trip I hopea and get a new lease on things .But I dont know when that will be .

Id love to see you again , dear Emma. Ive been reading over your letters.

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The Emma Goldman Papers

831121216

[Letter] 1925 Jan. 26, Ann Arbor [Mich. to] Emma [Goldman, London] / [Agnes Inglis].— 3 p. ; 30 × 22 cm.

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and am taking notes on them to use myself. In the writing I am attempting to do. If you write your autobiography, would it help you to have all the letters you wrote me, or shall I plan to give them to the library here for future students of history? If I give them to the library they would just be put away but years from now they might be used by some writer of history, I have not kept any really personal letters, only the ones of interest because of the contents. Yours are personal but of universal interest because you go into detail about such interesting subjects,— the Mooney case, and all. In one you speak of Jo Hill's funeral.

It is very, very cold, and icy. It is like the winter I was getting up the meeting for Sasha in 1917 when the ice was so hard and rough to walk on.

It's so interesting to read over all those letters, yours, Sashas, Fitzies, Bens and Stellas. I live it all over again!

So you saw Stella Smith? I have not heard from her. I should think she would have dropped either me or Steve a line and said something.

I had a letter from a friend to-day from California to whom I had sent your pamphlets and Sasha's. She is in Carmel. She is most interested and glad to read the things I sent her tho she is not converted, she says. She said when "you and Emma and Alexander come this way you must come to see me, tho I suppose you are the only one who can." But I suppose I'm no more likely to than you and Sasha are. In fact things happen to you and you never know what will happen next, You may be the first to see California again!

How odd it would be if you did come back. You would find it harder than you think and greatly changed, I somehow hope you will not come and have to realize it. But it would mean so much to you just to be able to, and to see those you especially love and care for even if you went back again! But I do not think you would ever work over here again. Maybe you will tho,

I send you my deepest love, Emma and remembrance of those days when you meant so much to me and opened up such a great and wonderful vision to me. I am always going back to that beginning.

The Emma Goldman Papers

870920098

[Letter] 1925 Jan. 27 [London to] Emma Goldman, [London] / Stan Harding. —
1 p.; 25 × 20 cm.

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Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

MUSEUM 8979

4768

35, DEVONSHIRE STREET,
THEOBALDS ROAD, W.C.

Jan 27th 1925

Dear Miss Emma Goldman,

Thank you very much for the tickets.
I am asking three I. L. P. friends
to dine with me and go on to South
Place and have advised many others
not to miss the opportunity of hearing
you.

Indeed the difficulty in speaking
about Russia is to get what one
has to say to the right audience —
to the people who would be critical
of Bolshevism if they understood
that it ^{is} a menace to Socialism
rather than to the present structure
of Society. I can only describe the
Prisoners' Russia — the one Russia I saw.
But your account will be many sided &
I am greatly looking forward to hearing
it & to meeting you after the lecture.

Yours sincerely
Stan Harding

The Emma Goldman Papers

861029360

[Letter, 19]25 Jan. 28, Stockholm [to] Emma Goldman, London / Albert Bonnier. — 1 p. ; 28 × 22 cm.

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Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.



4452

ALBERT BONNIER
STOCKHOLM
K.O.B./Kbg.

Stockholm den 28-1-25.

Miss Emma Goldman,

3, Titchfield Terrace, St. Johns Wood, London, N. W. 8.

Dear Miss Goldman,

I beg to thank you for your letter of the 22nd inst. and have ordered the copies of your book to be sent as desired.

Regarding the sale of the work I suppose that about 400 - 500 copies are sold until now.

With the copies which I am sending you personally I have enclosed some more clippings from papers which have reviewed your book.

Yours sincerely

Albert Bonnier

430

The Emma Goldman Papers

870819431

[Letter] 1925 Jan. 28, Chicago [to Emma Goldman, London] / Ben L. Reitman. —
2 p. ; 28 × 20 cm.
Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the International Institute of Social History.
Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

EE PHONE DEARBORN 3837

RESIDENCE PHONE GRACELAND 9102

BEN L. REITMAN, M. D.

13572

SOCIAL HYGIENE

SUITE 605 RELIANCE BLDG.

34 N. STATE STREET

OFFICE HOURS 1 TO 3 AND 6 TO 8 P. M.

CHICAGO, ILL

January 28, 1925.

My dear Mary,

Fitzv just sent me your address. It's twenty, or is it only eighteen years, since I first looked into your great blue eyes, and you seduced my soul.

Yes, "God what things there are we haven't done". While we were together - and since then. Life's anything but simple, although there are those who will say, "Ben is settled down and respectable, and is a caged bird." I think my life can be expressed pretty much in the words of a friend of mine - Sol - who said - "Doc, if I wanted to wreck a joint, I'd sure send for you."

Life flows on, unevenly, but there seems to be more valleys than mountain peaks in it. My practice takes up most of my time. Some people would call me a successful doctor. I doubt it. While I make considerable money, at the end of a year there's hardly enough left to pay the income tax.

Jesus and some religious activity are apparently the next big factor in my life. Jesus is always wonderful to me. He's like a lover who once beautifully seduced your mind and body, and "satisfies your longing as nothing else can do."

I've been trying to tell the world for a long time that Jesus means to me - but the more I think about him and his forerunner, God, the more hazy it all is to me.....but I do believe he is worth working for, and that it pays to serve Jesus. I have a great Sunday School class - much larger and more satisfactory than the one I had in the Mother Earth office. I am allowed all the freedom in my Sunday School class that I had in my class at the Wob College. I get a good deal of joy out of it, and I like to think I stimulate my students.

As you often prophesied, I may sometime go into full time activity in the service of Jesus. You don't need to worry about me, I shall never be orthodox or commonplace. Ten years under your magic spell, will save me from mediocrity, stupidity, vulgarity, and gross error, I hope.

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The Emma Goldman Papers

870819431

[Letter] 1925 Jan. 28, Chicago [to Emma Goldman, London] / Ben L. Reitman. — 2 p. ; 28 x 20 cm.

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Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

13573

They said about Jesus, "He is not here; He is risen." And that's what many people are saying about Emma Goldman. How little we need the presence of a person. The thousands of lives that you touched are still being influenced by you. The newspapers that interviewed you, from time to time write about you, and run your picture. Many of your lectures and interviews in Berlin or Paris or London, are gossip at the American breakfast table. You were a great woman, you are a great woman, and when you cross the bridge to the Great Unknown, you'll still be great. Posterity will give you a proper appraisal. Your great brain, your mighty voice, your tremendous love for the poor and the down-trodden, your hatred for injustice and stupidity, your divinity, will never die.

In the last half a dozen years I've written you seldom. There was really nothing much to say. But I say to you now what I have said to my friends, and in public - that Emma, you're a very great woman. You're a child of the gods. The decade associated with you and your work was the greatest period in my life. I shall always try to be worthy of your love and devotion and comradeship. And now, whatever gods that may be - bless you, and keep you in health, and let you work in God and in usefulness. I am

Your devoted

Howo-
Ben L. Reitman

The Emma Goldman Papers

870924037

[Letter, 1925] Jan. 29, St. Jean, France [to Emma] Goldman, [London] Odette Keun. — 2 p. ; 27 x 21 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the International Institute of Social History
Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

Dear Miss Goldman,

I'm writing in pencil because I'm still in bed. Shortly after getting your last letter I fell ill with a particularly malignant 'grippe infectieuse' and had a very bad time. I'm better now, but not strong.

This is only a bit of a note to thank you for your extremely interesting letter, & tell you I shall answer it fully when I'm up. I had written to a leading French paper about your article before I became ill; they were eager to have it on condition it was an expose of actual conditions in Russia. When I gave the date, they said it was not recent enough, that too much had been written since that time. Now when I am a little stronger, I shall write a sort of summary of that article, saying this is what Emma Goldman says You

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The Emma Goldman Papers

870924037

[Letter, 1925] Jan. 29, St. Jean, France [to Emma] Goldman, [London] / Odette Keun. — 2 p. ; 27 × 21 cm.

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Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

I hope you will like the
letters which you so kindly sent me.
I can't read very lucidly yet! — but I
am deeply touched by your friendly thought
& am looking forward to reading them.

Very cordially yours,

Odette Keun.

I do hope you've had better luck! But
I am afraid, from what I know of the
groups in England, that "committees" won't
work. They can't take any action, it
seems to me. They might pass resolutions,
but you don't think that would affect
the Soviets in the slightest degree? From
a practical point of view, what would be
the influence of those committees? It seems
to me that the only thing to be done against
the Bolsheviks is intensive propaganda by
lectures and by written articles... Let me know
please, how you are getting on.

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The Emma Goldman Papers

870923121

[Letter] 1925 Jan. 30 [London to] Mrs. J.D. Campbell, Paisley [England] / [Emma Goldman].— 1 p. ; 30 x 20 cm.

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Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

8729

COPY.

3, Titchfield Terrace,
St. John Wood, N. W. 8.

January 30th. 1925.

Mrs. J.D. Campbell,
Hon. Sec. The Women's Guild of Empire,
Paisley Branch,
Redcott, Alton Road, PAISLEY.

Dear Madam,

Thank you for your letter of explanation of the 21st. inst. I regret deeply not to be able to accept your invitation. All my life I have been against the iniquitous arrangements in society which raise one man to a king, while compelling others to remain paupers for life. In other words, the conditions which make for difference among human beings.

I do not happen to belong to the kind of revolutionists who proclaim that all the good is the heritage of the poor, and all the bad represents the characteristics of the rich. Indeed not. To me all human beings are alike in the sense that I want to reach their minds and their hearts. But, on the other hand, the economic conditions of society of to-day, unfortunately, create barriers between those who produce the wealth of the world and those who make use of that wealth, and, since my sympathies are with those who toil, as against those who lead idle lives, I cannot very well speak under the auspices of any society which upholds the forces that make for social and economic inequality.

Perhaps if it were any other subject but Russia, say Literature or the Drama or Women's Rights or Education, it would be less difficult for me to speak under the auspices of any organisation, no matter how remote from my social philosophy. But the Russian situation is so involved that one cannot be too careful in presenting the various phases. I mean by that, that while I am opposed to Bolshevism and fight it with all my abilities, I am yet in deep sympathy with the Russian revolution and the Russian people; it is because I feel that there is an abyss between the revolution and Bolshevism that I have taken my stand against the latter.

Having read your programme, I am quite certain that your opposition to Bolshevism includes also your opposition to any theory which stands for fundamental changes of a social and economic nature. Am I right? While I concede that you are entitled to your standpoint, I feel that I cannot discuss Russia under the auspices of a group of people who have no point of contact whatever with the ideals of the exploited and oppressed masses.

For this reason, I am compelled to decline your kind invitation. I have no desire to hurt your feelings, or the feelings of the members of your organisation, but I believe frankness is always the best policy; I should not like to come to you under false flags. I therefore wish you to know that I am an Anarchist, though not of course, in the sense that you may have conceived Anarchism to be. I stand for the ideals of such eminent spirits as Shelley, Tolstoi, Kropotkin, and many others of the world's greatest minds. You see then, dear Madam, that we are far apart in our outlook upon social affairs.

Sincerely yours,

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The Emma Goldman Papers

831121005

[Letter] 1925 Jan. 30, London [to] Rudolf and Milly Rocker, Berlin / [Emma Goldman].— 3 p. ; 31 x 22 cm.

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3, Fitchfield Terrace,
St. John's Wood,
LONDON. N.W. 8.

January 30th, 1925.

Mr. Rudolf Rocker,
Berlin - Neukölln,
Kirchhofstrasse 3.

My dear Rudolf and Milly,

How fortunate that Rudolf had a lecture in Dresden, if not for that I suppose I would have had to wait another few months for a letter from him. As to you Milly dear, I cannot explain your silence except the trouble with your eye, which as I understand it has not changed. I confess I have been very disappointed not to hear from either one of you for such a long time, if ever I needed encouragement and comforting words, from my nearest and dearest friends, it was during the last few months, but I dare say you, dear Rudolf, were busy and therefore could not write.

Whatever may have been the first impression as a result of the reception at the Dinner, it has been a deceptive impression. Unless it be that the people at the Dinner expected to see me a champion of Bolshevism, I have no idea why they came. Certainly they have shown not the slightest interest since, have not even had the grace to reply to the letters written to them outlining the plans that I have for further work, but they were not the only ones who do not wish to know the truth about Russia. The vast majority of the Labour people, at least through the leadership, have sternly set their faces against any honest criticism on the subject. I do not know what these leaders were before the war; you both used to speak so enthusiastically about them and how much they participated in every important issue. Well I do not know whether it is the war, or Russia, or the fact that they have tasted Power when they were in the Government; one thing is certain I never saw a more cowardly lot of people more obsessed by their political considerations than the Trade Union Leaders I have met, and the Leaders of the Independent Labour Party.

I am enclosing copies of letters which I have exchanged with some of them that will explain better than I can tonight the situation here. Now, since the Labour Movement seems to be entirely in the hands of the leaders I have no idea how I can reach the rank and file. As a matter of fact some comrades made an attempt to induce the I.L.P. Branch at Newcastle and Northampton to ask me to speak; the Northampton Branch replied that it would have to consult its candidate - Margaret Bondfield. Can you imagine a Labour group being so dependant upon its leaders that they dare not have a speaker unless approved by its candidate. Frankly I do not see the difference between the centralisation of the Labour Movement here or the centralisation prevalent in the Communist. In each case a few men at the head dictate the methods of the organisation; in each case the rank and file has no character of its own. The only difference is that the Bolsheviks are in the Government in Russia and that the Labour Leaders here are not. The Government of England but if they were I am inclined to think that they would have as little use for me or any of us, as the Government in Moscow has.

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The Emma Goldman Papers

831121005

[Letter] 1925 Jan. 30, London [to] Rudolf and Milly Rucker, Berlin / [Emma Goldman].— 3 p. ; 31 x 22 cm.

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- 2 -

After no end of difficulties we succeeded in getting up a measly meeting in South Place Institute, which takes place tomorrow evening. I say "measly" because the hall is so small. I think it will be filled because most of the tickets have been sold. It makes me sick to think that so little headway has been made in this country that I must speak in the same place where I spoke in 1895. However, it was a question of South Place Institute or not at all. Our Committee consists of half a dozen people, most of whom have to keep their noses to the grindstone and cannot afford either the time or support. The man who has been doing the secretarial end of the arrangements has half an hour for lunch, during that time he had to hustle for a hall, order the printing and a lot of other details and that is all we have got who can devote themselves to the effort. Without a substantial committee or organisation and without means, I do not see for the life of me what I can possibly accomplish in England. I am convinced that if I had devoted as much energy while I was in Germany, I would have had greater success than I have had here. This is a country where people move in flocks, at least in their public and social lives. Anyhow, the outlook is not very bright.

I realise with you that there may be fertile soil here as anywhere else, but before one could reach that soil one would have to devote a number of years of hard labour in clearing the ground. Unfortunately I am no longer so young that I can afford to spend two or three years cutting stone, and without that I will accomplish nothing. Yes, dear children, distance lends enchantment. You were both so enthusiastic about England because you have been away from it for nearly ten years. I am quite certain that you would no more feel at home here now than you do in Germany except that in your case you would be perhaps satisfied with the good work you can do among the Jews. I am sure that the East End is as fertile as it was in your time but I cannot content myself with work among the Jews only. If I cannot accomplish anything in my efforts to reach the English people I would much rather be in Germany and work there, at least there is the Syndakalist Organisation to start with. There is nothing to start with here. Besides if I am to remain and do general Anarchist propaganda I will most assuredly have to make the step that I hated to take in Germany. Well, we will see. Just at present I am not very enthusiastic about my chances. Perhaps something will come of the meeting, I mean perhaps there will be a few people who will join the Committee and become active in arranging meetings or backing a tour through the Provinces. I have had an invitation from Comrades to go through South Wales. If nothing else will turn up that is what I will do but I cannot say that I cherish the prospect very much. Our people are so hopelessly inefficient when it comes to organising anything on a large scale.

I see very little of the East side comrades except Sabel. I have not seen Milly since you left. However, it may be my fault. I am not much for visiting and I have been so busy that I have to keep about eight hours at the desk besides seeing a lot of people. The most unpleasant thing is that all the social functions have led to nothing so far; perhaps if my life were any other subject than Russia I should have support, but the question of Russia I am in the unfortunate position that I offered support which I cannot take and the support I need I cannot get. I am closing copies of letters from a woman's

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437

The Emma Goldman Papers

831121005

[Letter] 1925 Jan. 30, London [to] Rudolf and Milly Rocker, Berlin / [Emma Goldman]. — 3 p. ; 31 x 22 cm.

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- 3 -

Organisation in Paisley, Scotland. You will see what I mean when I say that I could have the support of Reactionaries or even Liberals, but unfortunately I cannot take that.

You have probably read the report of Turner in the "New Bulletin". That explains his position. There is no doubt that even he has been mesmerised somewhat by Moscow but of course he is much more clear headed than Purcell and the rest. It is extraordinary the influence Moscow exerts upon people who go there on a visit. Have you seen the first part of the report which the Labour Mission published? The second part is to appear within a few days. I am anxiously awaiting it, although I know that it is going to be a whitewash. It is especially this report which has knocked my chances on the head, the Labour people who might have helped me have all withdrawn the moment the preliminary report appeared.

Yes, our Sasha has certainly had a terrible struggle. It is time his efforts should meet with success. It is very unfortunate that he had to consent to the publication of his book with the last chapter eliminated. In a measure the evil will be mitigated by the publication of the last chapter in a separate brochure but of course that will only reach the reviewers. What about the public at large who will read his book? How necessary the concluding chapter is I can see from the reception my omitted twelve chapters have received. The reviews are quite of another nature than the reviews of the first volume. The brainless reviewers have awakened to the fact "that while Emma Goldman is fighting Bolshevism she has in no way given up her ideals of Anarchism, in fact she seems to be much more of an Anarchist now, hence her unreserved opposition to the dictatorship". These are some of the things one reads in the reviews now. I am so afraid that Sasha's book, lacking his concluding chapter, will be as misunderstood as my first volume, but not for worlds would I suggest that to him. I know how bitter hard it was for me to consent to the proposition. Fortunately, Liveright has only the American and Canadian rights. I am going to try hard to get a publisher for his MSS here. Perhaps I will have more luck than with mine.

Well, dear people, before this will come to you I will be in a position to add a few words about the meeting. I hope I will be able to give you a more cheerful account than the rest of this letter. On Saturday I am going to Oxford again to speak before the Indian Students' Club and to attend a meeting of Rebecca West, who speaks before the American Students on the 31st.

Dear, dear people, I cannot tell you how much I miss you. There is no one here to whom I feel as attached and to whom I can come for inspiration and comfort which I need more I did when I was in Germany. I hope your tour will be very successful. Tell me about the people you will meet and when your book is published be sure to send me a copy also the new material which you are adding to your West Biography, but I certainly hope you will be able to go to Holland and lecture there but I agree with you that our Dutch comrades are entirely too optimistic and have too much faith in the liberality of their Government.

Give love to young Rudolf and Fernin, and take lots of love from me and the rest of you.

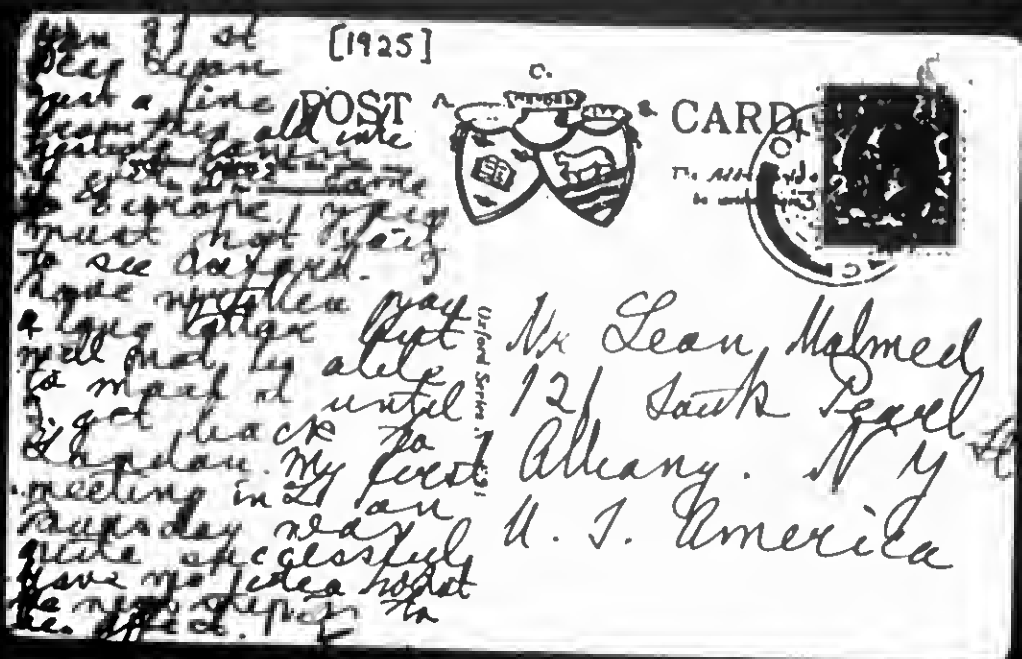
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The Emma Goldman Papers

860515182

[Postcard, 1925] Jan. 31, Oxford [England to] Leon Malmed, Albany, N.Y. / E[mma Goldman].— 1 p. ; 7 × 11 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the Schlesinger Library, Radcliffe College.



The Emma Goldman Papers

867111053

[Letter] 1925 Jan. 31 [London to] Emma [Goldman, London] / John Turner. —
2 p. ; 24 x 20 cm.
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Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

17 Leinster Square W.C.P.

6672

January 31 1925

Dear Emma

You did not mention the vote on the resolution but when I heard the message, on the 29th, I was read by the chairman that it was carried by a large majority.

I am very glad to hear of the message put forward in favor of the adoption of the resolution. So you have gone to bed. I saw that yesterday afternoon having been elected to the Executive Council of "The Workers' Party" by the General Committee.

What I hear to be next Thursday will be of a very chatty and rather character. There is an undertaking on the part of all of us who were on the Russian Revolution not to say or write anything, in public, which will anticipate the Report before it is endorsed by the General Council.

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861111053

[Letter] 1925 Jan. 31 [London to] Emma [Goldman, London] / John Turner.—
2 p. ; 24 × 20 cm.
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Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

6673

As you can imagine, the 30 that will be signed and
the meeting last Thursday, I've closed 67th Success in,
much more so than I could have at the time I suggested them.
Our best thanks are due to those who worked to make this possible.
As always, I am -

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The Emma Goldman Papers

880615022

[Letter, 1925 Feb.? London to Gabriel Javicas, London] / E[mma] G[oldman]. — 1 p. ; 18 x 13 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the United States Library of Congress.
Institutional Location: Paul Avrich Papers.

2, Fitchfield Terrace,
St John's Wood Road,
N. W. 6, Sonntag.

Mein lieber Kind,

Ich schreibe in wahnsinniger Eile. Ich muss bis
Dinstag einen langen Artikel fertig haben, eine Antwort auf
den unerhörte Verleumdungsbericht der Arbeiter Delegation in
Russland. Aber ich will Ihnen doch mitteilen dass mein einziger
früher Abend von jetzt bis meiner Abreise nach South Wales nur
Dinstag Abend sein wird. Wollen Sie wirklich so viel Geld aus
geben um mich zur Hamlet Vorstellung mitzunehmen? Sie sind zwar
der Sohn eines Kapitalisten, aber da Sie selbst noch nicht Kapitalist
sind, scheint mir das etwas selbsteigig zu sein, so viel Geld
zu vergeuden. Ich als Ihre weise Grossmutter sollte Sie davon
abraten. Was soll man aber machen wenn man so alt an Jahren aber
jung im Geiste ist. Ich finde der Leichtein ist eigentlich
das einzige Element was einem noch am Leben erhalten kann. Immer
hin rate ich Ihnen, die Sache doch zu überlegen ob wir wirklich
auf teure Plätze gehen sollen. Schliesslich sind die
anden ja gut genug. (8)

Lassen Sie mich wissen ob Sie Karten bekommen und ob
wir uns treffen sollen, das heisst wenn Sie überhaupt
Abend frei sind.

Herzliche Grasse.

cf 8

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The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1925 Feb. [2?] London [to Alexander Berkman, Berlin] / E[mma Goldman]. — 4 p. ; 29 x 19 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the International Institute of Social History.
Institutional Location: Alexander Berkman Archive.

B. C.

3. Mitchell T. ...

I came back from Oxford at three in the afternoon. I found a lot of mail among which were your two notes, one of Friday, the other with four copies of the article dated Saturday. The copy you sent by air has not yet come. You see how much one can depend upon it. Still I will send this by air because if I do not this letter will not reach you until Thursday. Whereas it is sure to reach you Wednesday morning if it goes by air. I dare say the article will arrive late this evening though it should have been here before the four copies. ~~There is a~~ As my luck would have it, the literary agent is laid up with what they call here Influenza, and is not likely to be back in his office until Friday, so there was no need to rush you dearest. Only I could not know it in advance.

Thank you Sasha dear for having attended to the article so soon. It reads fine. I hope to goodness Dakers can place it, I have my doubts because the subject seems to me remote from the English mind and interest. As I said, I will write nothing more on speculation though I am already beginning to worry what to do if I can not dispose of some more stuff. I have heard nothing from Colliers which is a bad sign. Cronyn has resigned. I have no idea who his successor is. Well, I wrote Stella to let Menoken read the article he may take it. One goes on and on hoping. It is the only way one can survive.

Before I write you about my visit to Oxford, the meeting etc, I want to quote from a letter, the first in a year, I got from Fitzie. This is what she says regarding Liveright, "L has only the American and Canadian rights. If he should be able to place the book in other countries he himself by his own efforts, then he is to share in a commission but he has no right on foreign publication otherwise." Now I have written Stella about ten days ago that Jonathan Cape to whom Rebecca has spoken about your ~~Ms~~ has gone to America, and that she must get after Fitzie to get Liveright to induce Cape to take your book. C represents Liveright here. If he succeeds in inducing him to bring out your book then I suppose L will "share" in the commission. If not, Rebecca will see him when he gets back and try to prevail upon him to get it out. In that case the complete royalties will go to you. Rebecca is still ill, I have therefore cabled F not to wait any longer. R. will write an introduction to the English edition if we succeed in finding some one.

Fitzie further writes, "I have followed up the matter of syndicating Sasha's stuff and there seems to be a chance that fourty thousand words will be taken. Mr Flynn likes the material that Sasha sent to bring the ~~Ms~~ up to date and says he has very favorable prospects. Flynn thinks the ~~Ms~~ itself is the best he has seen on Russian conditions. He is also enthusiastic about the Prison Memoirs that I gave him the last time I went to see him. The arrangement about the Russian syndication ~~is~~ that S. is to get 50/100 gross receipts from the syndicate ~~sale~~ sale. There is a possibility that S may realize considerable"

Dearest own boy, how happy I would be if that will really materialize, happy that you will at last get some money to enable you to take a rest from some months, and because I thought of interesting Pauline Curtis who represents Mr Flynn ~~in London~~. By the way, I inclose copy of an article she has written about me. Yes, it will be wonderful if you will get something out of your book through the syndicated stuff and the royalties. And if I should succeed in finding an English publisher for you, my joy will be complete. Let us hope for the best.

The Emma Goldman Papers

881023230

[Letter] 1925 Feb. [2?] London [to Alexander Berkman, Berlin] / E[mma Goldman].— 4 p. ; 29 x 19 cm.

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Institutional Location: Alexander Berkman Archive.

2.

Several papers carried very good reports about our meeting, really astonishingly accurate. I am inclose one from the Daily Telegraph and the Times. That will give you enough about what I said and also what Wedgwood had to say. Then, John sent me to day his speech in support of the Resolution which I am having typewritten and copies made. I will send you several when it is ready. I may get our Secretary to write the report of the meeting. If he should not want to do it, I will write it myself. How soon must you have it? Everybody is very enthusiastic about the meeting, John writes "it was a splendid meeting, much better than I had anticipated" I suppose from the English way of doing things, it was. But to me it seemed a piffling affair for the amount of work put into it, just think of it ten weeks. What could we not have arranged in so much time in America. But I will have to learn to see things through European not American eyes. Just now it is bitter hard to adjust oneself.

As I wrote you 12 Lb were collected for the politcals I think the Committee itself will give three pounds so we can send you fifteen. That too is considered an awful lot for a meeting like the one we had. The main result of the affair are the reports. The Evening Star while saying nothing of the meeting bought nearly all of Turners report in the Bulletin. I am inclosing that too. By the way, if the new Bulletin will be out say by the tenth of March, you need not send me any more of the current one. I still have two packages left, Keell needs his and so does Sabel. Those sent me were distributed at the meeting, among the American students and last night at the gathering of the Indians. I had hoped to make an appeal for the imprisoned students in Russia, but somehow the atmosphere was not conducive to an appeal. The subject was The Economic Independence of Woman. The subject was debated by four Oxford students and I was asked to act as sort of "judge" to give my views. It got so late that all the ~~men~~ students had to leave, they must be indoors at eleven, the men at ~~twelve~~ 12 o/c, it would have had no effect to appeal for R, I discovered that the Indians are most ignorant on the question of R. And I did not have the time to go into it, therefore I decided against the appeal altogether. But I may go down again later when I will ask to speak on R.

The A, students had no meeting, Rebecca was to speak, but she was too ill to undertake the journey, so her meeting was called off altogether. But fifteen students came together and plied me with questions about Anarchism. I must get some literature for them. They are really very worth while, most eager to know.

In as much as I had to do an awful lot of talking, I had very little rest while in Oxford, but I enjoyed being with the boys so much. Then Prof. Morison and Mrs M, are such charming people, I had dinner with them Saturday. Oh yes, Friday evening I saw a very stupid performance of the Cherry Orchard. Then yesterday, Mirza the finest type of Indian I have met, a friend of Agnes Smedley took several of us in an auto to Stratford, Billy Shakespeare's birth place. Of course everything was closed because of Sunday. But the trip was glorious and was the only rest I had in Oxford.

And now I am back and have piles of mail to attend to. Then I started an article about Gompers for Freedom which I simply must finish. I will send it to all our papers if I like it when it is done. I will see. By the way, will you object if the report about the meeting goes to Frie Ar. St, The Road to Freedom etc? Or do you want it for the Bulletin first?. Let me know.

I have an invitation to speak at Northampton, several comrades have asked me, one was at the meeting. Then I will see what the Committee decides regarding further efforts, it meets

The Emma Goldman Papers

881023230

[Letter] 1925 Feb. [2?] London [to Alexander Berkman, Berlin] / E[mma Goldman]. — 4 p. ; 29 x 19 cm.

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Wed. There are a number of Town Halls here open to everybody. It maybe that a series of free lectures on various phases of R. Trade Union, Education, etc, etc, maybe decided upon. If they are, the meetings will have to take place between now and the fifteen of March. After that I am determined to go to South Wales. I must see English conditions of the workers whether I remain here, or will have to leave. I often think it a great pity that I did not make it my business to see the workers condition in Germany with my own eyes. At least I want to do it here. I am writing the comrades in Wales to go ahead with their arrangements, no matter how bad they will do it, I must go down to the mining districts anyway. I hear the poerverty is too awful.

Tomorrow I am to get a definite reply from the lecture agency. Our Secrt. saw the man at the head. He evidently was at the meeting. He said he was very impressed with Miss G. as a lecturer. A Dank em. But that he is afraid of the disturbance made by the Communists, that would give his bureau a bad reputation. But it seems he is deliberating on the proposition, and is to see our man tomorrow. I am not very hopeful. I am afraid of the agency's leaders to back it. I may get before reactionary organizations which I could not accept. Well, we will see.

I am not sure I will have to come back to Germany I did not know right away. I would first go somewhere to see the conditions. I am definitely decided to settle in Germany I don't know how long. I am not sure I can stay from the movement, in fact would not want to. I think by writing my autobiography I could get enough for it to be secure for a few years. In that way I could live and work in Germany in the Syndicalist movement. Needless to say that will be the very last resort. I mean to try here first and see what comes of it. But I am not expecting much. Even if I should succeed in work on Russia I could not accept any money from lectures or meetings. I could not stand the thought of it. On the other hand I am not hopeful of getting stuff accepted here, not enough to secure me for very long. Anyway, I must stick it out for a time and then see.

Dearest, how do you mean to go to Facist Italy, unless you go under an assumed name? Neither you or I would get a visa and what is more it would be most dangerous even if we went just for private pleasure. You could go under anothe name and I hope with all my heart you do. Only it will have to be the North of Italy if you go there in the Spring, would it not be too hot in the South. Anyway, I hope you can go somewhere to rest and meditate and think of me a little. Of course, I should love to be with you, but first I do not see how that could be achieved, if I went out of here there would be no return for a number of years. But more than that I really do not feel you miss me or want me, and I would not for the world have you take me for granted. I am concerend that you should really have a rest and see something of Europe. That is the main thing, never mind what becomes of me.

I am awfully anxious to know the result of your session with Muhsam, little Therese is a poor judge of people but she seems to be quite ill over the stand of Muhsam. Please write me what he had to say and if he really intends to close his eyes to the things going on in R. I never met him personally but I know enough of his writings and through Max to belive him to be a very fine type. Surely he is willing to look into matters. Do write me dear, I am very anxious to hear what came of your conference with him.

Odette Keun is only now recovering from actual Influenza. She was dangerously ill for a number of weeks. I hardly think she could have done much in the way of affidavites

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SG Be

which you asked some time ago. Would you still want them? I might write her.

That certainly is a pile of money for your brochure \$300, but it can not be helped. I think if Minna and Lillian Kislauik and a few others try they ought to sell enough copies to make up the cost. It ought to sell at 25 cents unbound. Don't you think? I am sure Harry will have sent the money he still has for you. And if I hear from Colliers that my article was accepted I will send you some more dear. Anyway do not worry.

Do not send me Dni dear, I am getting it, some times a number is missing, but on the whole it comes every day. Unless the subscription has run out then send yours. I must have some Russian papers. By the way dear, the quotation about the Commission which investigated the conditions in the villages, where have you got it from? Was it in the Isvestia, or Pravda? And can you give me the date. I was asked at the meeting by a Communist when the Commission made the investigation and where it was published. One can not be too careful with these people. Please let me know without fail exactly where you have your data from.

I had quite forgotten that "On the Threshold" was published in M, A. I have a set among my books in Germany with Kater, but I do not need the quotation now, the article on R, woman is big enough as it is, too big I fear. It reads pretty good, do you not think so? But will it be accepted? One gets sick from anxiety about these things.

I must get this off to night dearest. I embrace and kiss you.

Devotedly.

ca
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The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1925 Feb. 2, London [to] Leon Malmed, Albany, N.Y. / E[mma] G[oldman].— 2 p. ; 25 × 16 cm.

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3, Fitchfield Terrace,
St. John's Wood,
LONDON, N.W. 8.

February 2nd, 1925.

Mr. Leon Malmed,
121, South Pearl Street
Albany,
NEW YORK CITY.
U.S.A.

Dear Dear Leon,

It was good to hear from you again after such a long silence. I knew that you would not be able to withstand writing me when you got my photograph. I was sure that that would remind you of the past and the many things we have in common. You should know, old boy, that I have no desire to hurt you even if I seemed critical in the last letter I wrote you. You should also know that my conception of freedom is deep enough to allow all my friends to arrange their lives as they find it necessary. I am sure I have never made any claims of friendship on anyone other than those who were willing to give, much less did I want you to do anything that you did not feel able to do. I am saying this that you should understand that there was no intention of hurt on my part.

I daresay that you found the people who go to the affair of the F.A.S.T. changed. Perhaps the change is also in you. We are very often inclined to ascribe to others what really has taken place in ourselves. Then too, I think that the war and the Russian confusion have had a very disintegrating effect upon a great many people. The result is that we feel out of touch with those with whom formerly we could work. I find the same situation here. People who stand for all sorts of advanced ideas to me are more narrow minded and bigoted than the reactionaries. and yet it is impossible to work with the reactionaries. The result is that I find myself between two fires. However, I am explaining all that in a letter to dear Rudolf Rocker of which I am enclosing copy as well as several others, which I have written to a number of people and which really contain the thoughts that I would express were I to elaborate on them in this letter.

I am in a very nervous state tonight as tomorrow is my first public meeting and you know how wretched I feel twentyfour hours in advance. Added to this are the difficulties which I had in getting up the meeting. I never realized how painful it is to arrange anything for oneself. It would be so much easier were I to be busy arranging tours for others, but the details of life for one who also has to do creative work is not only physically exhausting, it is even more so spiritually paralyzing.

You will want to know about my plans. How could anyone in my position make plans? I live from day to day. If I succeed in waking up interest sufficiently to organize some kind of a Committee that would back a series of lectures in London and the provinces I will remain in England. If not I shall probably go back to Germany. There is a foundation there which we do not have here. I shall regret it bitterly if I have to do it but of course I cannot live in England just for the joy of it. It is entirely too expensive and not sufficiently interesting to me. However, I am not worrying about that at present. I had meant to go to the provinces for a month or six weeks, not that I expect very much from the tour which the comrades will arrange, but that it will give me a chance to see the country and to get in touch with the people direct.

The Emma Goldman Papers

860515184

[Letter] 1925 Feb. 2, London [to] Leon Malmé, Albany, N.Y. / E[mma] G[oldman]. — 2 p. ; 25 × 16 cm.

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Mr. Leon Malmé.

-2-

Dear Leon, I admire your optimism and perseverance. You still have another year which does not mean much when one looks back but an awful long time when one looks forward. I too, hope that you may yet come abroad and that we may meet again.

With affectionate greetings,

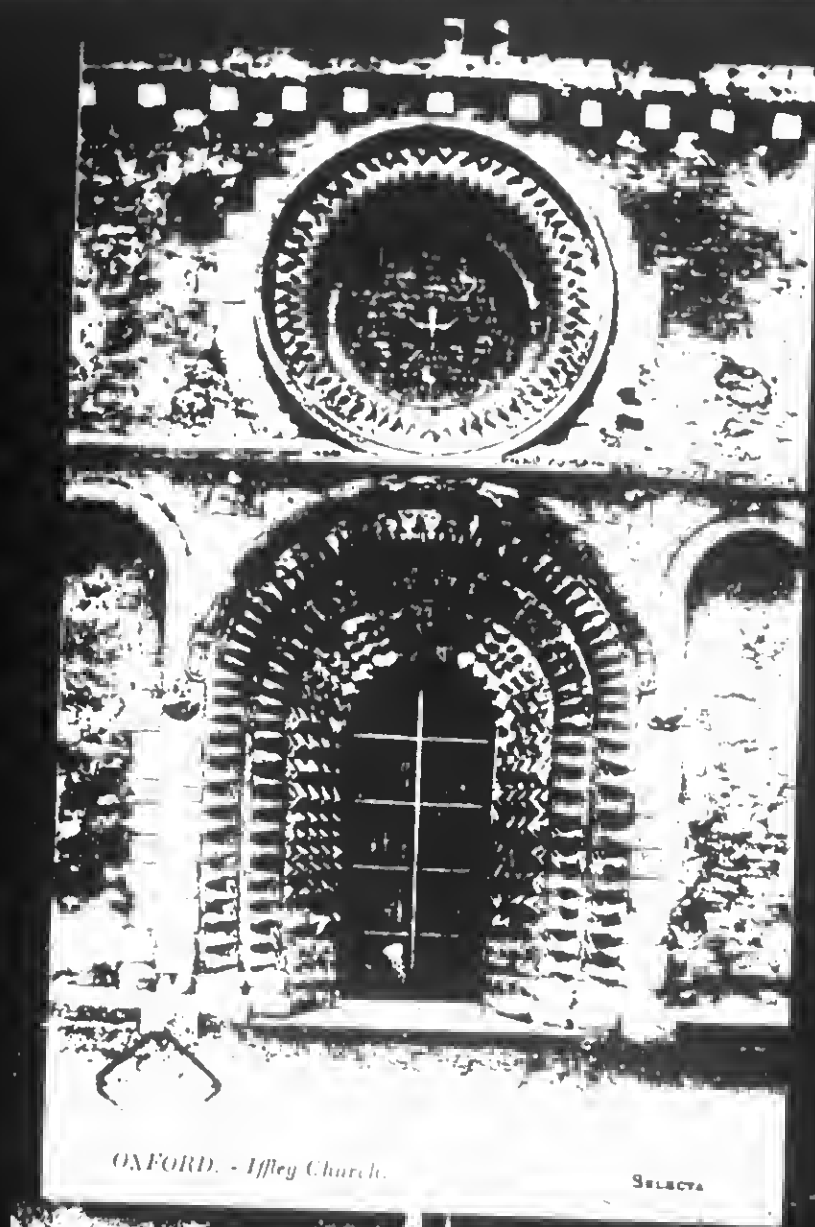
E. G.

Feb 2nd, I rec'd the letter to be
able to tell you about the meeting.
It was successful. I in glass
a pretty accurate report. I could
not send the letter by the last
steamer Saturday because I
had to leave on Sunday for
Oxford to lecture before
Imperial students. It is such
a beautiful town - such
marvellous old architecture.
Now I wish you could
see it. Affect. E.

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Postcard, 1925] Feb. 2, Oxford [England to] Milly [Witcop] Rucker, Berlin / E[mma Goldman]. — 2 p. ; 8 × 13 cm.

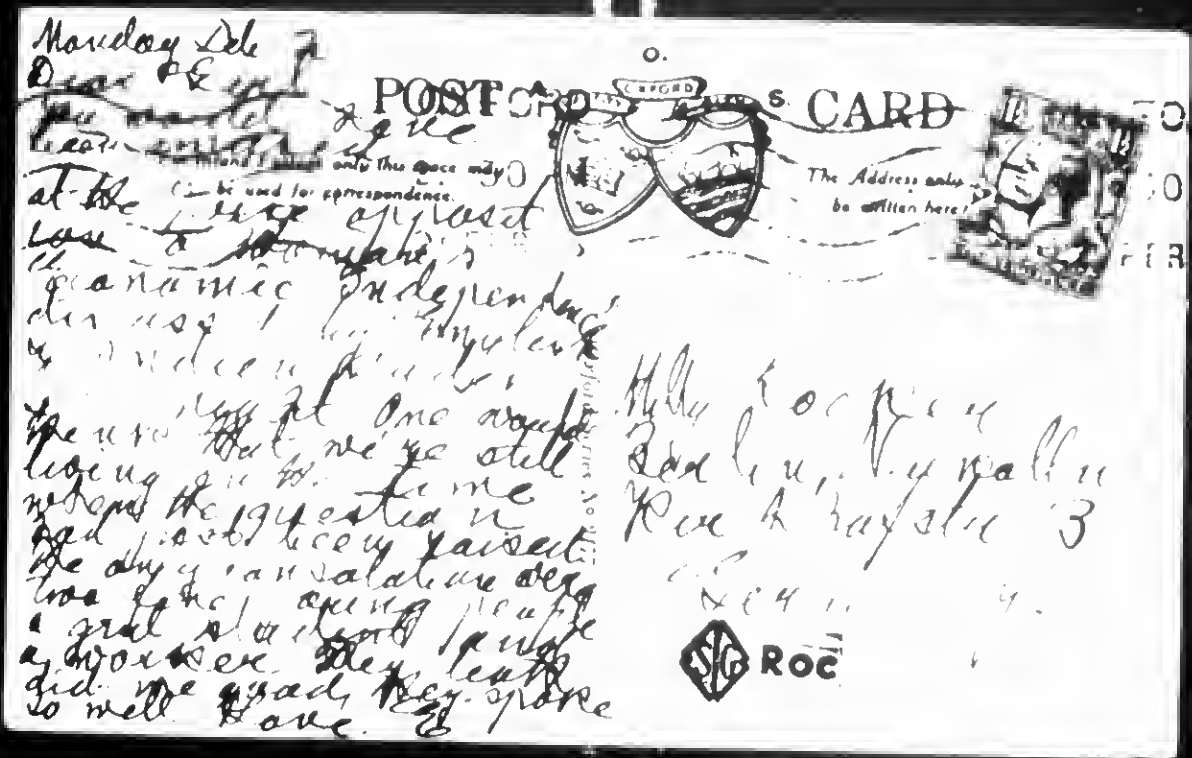
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Institutional Location: Rudolf Rucker Archive.*



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890317205

[Postcard, 1925] Feb. 2, Oxford [England to] Milly [Witcop] Rocker, Berlin / E[mma Goldman]. — 2 p. ; 8 × 13 cm.
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850702124

[Letter] 1925 Feb. 2 [New York to] E[mma] G[oldman], London / H[arry] W[einberger].— 2 p. ; 28 × 22 cm.

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Feb. 2, 1925.

Miss E. G. Kerschner,
3, Titchfield Terrace,
St. John's Wood,
London, N. W. 8,
England.

My dear E. G.

I will try to rush a letter through because with trying to find a theatre for "Emperor Jones", practicing law and fighting the "God of Vengeance" case my hands have been very full.

You say that you and I have Jewish persistence in re the "God of Vengeance". Lo and behold! The miracle has happened and I have won the case in the Court of Appeals as you will note from the enclosed articles in the New York Sun and the very decent editorial of the New York Times. Some of the papers sent out a report saying that the decision was not a moral vindication of speech, not knowing that the Court of Appeals did not have the power to say whether the play was good or bad (according to law) but merely to decide whether we had a fair trial, and we have not had one. On a new trial the sort of the play will have to be allowed in evidence, and also the evidence of the rabble, ministers, judges, lawyers, authors, writers, laymen etc. will be allowed. From the general reading of the opinion and from what the District attorney says, my own belief is that they will not bring the case to trial. When a copy of the opinion is printed I will send the same to you. Judge Lehman, a Jew, wrote the opinion, reversing the decision. Judge Cordozo, one of the ablest judges in the United States, concurred with two others. There was one dissenting opinion with one concurring.

I am very hopeful in reference to Riegel and Cline, that "Ma" Ferguson will release the men. I understand from news paper reports that in her inaugural speech she said that she would let everyone out of jail who had served fifteen years, no matter what the conviction was, on the ground that fifteen years is enough for anyone, which is more than any male Governor has the courage to do. I enclose herewith a statement in reference to the case, and I wonder whether you could perhaps get Rebecca West and other women in England to write Governor "Ma" Ferguson, Austin, Texas, saying they are familiar with the case and asking her for the release of these men. I think it will help. The American Federation of Labor, the Mexican Federation of Labor and the Pan-American Federation of Labor will stand for their release. I think a few outstanding men and women in England with you would perhaps clinch the thing. I also send you a letter I sent to "Ma" Ferguson last week.

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[Letter] 1925 Feb. 2 [New York to] E[mma] G[oldman], London / H[arry] W[einberger]. — 2 p. ; 28 x 22 cm.

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E. G. Kerchner

-2-

Feb. 2, 1925.

I have read Hagon's letter and I agree partly with him, but you must always remember that one of the great fears in Mexico is an invasion by the United States and the necessity of having the American Federation of Labor stand by Mexico and thus prevent the United States from invading. Men like Moto y Carr and others are trying to help solve the problem. That would take a long letter in itself to answer, and just now I am so busy that it hurts. Personally I try never to close my eyes to the ills and follies of friends or economic policies that I may hold. Sometime I will write you a letter about my general impressions of Mexico and their faults etc.

I think M. E. F. did the best she could with contract for A. B. book. I will write Doubleday later about seeing you fifty copies of the first book, but on that detail work about books etc., I wish you would do it direct, if possible. In reference to your own book in England, I think you are making a mistake about not guaranteeing five hundred copies at wholesale price you could have sold them easily, and if you were to be deported, it would create publicity, so that your friends could have disposed of the books. Sara Fitzgerald is selling about two hundred sets of Eugene O'Neill's books, and now that it is a complete definitive set, she has sold an entire seventy-five. Upon my advice she has put out one hundred thirty-five sets "cornering" the market and she will make some money.

I believe you should get out a one volume thin paper edition in England not depending upon the more or less printing in America. All of life is a gamble and you should have gambled on your own book. I hope it is not too late.

As far as political prisoners are concerned, there should be more of a protest, but there is a lethargy everywhere. In reference to talking, I think you should talk on Russia and literature only, for a little while so that you can get your connections and become acclimated. Get some rest and then do whatever you want.

I send you herewith a copy of a letter sent this day to Doubleday Page & Co.

With best personal regards, I am,

Sincerely,

N.W.

ENC.
ENC.

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870925259

[Letter, 19]25 Feb. 3 [London to] Emma Goldman, [London] / Havelock Ellis. — 2 p. ; 20 x 16 cm.
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Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

14 Dora Monier ^{Hegmann}
Centerbury D. 15750
3 Feb/25 Brixton. S.W.9.

Dear Emma Goldman,

I do not think
I have yet thanked you for
your letter of 19 Jan. & the
accompanying "Daily News" article,
& indeed I read the "Times"
report of your South Place
Address. As I wrote before,
I am in general sympathy
with what you are aiming at,
& my regret that you have
to take an attitude which
affords so much comfort
to reactionary hearts. I am

The Emma Goldman Papers

870925259

[Letter, 19]25 Feb. 3 [London to] Emma Goldman, [London] / Havelock Ellis. — 2 p. ; 20 × 16 cm.

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18789

Sure the *London Times* has never
devoted so much space before
to anything; you have said, however
important! — at the same time,
it is most necessary to present
the facts you bring forward.

I have all the volume
of *Things* you have kindly sent
me has just reached Brighton &
I look forward to finding it
when I return in the course of
a week or two.

With best wishes,

Sincerely yours

Havelock Ellis

()

The Emma Goldman Papers

860515183

[Envelope] 1925 Feb. [3? London to] Leon Malméd, Albany, N.Y. / E[mma]
G[oldman].— 2 p.; 9 × 21 cm.

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Mr Leon Malméd
121. South Pearl St
Albany N.Y.
U. S. America.

456

The Emma Goldman Papers

860515183

[Envelope] 1925 Feb. [3? London to] Leon Malmed, Albany, N.Y. / E[mma]
G[oldman].— 2 p. ; 9 × 21 cm.

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457

The Emma Goldman Papers

870925026

[Letter, 1925?] Feb. 3, Lowestoft [England to] Emma [Goldman, London] / Evelyn [Scott]. — 2 p. ; 21 x 17 cm.

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Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

Feb 3

"Sydney Street" 18872
Alexandra Road
Pakefield
Sewerston
Suffolk

Dear lovely warm Emma:

I'm not really fit to write you, being a bit hysterical with worry & physical fatigue, but your letter and the reaffirmation of your existence, made everything right now!

It isn't really the end of the world, of course, but Jack got up and went out and still had, we now think, considerable power (one of those 'voluntary' efforts to conquer germs by willpower) and he is considerably worse. I always feel desolate over here when they get really critical for, though we have our polite contacts, we are fundamentally quite alone.

(over)

The Emma Goldman Papers

870925026

[Letter, 1925?] Feb. 3, Lowestoft [England to] Emma [Goldman, London] / Evelyn [Scott]. — 2 p. ; 21 x 17 cm.

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Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive

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But as I say, I realize some of my panic is due to exhaustion and that not everybody dies after.

I can't tell you how much I would give to be able to see you in Bristol — but that is more remote than Ford. — well and this is east. Anyway, now — as you see! I'll go off for the present.

Perhaps by the end of the month, everything will be different and Jack ready on the west, and ourselves full of optimistic plans. I'd be sweet to tell Fayle about Jack and me. You know we want to be there! And I'd love meeting Rebecca if of whose career I have admired from a distance for many years.

Jack says bless you for your concern. And I say if many thanks. I do hope you have things all your way here, and lots of luck. And maybe our luck will change soon & really you see you standing. Love, love, your appreciative, Evelyn

The Emma Goldman Papers

870920216

[Letter] 1925 Feb. 3, London [to Emma Goldman, London] / David Soskice. —
2 p. ; 23 x 19 cm.

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Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

2000

5 Siddlers Road. W. 14

4994

TELEGRAPHIC ADDRESS:
"INTERUSCOR, LONDON."

TELEPHONE:
LONDON WALL 9202.

CODER (A.S.C. 5th EDITION.
MCNEILL'S 1908 EDITION.

325, WINCHESTER HOUSE,

OLD BROAD STREET,

LONDON. Feb 3, 1925

Dear Friend,

Herewith, enclosed cheque for 1/- in settlement of
account for tickets.

I have been ringing you up ever since last Friday,
but received no answer, except once - "gone out of town".

I have not seen you after the Meeting because
I was in charge of a number of voluntemous ladies
and I did not wish to dump them on you, so I
decided to ring you up and ask you whether you would
be able to come to see us last Saturday, when
we expected Anna Mallemberg also.

Your speech completely satisfied me. It was
even better than I expected, in fact it could
not have been better. At first I was rather nervous
as to your voice, I knew you had a cold. But
as soon as opposition became noisy, your fighting

The Emma Goldman Papers

870920216

[Letter] 1925 Feb. 3, London [to Emma Goldman, London] / David Soskice.—
2 p.; 23 × 19 cm.

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Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

spirit arose, and I knew that you would
stand up against the Communists splendidly
Could you come to see us next Saturday
at least?

Yours sincerely

David Soskice

The Emma Goldman Papers

861111054

[Letter] 1925 Feb. 3 [London to] Emma [Goldman, London] / John Turner. —
2 p. ; 24 × 20 cm.

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Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

17 Woburn Square. W.C.1.
Feb 3. 1925

Dear Emma

Yours of yesterday to hand. I saw the
"Star" last Friday and its reference to my report.
I think I will be able to secure you one or perhaps
two, copies of the report when it comes out.
It is so difficult to suggest the next step for you to
take. I had hoped that circumstances might
arrange this. Tomorrow (Wednesday) I am booked.
I am to entertain H. W. Lee, Editor of the "Social Democrat"
to lunch. He wants my personal views on Russia?
Thursday I could join you to lunch and share
an hour or two. Can that be arranged? I seem
to keep as busy as ever, and cannot even get
away for weekends, which I really ought to do.
There is no special way I can suggest to reach the
bank and file of Lebon. We can have a chat
about it when we meet, & see if anything can be done.

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861111054

[Letter] 1925 Feb. 3 [London to] Emma [Goldman, London] / John Turner. — 2 p. ; 24 × 20 cm.

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The governing body of Ruskin College, does not, as far as I can gather, have anything to do with the details of the work of the College. It is mostly concerned with getting money together to keep it from closing. It does very little lecture work, if any, apart from what is necessary for the residential students. The Principal is resigning, and the General Council is trying to fit Ruskin College into a larger scheme of educational work for Trade Unionists. It is under the circumstances a difficult job: — Thus my being chosen!

I am so glad to hear you had a good time at Oxford. — You found, as others, that there is an awful lot for the students to learn outside the University.

as always Yours

John Turner

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1925 Feb. 5, London [to Alexander Berkman, Berlin] / E[mma Goldman]. — 3 p. ; 28 x 20 cm.

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Institutional Location: Alexander Berkman Archive.

3, Titchfield Terrace,
St John's Wood Road,
London, N, W.8.

Feb. 5th. 1925.

Dearest Sam. Evidently you are still very busy because I had nothing from you for several days. I did not write because I waited for the gathering of the Committee so as to be able to tell you the steps decided upon for the immediate future. Well, the Committee did meet and crowned itself with a name, it is now going to be known under the title, "The British Committee for the Defense of the Politicals in Russian Prisons" I would have preferred it to be the "Defense of Revolutionists in Prison" But the friends here insisted that we would get no support whatever if that were the title. Then too, they said that since workers, peasants and sailors are in prison for strikes, or refusing to pay heavy taxes it means that others than revolutionists are being persecuted whom the English will want to help. I can see logic in that though the title politicals will lay us open to the charge that we aim to help counter-revolutionists. Well, it can not be helped. I have spent three months in getting the few people together, I do not care for the title as I do for what the Committee will render.

So far the Committee consists of very few people. I have written Wedgwood to day about the things decided upon by the Committee and have asked him to join it, because so far he and Rose W. really participated for my sake more than Russia. I do not know how they will both feel about tying themselves to a definite name. I have not yet written Rebecca, but I rather think she will continue to let us use her name and probably Wedgwood will. If not we will be even less than we had so far. About twenty spoke at the meeting have left their names. But we are not going to include them in the Committee until we know who and what they are. We will only call on them to help with sale of tickets or such other jobs as will come up. The actual Committee consists so far, of John Turner, Wm C. Owen, a comrade by the name of Dryden (he was a Conscientious Objector) Keell, The Sweetloves who are the most lovely English anarchist. I have met, Mace who is a fine worker, he acts under the name of Sugg as our Secretary. And some of the Jewish comrades whose names will not appear on the stationary.

Two things were decided upon, first to call a conference of branch secretaries of trade unions so I can address them and see whether they would not pass resolutions in their organizations in behalf of the politicals, possibly also get me a hearing in their unions. It will take a month to work that up. Turner told me to day, he hopes for very little from the secretaries but it maybe worth trying. The second move is to be a series of lectures in Town Halls in six different parts of London. The first is to take place in two weeks. Each time another phase of the Russian muddle is to be presented and always the politicals are to be put in the forefront. Our meeting in South Place Institute after all expenses have been paid and three pounds added to the 12 collected for the prisoners has given us a profit of 24 pounds which as John told me to day is the biggest surplus he had ever heard about except in the undertakings of the I. L. P. which has an huge organization and many workers. Anyway, the Committee has a fund to work with, that is something.

Aside of the Committee, I have to day written to the comrades in South Wales and have given them two weeks for a series of lectures beginning March 20th. The 16th of March I speak in Northampton, the meeting is being arranged by a few comrades in the Town Hall. I have heard nothing from the lecture agency and I have no faith whatever anything will come from them. Besides, as I have already written you, I am afraid they would book me with reactionaries

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The Emma Goldman Papers

881023229

[Letter] 1925 Feb. 5, London [to Alexander Berkman, Berlin] / E[mma Goldman]. — 3 p. ; 28 x 20 cm.

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societies which I could not accept. I will try the comrades first. Then I will be able to judge.

I have asked Owen to write the report of our meeting as he will do it better than our secretary. I simply could not write it because I can not report my own talk. Owen will do it well. He promised to have it done by Saturday when I will send it to you. You can have copies made and give it to Steinberg, if there is time I will have my stenog. do it because I want copies for our own Press, the Fr. Arb. Stimme, etc. Meanwhile I inclose copies of Turners talk and copies of the resolution, I have already sent you clippings but I am inclosing two more of each so you can give them to Steinberg and anyone else you want. Saturday I will send you fifteen pounds and ten shillings, of that fifteen pounds and two shillings are from the ~~anti~~ Committee, or rather, 12/2 from the collection at the South Place Institute Jan. 29th, and three pounds from the Committee. Then six shillings are from Prof. Marian Morison. As he was ill and could not use tickets he asked me to put the six shillings into the collection, he ordered tickets for six people in London and sent me one pound and four shillings. That left a surplus of six shillings for the collections. / which there fore is really 12,8, I am adding two shillings to make it ten. Send the receipt to the "British Committee for the Defense of the Political Prisoners in Russia" you can send it to my address as our weekly gatherings take place at Dorises so far.

I had another long talk with Turner to day. He tells me the Mensheviks got out a rotten pamphlet against the Delegation on the strength of what appeared in the Tiflis Communist papers. He said here we always maintain that the Bolshevik Press lies even more than the Capitalist ~~papers~~ yet the Mensheviks take the Bolshevik Press for granted when it suits their purpose." He told me that what actually happened in regard to the report about Georgia was that a ~~snat~~ of a reporter from the Tiflis paper was with them all day trying to get a statement from the delegates. There was one clause, the ninth, which not one of the delegates would sign it was so rotten. And he ~~xxxxxxx~~ refused to sign the statement altogether. Yet the Mensheviks make it appear that there was unity among the delegates. Then there is one delegate, Smith who is a typical miner, the most honest and straightforward worker in the English Labor movement who even insisted on going out on horseback to investigate the mines, in the pamphlet he is being viciously assailed. Anyway, John insists that such methods only defeat the ends of the Mensheviks. He will send me the pamphlet as I have not yet seen it. I will see what it is all about.

John also told me that the comrades in Moscow made the proposition that the Bolsheviks should be prevailed upon to allow a Commission consisting of Vera Nikolayevna and two other dependable people to revise the cases of the politicals. They said nearly all factions would be satisfied with their revision. John said this was a practical proposition and may yet be stressed with Rakovsky here. I told him though that I have no faith whatever the Bolsheviks in Moscow will abide by anything Rakovsky will promise. I really believe that our own people in Moscow have confused John with false stories much more than the others have. Thus Zarneke, at least I think it is he from the description, told John that the G. P. U. is not so bad as the former Cheka. I ask you?

There are a lot of things I must leave for Saturday when I will write again. Dear old Bash, why did you make my article single spacing? It looks awfully bad. The reason the copy you sent by air arrived Monday evening is that there seems to be no airo plane going on Sunday. But as I said the agent is ill so I have ~~now~~

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to wait anyway. If he should object to the single spaced copy I can get my girl to make a new double spaced copy for him. I will see. I seem to have rotten luck all around. The girl who worked over a month for nothing, she is the daughter of a comrade and absolutely refused to take money, is going into some kind of a business with a sister of hers. That will make it impossible for her to give me any time. And if Doris typewrites for me I must pay her. For the campaign here, not my articles, I spent for Nov. and Dec. five pounds for rotten typewriting. I would have had to pay three times as much for Jan, there was so much to do in the way of writing to people. I do not know how I will manage when the help I had is no more. I am going to try very hard not to cause the Committee any expenses, certainly I will take nothing for my work. I only hope I can get some articles sold.

By the way, our Jewish comrades are the same unreasonable people everywhere. What do you suppose they want? I should lecture on Anarchism. Can you beat that?

Had a letter from Michael Cohn, the Communists broke up the meeting of Abramovitch, they are disrupting the Labor movement and they are becoming so strong that at the Lenin Memorial they had 15,000 people in Madison Square Garden. It seems that since England yielded no results to Moscow to speak off they have now concentrated on America. They are a pest.

Good night dearest, will write again Saturday, or ~~maybe next time~~ or Sunday. I hope I will have something from you tomorrow.

Affectionately.

The Emma Goldman Papers

870924375

[Letter] 1925 Feb. 5 [London to Josiah C.] Wedgwood, [London] / [Emma Goldman]. — 2 p. ; 30 x 21 cm.

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16438

2. Titchfield Terrace.
St John's Wood Road.
N, W.8.

Feb. 5th. 1925.

Dear Col. Wedgwood.

I have been away in Oxford speaking before the American and Indian Students Clubs. That explains my tardy expression of deep gratitude for the moral support you have given my work and all the kind things you have said about me. I have had to wage a lonely fight for truth and liberty before in my life. Somehow it was never made quite so difficult and painful. In the past I had at least the certainty that those who revile me are of the predatory class, not the people whom I came to educate and to help. But in the case of Russia the delusion is so appalling that I find myself reviled and villified by the very people I have so joyfully served all my life. That is not easy to bear after thirty years of complete consecration to the cause of humanity. And because I find myself so utterly misunderstood and alone, the solidarity shown me by the few rare spirits like yourself mean more to me than words can possibly express. I thank you deeply.

The few people who have done all the work to make last Thursday's meeting possible have banded themselves together into "The British Committee for the Defense of Political Prisoners in Russia." It is a long title is it not? But it expresses the aim and purpose of the Committee. I should have wanted it to be for the "Defense of the Revolutionists imprisoned in Russia." That would spare us the charge that we want all counter revolutionists released. But the friends insisted that the term Revolutionists would scare every body in England and that the term Politicals is broader and hence would appeal to the British sense of fair play much sooner. Perhaps they are right. Anyway, the title of the Committee is as above stated.

I have been asked to write you if we may count on your moral support as member or any capacity you care to act? I hope sincerely you will not refuse, your name means so much to the furtherance of light on Russia and the help for the Russian politicals. Please let us include you on the Committee. We do not mean to burden you too often, we will keep you informed about all the steps in the campaign to be taken.

Last night two things were decided upon, first a series of lectures in different Town Halls on various phases of the Russian situation. The first is to be in about a fourtnight in Hampstead Town Hall if it can be gotten, the subject Education and Culture under the Dictatorship. The second move is to call a conference of branch secretaries of trade unions, to address them on Russia and to induce them to take the matter up in their organizations. We see no other way of reaching the workers since the leaders I have met so far are unwilling to have the truth about Russia. What do you think about these two suggestions? I would very much like to know.

And now about another matter quite outside of the campaign on Russia. I mentioned that I have spoken before the Indian Students Club in Oxford. They are a splendid lot of men. The President especially is a high cultured fellow imbued with more than the nationalistic aspect of the human struggle. I have a letter from him this morning asking me to say a kind word for the Club which intends to invite you to the annual dinner of the "Magtes" which is the name of the organization. I do hope you will accept. I know you can do the boys no end of good. I want them to see that there are some

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Englishmen whose love of liberty includes all peoples regarding of race and color. But besides that I have found the Indians such wonderful hosts, I can only recommend them to you. They will give you and Mrs Wedgwood a hearty and enjoyable welcome. Do please accept the invitation when Mr Mirza the resident of the organization will write you.

Some evening when you are not too rushed, will you let me come again for a visit to you and Mrs Wedgwood. I have met a great many Spanish people since I am in London, but very few with whom I feel quite so at home as I do with you both.

Fraternally.

Affectionate greetings to Mrs Wedgwood.

The Emma Goldman Papers

870924159

[Letter] 1925 Feb. 5 [Oxford, England to Emma] Goldman, [London] / S[amuel] E[liot] Morison. — 1 p. ; 26 × 18 cm.

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5 Feb. 1926

Dear Miss Goldman

I am very grateful to you for the two books on Russia, the first of which I have already read with absorbing interest; and Mrs. M. asks me to thank you for the book of your essays which you sent her. You are much too appreciative of the little I have been able to do to help your cause. If testifying to the truth cost me anything, I might deserve some credit; but being one of the privileged few who can say and do what they like without fear of consequences to themselves or ~~in~~ their families, it would cost me my self-respect to keep silent when a self-sacrificing champion like yourself asks me for a little support.

I shall write to Baldwin and Villard as you suggest, and send the latter the Bulletin of the Joint Committee and our own resolution, with the request that he print the report of John Turner at least in the Nation. I shall offer to review your two books if he pretends that he cannot find anyone in New York to do so fairly, but lacking any special knowledge of Russia I should not be a competent reviewer.

Two of my friends who went to the meeting wrote most enthusiastically about it, and made me all the more sorry that I was unable to attend in person.

Except for the period March 15 -- May 1, we shall be here until August 1, and will be glad to see you at any time.

Fraternally,

S. E. Morison

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881023228

[Letter, 1925] Feb. 6, Berlin [to] Em[ma] Goldman, London] / [Alexander Berkman]. — 2 p. ; 30 × 19 cm.

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Berlin, Feb. 6th

Dearest Em, at last it is ready, the brochure. Accept a copy, dear girl, in appreciation of your helpful suggestions and affectionate interest.

I hope you like its appearance, --- and the contents also. Let me know about it.

Am rushing the copies to N.Y. They have just come from the binder's. Am sending over 20 of the bound to N.Y., for the critics. Am mailing them per post, as printed matter, most of them to F., and to the addresses of Pauline, Stella, and Minna, so that not too many packages are received by one person. I hope they will not have to pay taxes on it, I mean any duty.

And how are you, dear? I sent you yesterday copy of table of contents of the last stuff I sent to Baldwin. I still have a lot and I shall be glad when it is all off my hands. What with this pamphlet being done in a place where they don't know English and the troubles I have had with the proofs and the binding, and with the work on the Joint Committee and the Baldwin work etc. I have had my hands full, dear, as you can well realise, for you had the same thing, in a different form only, in London.

Now I am anxious to see a copy of my book from N.Y. I hope that it will come out soon, for they know now, I suppose, that they do not need to wait for that preface. And when we have copies, we could see whether some publisher here or in some other country will take it up.

By the way, I wrote you that I got a copy of the Alban translation of your book. I said by mistake that it is in Dutch. I meant in Swedish, of course. It looks very neat, though only in paper cover.

Levine is already getting his publisher in Paris and in London interested in his book (the collection of materials). He was on a flying trip to Paris last week. In a week or two he means to go to London for the same purpose and also to see the people that he wants to get letters from -- opinions on the work. Shaw, Wells, Zangwill, etc. He also told me he knows some one in London from whom he expects to get ten thousand dollars to issue the book in a large edition at a popular price -- he means as a contribution from that man to help spread that book. That is the way to do it. I wonder whether Baldwin and his comm. will really publish the material I sent him. I never got a word from Baldwin even to acknowledge receipt of the FIRST package sent him December 24th. They are pigs.

Shall I send you copies of the brochure in PAPER covers? Or do you think it is not advisable to spread it in England till the book is published there or at least till there are there copies of the MYTH? I myself see no purpose in having this brochure in England now. Let me know.

Seldes, father and son, are leaving today for Paris. In a few days old George will go for a while to Italy and sail thence to the U.S. And his son goes to Paris to a conference of all their representatives called by McCormick, the owner of the Chi. Tribune, who is now in Paris. George Jr. wants to quit his job in September. The father told me the son has about \$50,000 so well invested that he gets \$200 interest on it per month. Enough to live well anywhere, and he wants to retire to Italy, the son, to become a literary man and live on his income till he can produce some good book. Well, if the income alone is sufficient to produce a great book, then it might work. But he saved a lot of money from his salary. In fact, in all the 4 years he never used his salary. What he got for expense was enough to live on and he even saved from the extras.

I wonder if you received already the copy of that Heroine article I sent by air mail. I think the article reads very well, perhaps too good for a paper. That Levine writes about 3 articles a month for his syndicate, on Trotsky, on the new agrarian policies, on Mussolini, and so forth, and gets about 100-150 dollars per article. But we somehow can't manage these things. And these articles are not so bad at all. He showed me some of them.

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The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 1925] Feb. 6, Berlin [to] Em[ma Goldman, London] / [Alexander Berkman]. — 2 p. ; 30 x 19 cm.

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Literary agents may be all right for a book, but for articles it is better to deal directly with some syndicate or publication. Because before the agents can place anything, the article gets old and loses its value, in most cases. I wonder if you could not get there some syndicate or publisher to get REGULAR articles from you on current matters of Russia etc. Do see about it, as soon as you have a little time.

Will you be a little freer now that the meeting is over? Or if you get engagement for lecture bureau -- that would be good, of course, if it is a responsible body. The books also could be disposed of that way.

I am reading over again your last letter (Feb. 2) and answering the points as I go along. As to Bulletin, no, I still have considerable of the last one, so that we shall not again publish one so soon. And there is also nothing special for a Bulletin. It is said that the SR's in Butyrki (who had that trial in 1922) Ratner etc., are now on a hunger strike. It may be in connection with Turner's interview with Timofeev in the Butyrki, but that is NOT TO BE MENTIONED for the present, because it is only a surmise. We are trying to find out.

Of Italy, I wrote you already that it is a mere wish, nothing serious at present. I have nothing, no money, and I can't think of going anywhere. The brochure will take every penny I have and I don't know if it will be enough, what with the binding, and now the expedition -- mailing it out, etc. I don't have the bills yet. So there is no use talking about resting up or going anywhere for me. As to F's hopes of syndicate, well, she is trying her best, but as the matter lasts already several months, I am not hopeful of getting anything out of it. Nor of the book, of course. So nothing doing on this just now. Should I be lucky enough to get any sum from anywhere -- well, we shall have time then to talk it over. Shuster bleibt bei seinem leiten, or how the Jews say it.

No word from Muhsam. We proposed certain things, and I am sure our proposition will not be accepted. He wanted a conference, informal, at HIS HOUSE between several of our people and some Comm. I said I would not sit at the same table with the executioners of my comrades in R. Then it was proposed that a FORMAL conference take place, at a public place, to which Muhsam invite an ACCREDITED representative here of the GOVERNMENT (Bolsheviks) with authority to decide the matters to be discussed. The matter is M's visiting R. The Comm. are anxious he should come there. And he asked our advice. The conditions we made: 1) M. is to take with him to R. TWO comrades selected by us. 2) M. and his two people should have the right of going and doing what they please and seeing anyone they want, in prison, etc. The two comrades are to be his translators and accompany him EVERYWHERE he goes. 3) He is to make a public declaration to the proletariat BEFORE HE GOES TO R. about the purpose of his visit; namely that he goes to see about political persecution and the condition of the politicals etc. 4) Both sides at the conference should have their own stenographers present.

To this proposition I agreed, but of course the Polish will neither agree to such a conference nor ever accept such conditions. So the matter stands at present. But M. is anxious to go, and he is under the influence of his wife, a Communist. She got help from the Comm. Red Aid while he was in prison and she is against us, of course.

But all these things have taken a lot of my time, whole nights, while in the day time I had to attend to Edwin and other matters, so you can see dear Emma, I have not been idle, and that is why I wrote such short letters. Really no time even to sign---.

By the way, I put no price on the brochures. The bound ones will go to the critics FREE, of course. And as to the paper cover ones, they ought to be given to those who ordered the books. Well, I leave it to F. She can sell them if she wants to. Yes, at 25 cents would be reasonable.

Must close now. Take care of yourself, dear, and write me soon. Love.

B.

The Emma Goldman Papers

880930000

[Letter, 19]25 [Feb.?] 6 [London to] Emma Goldman, [London] / Havelock Ellis. —
2 p. ; 20 x 16 cm.

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44 Daven Monrovia 18768

Conthbury D.

Bristol. S.W.G.

6 Feb. 25.

Dear Emma Goldman.

I am pleased
intended to hear of your activities,
or I can well understand that
you find the general emotional & intellectual
temperament of the Welsh a
pleasant change from England. In
England we are accustomed to
say that the Welsh are not solid
& reliable. But I am
sorry that your absence means that
I will not see you just at
present. I am going into the
country tomorrow & shall
be much away from
London. But I shall come

The Emma Goldman Papers

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18766
from time to time &
will arrange a meeting during
one of my visits, after
Lester. Should you not
be away from London
just then.

Sincerely yours
Havelock Ellis

$$\begin{array}{r} 867 \quad 4.58 \\ 61 \quad 968 \\ \hline 805 \quad 490 \\ 796 \quad 044 \\ 61 \quad 968 \\ \hline 858,012 \end{array}$$

$$\begin{array}{r} 61 \quad 968 \\ 796 \quad 440 \\ 858 \quad 408 \\ 796 \quad 440 \\ 61 \quad 068 \\ \hline 857 \quad 508 \end{array}$$

The Emma Goldman Papers

840305024

[Letter, 19]25 Feb. 6 [London to] Emma Goldman, [London] / Havelock Ellis. —
2 p.; 30 x 23 cm.
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14 Dover Mountain

Conthbury Q.

Brickn. S.W.9.

6 Feb. 25-

Dear Emma Goldman,

I am pleased & interested to hear of your activities, & I can well understand that you find the formal conventional & ^{ridiculous} temperament of the Welsh a pleasant change from England. In England we are accustomed to say that the Welsh are not solid & reliable. But I am sorry that your absence means that I will not see you just at present. I am going into the country tomorrow & shall be much away from London. But I shall come

The Emma Goldman Papers

840305024

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Now from time to time & I
will arrange a meeting during
one of my visits, after
Lester. Should you not
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Sincerely yours
Havelock Ellis

$$\begin{array}{r} 867 \\ 61 \\ \hline 805 \end{array} \quad \begin{array}{r} 4.58 \\ 968 \\ \hline 490 \end{array}$$

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$$\begin{array}{r} 61 \times 968 \\ 796 \\ \hline 858 \end{array} \quad \begin{array}{r} 440 \\ 408 \\ \hline 848 \end{array}$$

$$\begin{array}{r} 796 \\ 61 \\ \hline 857 \end{array} \quad \begin{array}{r} 440 \\ 068 \\ \hline 508 \end{array}$$

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1925 Feb. 6, London [to] Odette Keun, St. Jean, France / [Emma Goldman]. — 2 p. ; 32 x 20 cm.

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3, Titchfield Terrace,
St. John's Wood,
LONDON, N.W. 8.

February 6th, 1925.

Madame Odette Keun,
Les Rustides,
Saint Jean, Grasse (A.M.)
France.

Dear Madame Keun,

I am terribly sorry to hear of your illness. I felt that something must be wrong as you failed to reply to my letter and also to acknowledge the receipt of the two volumes of "My Disillusionment in Russia". I know of course that you were prevented from writing but I am deeply sorry to know that it was illness. I sincerely hope when this reaches you you will be on your feet again.

Our Meeting on the 29th January was a much greater success than I had anticipated. To be sure, South Place Institute is a small hall, but it has played its historic part in the struggle of labour and advanced ideas of every description. It will interest you to know that it was in South Place Institute where the anarchist delegates to the Socialist Congress of 1896 were evicted by the socialists, which only goes to prove that if the Mensheviks came into power libertarian ideas would be as much taboo as they are in Russia, which does not prevent me, or the rest of my comrades, from fighting on behalf of the Mensheviks who are being persecuted by the regime in Moscow today. But to come back to the Meeting. The Communists came in full force and tried their utmost to disturb the affair, but they failed because we gave them opportunity to ask numerous questions, and that took the sting out of them to a large extent. The questions were the usual kind, showing that the Communists of England are mere parrots and repeating what they have been fed on for seven years by the Bolsheviks. There is no doubt that among the young element the Communists are intensely sincere, the more pathetic is the whole situation that sincerity and earnestness should be wasted on such an experiment as the one by the Communist party in Russia.

Col. Wedgwood makes a beautiful chairman, that, too helped to give the Meeting dignity and ethical value, and to keep the Communists in check to some extent. A Resolution was passed, copy of which I enclose. Please do not think that I cherish the hope that the Resolution will have even the slightest effect upon the representatives in Moscow of the Government in Russia, but it will have some value to the thinking labour element in England. The Resolution was for that purpose more than for any other. Several papers reported the Meeting most accurately. I am enclosing copies of "The Times" of the 31st and "The Daily Telegraph" of the 30th. Of course the only "labour" paper, "The Daily Herald", had no report. Several days prior to the Meeting the "Daily Herald" sent back the press tickets, and stated "that owing to pressing business we will not be able to have a reporter at the Emma Goldman Meeting". Yet, in the face of such an outrageous conspiracy of silence on the part of the Labour press, some people had the audacity to ask me why I go to the Capitalist press with my criticism of Russia. I told them that if they will induce their Labour papers to take my articles, they can have them for the asking.

However, that is not what is bothering me. I am more concerned in what is to be the next step in the campaign. I have not succeeded in arousing the representative men and women of the Labour and Socialist movements, and I cannot accept the support

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Emma Goldman

-2-

February 6th 1925.

of Conservative or even Liberal people connected with their parties, and the small Committee I have succeeded in getting organised has not the means to carry on the campaign on a large scale. I am glad to say that there will probably be a surplus from the receipts of the South Place Institute, and that £12 was collected for the political prisoners in Russia. For a campaign as I have in mind considerable money is needed, which unfortunately I have not got, nor do I know who to approach who is advanced and sufficiently interested in the tragic conditions under the Communist State. Then, too, I am rather uneasy about my own livelihood. Not for the world would I take any money, even if there were some from Meetings held on behalf of the political prisoners. I must therefore depend entirely upon my pen. It is true that I have succeeded in selling a few articles, and a literary agent is now trying to place an article of mine on "The Russian Women of the Russian Revolution". I enclose copy of the article, but would not like you to do anything about it until it has appeared in England; not that I think you will be able to place it with the French Press which seems to have entered upon a conspiracy of silence even like the Labour papers here, but I only wanted you to know that it is not to appear anywhere else until it has appeared in England.

Frankly, I do not know how long I will be able to hold out here. The cost of living is very high, and unless I succeed in placing some articles I shall not be able to continue in this country. For the present I am determined to go ahead. The Committee is to decide upon the next step to be taken in our proposed campaign. Most likely it will be a series of free meetings in town halls, then I mean to go to South Wales to talk to the miners. Today I have received an invitation from some club in the City to speak on Russia. I have a faint suspicion that it is some kind of a reactionary club, if so I cannot accept it. I had a similar experience with the Women's Guild of Naples in Scotland which I had to refuse as per enclosed copy of letter I wrote to the Secretary.

As I said, I am going ahead for the present and will let the future take care of itself. One cannot go on fretting for ever. It takes out all one's energy, and leaves one dejected and in black despair.

I sincerely hope that you will soon have recovered from your attack. The grippe or influenza as it is called here, seems to have struck a great many people, a number of my friends in London have been stricken, thus Rebecca West and Prof. Morison could not come to the Meeting owing to attacks of influenza. I myself have been suffering from a severe cough and sore throat, but I never give up until the bitter end.

Hoping to hear from you again soon,

Cordially yours,

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The Emma Goldman Papers

870116018

[Letter, 19]25 Feb. 6 [London to] Emma [Goldman, London] / T[h]om[as H. Keell]. —
2 p.; 24 × 20 cm.

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Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

445 High Rd., N.W. 10
Feb. 6/25

6730

My dear Emma

I feel very deeply your disappointment at the lack of active comrades here but before you came I several times wrote you to the effect that there was no movement in England. As far as I know, there has not been one indoor Anarchist meeting in the provinces for several years! That is the truth of the whole situation. In these circumstances there will have to be a tremendous lot of spade-work to get things on the move again.

G. W. Tindale, 213 Westbourne Terrace, Gateshead, is the comrade who tried to interest Newcastle I.S.P. in a meeting

W. Mainwaring (son of old Sam Mainwaring)
8 William Street, Treherbert, Rhondda, S. Wales

G. Frost, 31 Windsor Street, Leeds

Is already trying to interest comrades in a meeting.

A. B. Howie, 192 Claythorn Street, Glasgow.

A. D. Moore, 45 Knowsley Road, Norwich.

Stanley Osley, 19 Mead Way, Sea Mills Park
Shirehampton, Bristol

D. Baxter, 132 Seaforth Rd, Seaforth, Liverpool

G. Brooks, 44 Shaw Road, Shaw Heath
Stockport

(This man is a free lance, but might be asked).

On Sunday I will write all of them myself, but that must not stop you writing.

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I shall supplement your efforts to stir them up ^{into} activity.

6731

I am asking our printers to let me have an estimate for the magazine for your Oxford boys. We can let you have "Modern Science & Anarchism", "Historic Role of the State", "Appeal to the Young", "Anarchism v. Socialism".

See others in list enclosed.

If you will send me the addresses I will post to them the items you want them to have & let you have the bill. You shall have the usual trade discount.

For two or three years Seidler has been asking for assistance from comrades & has received several sums. I personally gave him £1 which he said would help him to buy stock to sell in the streets. Two or three weeks after he came here again for more & told me he had a good rest with the money I gave him. To tell the truth I know very little about him & am totally unaware of any services he has rendered to the movement. Our Jewish comrades know him better, & I have always thought they resented his importunities. Sakelinsky might give you more information.

Yours fraternally

Tom.

The Emma Goldman Papers

870924256

[Letter] 1925 Feb. 6, Berlin [to] Emma Goldman, London / Helene Stöcker. —
2 p. ; 27 x 21 cm.

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16269

DIE NEUE GENERATION

HERAUSGEBERIN: DR. PHIL. HELENE STÖCKER

Tr.

BERLIN-NIKOLASSE, DEN 6. Februar 1925
MÜNCHOWSTR. 1 / TEL. WANNSEE 600

Frau

Emma Goldman
c/o. Mrs. Doris Hook
3 Titchfield Terrace
Regent's Park

London NW. 8

Verehrte Frau Goldman!

Durch Frau Souchy habe ich Ihre Adresse erfahren.

Ich habe sehr bedauert, dass wir uns vor Ihrer Abreise aus Deutschland nicht mehr gesehen haben. Aber die wenigen Menschen, die für Kulturideale arbeiten, leben ja immer unter so schwierigen Bedingungen, dass die Zeit für persönliche Zusammenkünfte nahezu ausgeschaltet wird.

Nun hoffe ich, dass Sie sich drüben recht gut eingelebt haben und auch dort für unsere gemeinsamen Ziele wirken können.

Ich komme heute mit einer Anfrage. Ich soll an der Internationalen Konferenz für Geburtenregelung in New York teilnehmen, die Margaret Sanger veranstaltet, von der Sie natürlich auch längst wissen und an der Sie vielleicht auch teilnehmen? Es besteht jetzt grosse Wahrscheinlichkeit, dass ich am 10. März herüberfahre.

Ich möchte dann natürlich auch die Gelegenheit benutzen, im Anschluss daran in einigen anderen Städten über pazifistische, Mutterschutz- und Sexualreformprobleme zu sprechen.

Wissen Sie Persönlichkeiten, Vereinigungen, Zeitungen oder Zeitschriften drüben, die sich vielleicht dafür interessieren wür-

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den, dass ich dort deutsch, evtl., wenn auch nicht sehr glänzend,
englisch sprechen könnte.

Wird ~~jedenmöglich~~ ¹⁶²⁷⁰ ~~sagen~~ ¹⁶²⁷⁰ dass ich wenigstens die Kosten
der Reise von der einen Stadt zur anderen auf diese Weise heraus-
bringen kann? Grosse Beträge zuzulegen wäre ich nicht in der
Lage. Auch wenn ich nicht erwarten kann, dass ich durch die Vor-
träge besondere Einnahmen habe, so sehr ich das natürlich im
Interesse unserer Sache, die sehr schwer im Augenblick zu finan-
zieren ist, gebrauchen könnte.

Haben Sie nicht von drüben auch einmal einen Bei-
trag für die N.G. über Ihre Beobachtungen und Erfahrungen inbezug
auf englisches Sexualleben z.B.?

Ich bin in der Hoffnung, bald und Gutes von Ihnen
zu hören und vielleicht auch einige Ratschläge zu erhalten,

Ihre sehr ergebene

Helene Stöcker

The Emma Goldman Papers

870924088

[Letter] 1925 Feb. 7 [London to Emma] Goldman, [London] / Marie Belloc Lowndes. — 1 p. ; 23 × 18 cm.

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16032

9, BARTON STREET,
WESTMINSTER, S.W.

February 7th. 1925.

Dear Miss Goldman,

Indeed I was at your Meeting and I have been meaning to write to you every day to tell you how very very much I admired your speech. But I was very far from well that evening and I left before the very end. I simply waited to hear you give your admirable answers to the tiresome and often stupid questions.

I hope you saw the report in "The Times". It did not appear the next day, but the day after. I posted your two books at once but, of course, I cannot, in any way, ensure that a notice of them will appear. If I were you, I should send a set to the "Daily Telegraph". I will write to Dr. W. L. Courtney (who, though he is no longer in charge of the literary department is, I believe, constantly at the office) and tell him that I advised you to do so.

I should also advise you to send a set to the Editor of "The Spectator". In that case also I will write and tell him that you did so on my advice. I do not know if you are aware that reviewing is a slow business here and often a long time goes by before the review of a book appears in a paper.

Believe me to remain,

Very sincerely yours,

Marie Belloc Lowndes

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The Emma Goldman Papers

870924402

[Letter] 1925 Feb. 7 [London to] Emma [Goldman, London] / Rebecca West.—
1 p.; 10 × 16 cm.

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Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

FROM REBECCA WEST, 36, QUEENS GATE TERRACE, S.W.7. Kensington 7285. 16476

February 7th, 1925.

My dear Emma,

I'm terribly sorry to have been so little use to you.
Certainly I would love you to keep my name ^{on/} and I will do what I can
when I am better. I am awfully glad to hear you had such a success at
the Meeting. My sister said she was much impressed by your speech, and
she marvelled at your oratory. I am sorry about Jonathan Cape, and sur-
prised also. Can you see him some time next week. Please try and make
an appointment. Thank you very much for all the help you have
been most good to me.

Yours truly, Rebecca

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The Emma Goldman Papers

830414004

[Letter] 1925 Feb. 9, London [to Ragnar Casparsson, Stockholm] / Emma Goldman. — 1 p. ; 30 × 22 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from Arbetarrörelsens Arkiv (Archives of the Swedish Labour Movement).

3, Titonfield Terrace.
St John's Wood Road.
London, N, W.8. Feb. 9th. 1925.



Werter Kamerad.

✓ Beiliegend eine Abhandlung über Samuel Gompers.
die Sie für Arbeiteren verwenden können wenn Sie wünschen. Wann
nicht, wollen so so gut sein und den Article an Brand senden.

Ich möchte gerne wissen, ob Sie Korrespondenzen
aus England haben mochten, und ob Arbeiteren im Stande ist für die
gaben zu bezahlen. Ich bin leider jetzt vollständig auf meine Fee
eder angewiesen, da ich von meine Vorträge über Russland
kein Honrar nehmen kann und will. Lassen Sie mich wissen ob
Englische Korrespondence für Arbeiteren überhaupt Interesse hat
hat und welche Fragen Sie Berichte haben mochten.

Mit Kameradschaftliche Grusse.



Emma Goldman

The Emma Goldman Papers

850208005

[Letter] 1925 Feb. 9, [London to] Bertrand Russell, [London] / Emma Goldman. — 2 p. ; 34 x 21 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the Mills Memorial Library, McMaster University. Institutional Location: Bertrand Russell Archives.

602
Bertrand Russell Esq.,
51 Sydney Street,
S.W.8.

3, Titchfield Terrace,
St. John's Wood, N.W.8.

9th February 1925

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Dear Mr. Russell,

After having received Prof. Laski's interpretation of your objections to my work on Russia, and the fact that you returned the document by Mr. Don Levens without a word of comment, you will find it strange that I should again approach you. I assure you, if it were a question of my own welfare I should never dream of imposing myself on people who evidently have no interest in me, but the question involved in the Russian situation is a question of life and death to thousands of men and women now languishing in Soviet prisons, and for this reason I take the liberty to write to you.

Firstly, I am enclosing a letter which I received from my friend, Henry Alsberg, and also a copy of a Resolution which a group of Americans are preparing on behalf of the Russian politicals. You will see by Mr. Alsberg's letter that he mentions the fact that you had promised to give your name to the American committee. I daresay you have been engrossed in work, and have probably forgotten all about the matter, for this reason, Mr. Alsberg's letter may remind you, and induce you to write him or Roger Baldwin regarding the work which has been started in the United States.

to
Now as the work here, The few people who have worked hard to bring about the meeting at South Place Institute on January 29th. have banded themselves together, and will now appear before the English public as "The British Committee for the Defence of Political Prisoners in Russia". They have a number of things in mind they contemplate doing. The first will be a conference of Branch Secretaries of Trade Unions, whom I may address on the conditions of the workers who are imprisoned for having dared to strike - a right which is guaranteed in every capitalistic country - denied in Bolsheviki Russia.

Secondly, a series of lectures on various phases of the Russian Revolution to take place in different parts of this City, in Town Halls. I am telling you this, not because I think you have any interest but simply that you may know that there are a few people in this country who feel the need of light on Russia. I had hoped that you would be among the first to see that need. I confess I am painfully disappointed that you, who so bravely and brilliantly stand out for the truth, should find it necessary to keep aloof from any critical work of the regime which has crushed the truth.

If I understand Prof. Laski's interpretation of your point of view, it is that since there is no other political party of an advanced nature to take the place of the present autocratic government in Russia, you consider my work ineffective. You seem to forget, dear Mr. Russell, that with all the political factions having been destroyed and with all the foremost men and women of the various political groups in prisons and concentration camps, it is most difficult to say who is or who is not in a position to replace Bolshevism. But even if there were an advanced political party, I do not believe that it would attempt to overthrow the Bolsheviki, knowing as they do that the masses in Russia are exhausted from 11 years of superhuman suffering, and that they have become bitterly disillusioned by the betrayal of the Russian Revolution. They would therefore have to realise that they have little backing in the masses, and that not because the latter want Bolshevism but because they have no faith in anything now. For this reason no one attempts to overthrow the Bolsheviki forcibly, but everyone should be

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-2-

interested in bringing enough moral pressure to bear upon the rulers of Russia to change their tactics towards their political opponents. I am absolutely convinced that this can be accomplished. I believe I pointed out to you that it was entirely the international protest on behalf of the 12 members of the Social Revolutionary Party which saved the lives of these human beings. It is absolutely certain that otherwise they would not now be among the living. If, then, men like Anatole France, Romain Rolland, Prof. Einstein, Hauptmann, and many others, could raise their voices on behalf of the 12 people on trial in Russia, why cannot men and women of the same standing now raise their voices on behalf of the unfortunate human beings languishing in Bolshevik prisons. Take for instance the case of Maria Spiridonova. I do not have to tell you of the martyrdom that woman has already endured. Of her 40 years of life she has spent 20 in various prisons and Siberia, has been subjected to torture and to every imaginable spiritual and physical agony. Spiridonova is again on a hunger strike. Is there anything in the world that should prevent liberty-loving people to cry out against a regime which condemns a woman like Spiridonova to slow death, and she is only one of the many who are wasting their substance in the terrible places of confinement inaugurated by the so-called Socialist Republic.

I appeal to you, Mr. Russell, if you do not want to ally yourself with me, that is of course your right, but do not remain silent in the face of such wrongs as are being perpetrated every day by the Tchecks and by those in power in the Russian Government. Why could you not get together a few people from the I.L.P. Socialist and Trade Union ranks, and organise a separate committee to bring relief to the Russian politicals. Call it what you will, the name is not of importance to me, but do something which, if it will not affect the Russian autocracy, will at least bring some encouragement to these victims.

I have no desire to impose myself on you or your hospitality but I would like to see you again at your convenience. Perhaps we could come to some understanding about what ought, and could, be done in the way of a protest against the appalling conditions in the prisons and concentration camps in Russia.

I hope I may hear from you soon.

Sincerely yours,

Emma Goldman

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M. W. Rumsay

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870920240

[Letter, 1925] Feb. 9 [London to Emma] Goldman, [London] / Juliet Soskice.—
2 p.; 16 × 20 cm.

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you would have had a royal
reception in Manchester.
However too advice will certainly
be valuable.

With kindest regards to

Most sincerely yours

Juliet Soskice.

TELEPHONE NO.
RIVERSIDE 882.

5, GIRDLEERS ROAD,
BROOK GREEN,
W. 14.

5035

Feb. 9/25

Dear Miss Goldman

Thank you for your
promptitude in sending the
letters. I have written
straight away to Mr. Rowley
enclosing one, and will let
you know as soon as I hear
from him. He is a very old and
intimate friend of ours.

Thank you too for your
kind letters and your pleasant
words about my work. They

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5036

are really quite good specimens.

Generally speaking I don't

feel an unqualified
enthusiasm for youth.

I think youth is often
fearfully cruel and clumsy
(though want of experience
and ignorance of suffering)
I think it rather a
good thing to grow up!

Please do come again

as soon as you can. We

love to have you.

It's just possible that Mr. Rowley and
his wife may have gone across to Tunis from
the Riviera. If there is any delay in his
return that will be the reason. He
has always been one of the features
of Manchester life, and only last year
retired from strenuous public activity.
That is a pity for otherwise I think

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870924349

[Letter, 19]25 Feb. 9 [London to Emma] Goldman, [London] / Josiah C. Wedgwood.— 1 p. ; 17 × 12 cm.

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Col. Hess. 6976.

16399

12, Beaufort House.

Chelsea, S.W. 3.

9.2.25-

My dear Miss Goldman

Many thanks for the 2.58 which
I return. I think the meeting
went off very well, & I have
heard much praise of your
presentation of the case from
people who were there.

The House opens tomorrow
& I am busy drafting two
pamphlets for the I.P. on
the Land Question. I am with
you over the Prisoners, but
I haven't 10/ on me at the
moment so you may know
my name & respect the 10/.

Yours Josiah C. Wedgwood

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870927044

[Letter] 1925 Feb. 10, London [to Stella Ballantine, New York] / E[mma Goldman]. — 4 p.; 33 x 20 cm.

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13762

31 Fitzfield Terrace,
St John's Wood Road,
London, N., W.3.

Feb. 10th, 1925.

Dearest.

I read Pauline and Ella's long letters you have been kept posted about how things are progressing here. Nothing one need be particularly hilarious about. But as I have no choice except I must stick it out for a while longer and see what will become of the terrible trial of the last four months.

I am sure that much could be accomplished here, but one of two things are needed for that and I have neither. Strong backing is needed, or money. If I had money and could engage a competent manager I could move to the antiquated Britishers that independent lectures can be made successful and even profitable. But since I have no money and I have also failed in getting the kind of backing which would draw in this hard moving land, I am paralyzed.

Take for instance our Committee, the few people it consists of, are all only too willing to act, but there is no one who has the time to give to the work. Our Secretary is employed all day and the only time one can see him, or people or anything is the day time. The result is that I had to do all the work. I need not tell you how satisfactory it is to arrange one's own meetings. The Committee has decided upon a series of lectures in various Town Halls, but there is no one to look after the Halls. Some printing has to be ordered, no one to do even that. My whole time is occupied with the trial of looking after my own meetings.

As to the anarchists, they look altogether hopeless. You know how utterly hopeless most anarchists are when it comes to any kind of efficiency, the English anarchists are about the limit. Adding to their inefficiency is lack of vision and enterprise. They are hopeless at everything. The objection, "but it has never been done in England" I need not tell you how such an attitude affects me, I am a wreck after every Committee meeting. Yet I could do even less if I did not have at least the few who have been helping.

You understand that such people as Rebecca, Wedgwood, or Prof. Morrison can not be expected to have anything to do with the detail. Rebecca has been utterly useless for five weeks, she has been very ill and could not even attend the meeting the 29th. Yet she is an inspiration and only too eager to do her share. The other day I had a beautiful letter from her saying how utterly wretched she feels that she has been unable to help me in the least. I am sure when she is quite herself again she will do what she can. But outside of giving her name and occasionally presiding at a lecture what can Rebecca do? She has her own work and I do not intend she should be burdened with mine. On the other hand Wedgwood is a very busy man, and Morrison teaches in Oxford. The rest are our own people who are hard worked, or live out of London and can do nothing at all.

The lecture agency is as good as off, Christie, the head of the organization was at the meeting. He is very laudatory of my lecture work, but scared stiff of the Communists, they will make trouble and Christie's fear it will hurt their standing. Well, I do not know what will become of it all. I keep on hoping something will develop, or somebody will come forward who may save the situation. The crux of the thing is that I can not accept the support I could get, and I can not get the support I would accept. I have already written you I think of a Woman's Guild in Pasadena. I inclose the reply I had to write to the secretary. I had to do the same with an organization in London, also reactionary. It is

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2.

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Here is a striking example. I had a girl stenographer, a daughter of a relative I have discovered here. She works for some American firm. The head of the firm sent her over to say that if I would consent to come to A. for a lecture tour on Russia, he would engage me for a year at five thousand pounds, would guarantee to get me in, and I replied that I would accept his offer if I could speak on all sorts of ~~Russ~~ subjects, not merely Russia. Oh, no, that I will not do." Do you see from where the wind blows? I am to be brought to A. as a peg for the reactionary outfit to hang their opposition to Russia on. Can I accept such a thing? Of course not, it only sickens me. I suppose the man from Chicago is the same sort. The only reason I bothered about writing him at all is because I want to find out what moves these people to want me. The man here is too obvious on the face of it, or he would not offer five thou- and pounds. He did say though that he knew he could make a handsome profit on my lectures, if I consented to ~~want to speak about Russia exclusively because I consider it the most important issue to day, but not under reactionary auspices.~~ And as no other wishes to have the facts on Russia, I am stuck for good and all.

As expected, the new managing editor of Colliers has sent back my article, the fool, if he had taken the trouble to look up Cronyn's correspondence with me he would have known that the article is to go to you and that I am to get a check for fifty. He may have omitted reading the letters because Colliers now wants to back out of paying the fifty. I have just written the new man as per inclosed copy. If he does not send the check by return mail I mean to let Harry go after the miserable outfit, I simply will not waste my time on writing for such sheets and not even get what they promise to pay. I am inclosing the article, please see whether Kencken would read it, ask him to give you an immediate reply, then if he refuses, ask Glen Frank of the Century, and if he too will not take it, see if Liveright will try to place it. My brother, I know that Collier's will refuse the return of the "Mardi Gras" bill. What a horrible question of earning a living looms up before me. I wish the man with the 22 mis/ columns in the October 9th of Publisher. I wrote an article about the "Heroic Women of the Russian Revolution" which DeKens was to try to place for me, but it has been tied up with the 27 for three weeks and there is no saying when he will be back in the office. DeKens sent me my book in the hands he might take it for publication. I wish he would better to let than to die, I suppose my book killed him. It is all so funny, I don't, I suppose also so true, that either D. or I can manage to get ahead.

that I would do, he never complained about his own condition, but the other day he wrote me a letter that really broke me up. He has

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3.

asked terribly hard on I left Germany, the material I had collected and brought with me. I had a beautiful little edition, he worked day and night on that for as the German printers are impossible on English work. Then he had to attend to the job he was doing for George Gollig. In short he worked beyond his strength and had no more or attention left over. He is trying to get a way to Italy — somewhere, for a while. But what is the money to come from? F. wrote me the hopes the Syndicated part of his book may bring S. something, I hope with all my heart. I feel that he must absolutely take a rest or he will go to pieces, even if some money of the long time has to be used. S. has given all his life for his idea, and at fifty three he can not even take a little vacation, it is all so. S. AXELER

Ballantine is not tired if my letters ooze gloom, I really do not feel very cheerful and must either write you as I feel or not at all. But you need not take it to heart so much. In the end it really does not matter. After all one lives to struggle, and if S. and I have chosen to become the champions of unpopular causes, we need hold no one responsible. We are doing what we must, and the consequences must be borne, that's all. I saw a beautiful performance of "The Man of Destiny" last night. That speech about the death of Napoleon in one's soul by Napoleon is really a masterpiece. All the energy of spirit one goes through for a minute of satisfaction. After all the idealist is like the scientist, he is pulled by a force beyond him which drives him on and on in the face of failure and defeat. So do not worry about my declining age, we must go on until the end as we always have.

The theatre here are a rotten lot, except Everyman Theatre and now the MacDona Players, one can get attention from them, but the others cling to every shilling and will not give up a seat to save their lives. I wrote the Manager of the Criterion where ~~the~~ Fats Morgana has been running for month, "we are selling out every seat" was the reply. I suppose if I re-presented an important paper they would speak differently. Well to hell with them. Somebody is taking me to see Spring Cleaning which is supposed to be a very good comedy. I saw a corking comedy in the Everyman Theatre, "Home Affairs" magnificently played. I wrote Fitzie about it. I wrote the producer, Mr MacDona for the stage version would then send it to F. I should think it would be a great success in A. It is a satire on politics which while dealing with France is applicable to all politicians and their dishonesty. Really "Home Affairs" and the production of "The Man of Destiny" last night were the only fine acting I have yet seen here. I did see "Man and Superman" Tanner was admirably done. But the play is so tedious and talky, and the rest of the company was so bad, I did not care for it. It was the same with "Arms and the Man" which is also not one of Shaw's best.

About Lomax, dear they are fakes, they send dozens of copies of one and the same thing, they have sent me dozens of copies about "the new Hoover" just because my name is mentioned in it, and they sent me an equal number of copies about Bill Haywood and Isidore Duna just because my name is mentioned. I have sent back a lot of clippings and have written them that that was not the stuff I am interested in, or asked you to pay for. I want clippings containing reviews of my book, clippings of my own articles if they appear, and one or two copies of newspapers. They sent me a lot of copies of an interview with the little girl who was in Cuba. Now why should we pay for such stuff? I have written them, it will be well if you too will write them. I want mainly book reviews that interests me more than anything else, tell them to stick to that now, nothing else. I am returning another badge of clippings to them to day. No, I do not think we need to invest 30 dollars

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4.

in clippings, they still owe me a lot of the two hundred you paid for, let them devote that to reviews of my book, never mind anything else.

You are wrong dear about the support I have received in America. Wald and a lot of other American women did an awful lot for her, I mean the first time she came to America. In fact, the Boston group managed big meetings for her and raised a lot of money, besides giving her care and comforts while she was with them. I wish I could find such a group of women here. I'd accomplish a tremendous lot. But so far I have found no sufficiently interested, except Rebecca. Lady Rhonda would call together some women who might arrange a meeting for us to talk about "The Heroic Women of the Revolution" so far I have heard from her. I have written Mrs. Pethick Lawrence, and what she will reply.

Yesterday I got a letter from Sylvia Panikoff asking whether I would call to see her, she has a sprained wrist therefore can not come to me. I will go of course, but the fact that she waited four months to ask me makes me somewhat suspicious. But then, the politicals in Russia are making me so unhappy I would do almost anything to help them. I even pocketed my pride and wrote Russel again as you will see by the inclosure.

The 15th your son will be nine years, he must be quite a man. What a lot of occupations he has, skating, driving school and ever so many other things. I wonder how he liked my gift. It is so impossible to know what Ian would like. I wish you'd tell me I would then know what to send when some one comes to America. My love and all the good wishes go to him and to you my dearest. I am so glad that you have the comfort of Ian. One day I will see him in his life.

I sort of felt in my bones that Teddy will not be very happy with the Provincetown Playhouse. It is terrible that a boy of his talents is so little recognized. But perhaps he will succeed better with his art, if only he would really devote himself to it. Give him my love and give Ian a hundred hugs and kisses.

Dearest, I wish I could see the three of you, I get so lonely and lonely for my own. Sometimes, I feel a lump in my throat. But one gets used to everything in life.

Love and smiling mine. Devoted love.

I have explained in my letter to Mr. Stowe copy of which I inclose all about the books. Your friend, who were to look me up have not done it so far, now here I have received the novel by one of the men. I read the "Life in the Flint" it is overwhelming. Has that man written anything else? Send it to me.

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The Emma Goldman Papers

870925314

[Letter] 1925 Feb. 10 [London to] Emma Goldman, [London] / Prince Hopkins. —
1 p. ; 20 × 16 cm.

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Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

18871

76, Palace Court, W.1.
February 10th, 1925.

Miss Emma Goldman,
3, Titchfield Terrace,
St. Wood's Wood,
N.W.8.

My dear Emma,

I have your letter of the 6th. It is very good of you to consider me for your committee, but the fact is that just now I am mixed up in a suit at law which makes this seem inadvisable.

Of course I agree with you that any method of exposing Alphonso is justifiable if it works. We shall have to see what is the outcome of Ibanez's action.

There is a young instructor in industrial questions at the University of London who has for some time been very anxious to meet you. I fancy that we are lunohing together next Tuesday, though I am a trifle vague about this. His name is Mr. Martin, and his best address is London School of Economics. His sympathies are at present socialistic. If you could spare time to drop him a note some time and let him know if you would be free for a little chat with him, I know that he would greatly appreciate it. I am certain that if you, using my name, were to suggest that the three of us might lunch together on Tuesday next, say, at the Trocadero, or any place that you appointed, he would very readily fall in with the arrangement, and of course I should be happy to come too.

Sincerely yours,

Prince Hopkins

The Emma Goldman Papers

870924211

[Letter] 1925 Feb. 10, Hythe [England to Emma Goldman, London] / W[illia]m C. Owen. — 1 p. ; 25 × 18 cm.

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Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

16202

20 Cliff R^d, Hythe, Kent.

Feb. 10/25.

Dear Comrade,

I came down here yesterday & expect to be here about two weeks, as I have to get better, somehow, than I have been feeling for some months past, if I am to be good for anything. On my return to town I hope to be able to get a small room in your neighborhood, but am not yet sure whether it will be available. Must get more central, as I want to do a lot of work at the British Museum Library, & these long journeys waste too much time & tire me to death.

Perhaps, being now free from the exhausting job I was holding down, I may be able to do more in the way of helping with meetings, &c. But the whole situation seems to me most difficult. I quite believe that there will be growing revolt against the infernal reaction now dominating the Labour & Revolutionary movement, but I am sure we have to recognise frankly that the Trade Unionists & political Socialists are at present completely dominant, that they monopolise all the public's thought & attention, & that it will be most difficult to get a hearing against them. In fact, the problem is how to catch hold at all.

The mail will be leaving in a few minutes. I hope, however, to talk things over with you on my return.

Yrs. Wm. C. Owen

The Emma Goldman Papers

850702131

[Letter] 1925 Feb. 11 [London to] Emma Goldman, [London] / Emmeline Pethick Lawrence. — 1 p. ; 29 × 22 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the Yale University Library. Institutional Location: Harry Weinberger Papers, Department of Manuscripts and Archives.

C O P Y

From Mrs. Pethick Lawrence.

11 Old Square,
Lincoln's Inn, W. C.2.
11th. February, 1925.

Dear Miss Goldman,

Thank you very much for your letter. It would be a great pleasure to me to meet you. Could you come to lunch with me one day in the week after next, either February 24th or 26th?

I feel that the situation in Russia is very complicated. We know - and can know - very little about it and as far as I am concerned I feel it is utterly impossible to take sides or to give adherence, to either one party or another. I am also convinced that it is far better for us to concentrate our energy and attention upon the things that need to be set right in our own country, where one can know a little bit about the facts and their possible results and reactions. It seems to me a wholly fruitless task for an individual in this country to attempt to interfere in political matters in another country.

In asking you therefore, to come to see me, I cannot hold out any idea that I shall be able to help. For one thing I am going away at the end of this month for a week or two abroad, and I have so many interests connected with the Labour Party at home that it is impossible for me to take on any more. But I shall be delighted to see you for a talk if you could spare the time.

Yours with all good wishes,

Emmeline Pethick Lawrence

Miss Emma Goldman,
3, Titchfield Terrace,
St. John's Wood,
N.W. 8.

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The Emma Goldman Papers

861029362

[Letter] 1925 Feb. 14, Stockholm [to] Emma Goldman, London / Albert Bonnier. —
1 p. ; 29 × 21 cm.
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Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.



4454

ALBERT BONNIER
STOCKHOLM

K.O.B./Kbg

Stockholm den
February 14th 1925.

Miss Emma Goldman,

3, Titchfield Terrace, St. John's Wood Road
London, N. W. 8

Dear Miss Goldman,

I thank you for your letter of Febr. 11th and have sent a copy
of your book to Mr. Georg Brandes.

Naturally I have advertised the book as widely as possible. The
published price of the same is Swedish Crowns 8:50.

Yours sincerely

Albert Bonnier

The Emma Goldman Papers

881010229

[Letter, 19]25 Feb. 14, London [to Emma] Goldman, [London] / Bertrand Russell. — 3 p. ; 20 × 15 cm.
Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the International Institute of Social History.
Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

25199



31 Sydney Street
London S W 3

14.2.25

Dear Miss Goldman

There are various points in your letter, which I will deal with one by one.

First: I have had a chance to read Dr. Levin's document at the time you are thinking of, as it had to be sent on at once. I have read since a document he sent me, & written, as he wished, a prefatory note, for which he has written to thank me.

Second: I am entirely willing to sign the letter to the Soviet Government enclosed in (Hobson's) letter. I remember Hobson well, & am sorry he has found me & others in England wrong. The fact is we have had such a strenuous time with our own politics, that we could hardly be expected to have sympathy, when we know that the Soviet case is a very different one.

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499

The Emma Goldman Papers

881010229

[Letter, 19]25 Feb. 14, London [to Emma] Goldman, [London] / Bertrand Russell. — 3 p. ; 20 x 15 cm.

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Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

25200

are less pre-occupied. But our work, public,
to electors & pushing the leaders we have
had in most interesting times.

Thirdly: I must try to explain why I have
not definitely joined your movement. I am
prepared to sign definite letters of protest to the
Soviet Government, or documented statements
as to the existing evil, in such cases, I know
exactly what I am committing myself to. But I
am not prepared to advocate any alternative
government in Russia. I am persuaded that
the evils would be at least as great under
any other party. And I do not regard the abolition of
all government as a thing which has any chance
of being brought about in our lifetimes or during
the twentieth century. I am therefore unwilling to

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500

The Emma Goldman Papers

881010229

[Letter, 19]25 Feb. 14, London [to Emma] Goldman, [London] / Bertrand Russell. — 3 p. ; 20 x 15 cm.

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Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

2

25201



31 Sydney Street

London S W 3

be associated with any movement which might seem to imply that a change of Government is desirable in Russia. I think ill of the Bolsheviks in many ways, but quite as ill of their opponents. I feel that your movement, even against your wishes, will appear as political opposition to the present Soviet Government; & not being so, I feel that my support must be limited to signing documents, such as the ABCs, which can so be taken as having any such implication.

I am very sorry to have failed you, & I hesitated for a long time. But the above view is what, in the end, I felt to be the only possible one.

Yours sincerely,

Bertrand Russell

501

The Emma Goldman Papers

870116001

[Letter] 1925 Feb. 14, Brighton [England to] Emma [Goldman, London] / John Turner. — 1 p. ; 20 × 15 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the International Institute of Social History.
Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

6691

Brighton
Feb 14. 1925

Dear Emma

Your of yesterday has reached me enclosing the cutting from the Soviet Union.

It would be a good thing to have particular respecting the killing of the Communists by the Peasants and the reported hunger strikes of the Moscow Political Prisoners could be obtained. They would certainly have considerable news value. As always

Sincerely & paternally yours
John Turner

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The Emma Goldman Papers

880913003

[Letter] 1925 Feb. 15, Stockholm [to] Emma Goldman, [London] / R[agnar]
C[asparsson]. — 1 p. ; 29 × 22 cm.
Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from Arbetarrörelsens Arkiv (Archives of the Swedish Labour Movement).

Emma Goldman



Stockholm, den

15 febr. 1925

Gehrter Kamerad.

Ihren Artikel über Gompers haben wir erhalten und denselben Ihrem Wunsche gemäss an die Zeitung Brand übersandt; wir hatten keine Verwendung für den Artikel, da wir Gompers schon sehr ausführlich behandelt haben.

Wir danken Ihnen für Ihr Anerbieten uns Korrespondenzen aus England zu senden. Wir möchten in diesem Zusammenhange nur bemerken, dass wir am liebsten solche Artikel wünschen, die aktuelle politische und gewerkschaftliche Angelegenheiten behandeln, welche gerade jetzt das allgemeine Interesse in Europa in Anspruch nehmen. Theoretische Artikel ziehen wir vor, selber zu schreiben, da wir es uns nicht leisten können dieselben zu kaufen.

Betreffs des Preises ist es schwer im Voraus ein Abkommen zu treffen. Ich hoffe aber doch, dass wir in der Beziehung zu einem solchen Resultate gelangen können, dass Sie befriedigt wird. Wie Sie wohl verstehen können, steht es wirtschaftlich schlecht mit der Zeitung, und deshalb sind wir gezwungen die Ausgaben für Honorare so viel wie möglich einzuschränken, denn so ist es ja leider meistens mit Arbeiterzeitungen.

Mit freundlichen Grüssen

R.C.

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503

The Emma Goldman Papers

870924233

[Letter] 1925 Feb. 17, London [to Emma] Goldman, [London] / [Lady] Rhondda. — 1 p. ; 25 × 18 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the International Institute of Social History.
Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

TELEPHONE NO.
~~XXXXXXXXXX~~
Victoria 7174.

16216
15, CHELSEA COURT,

LONDON, S.W.3.

February 17th, 1925.

Dear Miss Goldman,

I was glad to get your letter, and to know that you are now ready to meet some English women likely to be interested in what you have to tell them about women of the Russian Revolution. Would Friday, the 27th, at 3.30 p.m. suit you? Unless I hear to the contrary by ^{tomorrow} ~~Monday morning~~ I will send out a few invitations for that afternoon.

Yours sincerely,

Rhondda

Miss Goldman,
3, Titchfield Terrace,
St. John's Wood Road,
N.W.8.

Perhaps you will be kind enough
to ring up if the date does not suit you —
Victoria 7174.

The Emma Goldman Papers

870920249

[Letter] 1925 Feb. 17 [London to Emma Goldman, London] / David Soskice. — 2 p. ; 17 x 22 cm.

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Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

5051

to Mr Sanger, and will let
you know whether he can come.
Please don't be angry with
people. Everyone has so much
on hand, I mean everyone
ready to join in a good cause,
and there are so few such
persons. Then, ten years of
increased horrors have undoubtedly
blinded human consciousness.

Good bye

Yours very sincerely,

David Soskice

My wife and children send
their best wishes.

TELEPHONE NO.
RIVERSIDE 882.

5, GIRDLE ROAD,
BROOK GREEN,

W. 14.

February 17 - 1925

Dear Friend,

I realize fully your difficulties
and sympathize with you deeply.
Such is life, the power of money
and political or other Party
interests in England. I am afraid
you will find it very difficult
to find an experienced organizer
who would like to undertake
your work, and if you find
one, he will be too costly,
probably not less than £50
a month.

Please send me, say, 40 tickets
@ 1/- each, and I will do

The Emma Goldman Papers

870920249

[Letter] 1925 Feb. 17 [London to Emma Goldman, London] / David Soskice. —
2 p. ; 17 x 22 cm.
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Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

my best to sell them, though I am afraid Tellington is a very far way off, and very few would like to go out so far on an evening. In any case I will send you the £2 for the tickets. My car will work as steward, and I will undertake to bring 8-10 stewards (including Hilda Coff and his son).

There is in Hammerwich a pretty large hall - ~~Lime Grove~~ Lime Grove Baths Hall. But I should advise to take rather the Town Hall in April or May than the L. G. Baths Hall earlier.

5052
We have written to Mr. Ch. P. Scott and received a more or less negative answer. He says he is out of things (which is true as he is 85 years old), and that it would be a great risk to take a hall for you. He advises me to write to C. P. Scott, the Editor of the "Manchester Guardian". But I believe it would be useless. Scott is a 60-80 year old man, and he knows I am an irreconcilable anarchist. He would not agree.

We shall be very happy to have you with us on Monday next. I am waiting to right

The Emma Goldman Papers

870920100

[Letter] 1925 Feb. 18 [London to] Emma Goldman, [London] / Stan Harding. —
2 p. ; 25 x 20 cm.
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Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

4771

MUSEUM 8979.

35, DEVONSHIRE STREET,
THEOBALDS ROAD, W.C.

Feb 18th 1925

Dear Emma Goldman,

Indeed I well understand your preoccupations. First at present my own are also overwhelming:—
1) I'm lobbying in connection with a debate in which my case is to be raised; 2) I am revising, i.e., re-writing a book which must be ready very shortly, 3) I am helping the Journalistic organisations in the clerical part of the extensive publicity work they are doing for my case, etc., etc! So I know see hardly any one except M. P. I fear that I shall be able to do very little for your next meeting but would like to take ten or twelve tickets to begin with.

Christy's wrote me earlier in the week in connection with the same lecture at Streatham — without however mentioning that it was at the Constitutional Club there! In any case I could not have accepted as I am speaking on China at the Central London S.D.F. branch that night.

I am so glad that you will probably dine with me one night next week. Friday

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1925 Feb. 18 [London to] Emma Goldman, [London] / Stan Harding. —
2 p. ; 25 × 20 cm.
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Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

4772

Saturday or Sunday evening would be
good days for me. So let us dine
here. It is cozy & there are some Russian
relics that I would like to show you!

Sincerely yours,

Stan Harding

P.S.

Christy would I think have taken
15 shillings on The Strachan Lecture which
had a seven guinea fee - if I recollect rightly.
But I really don't know exactly what his
commission is, as his bills have generally
covered several engagements and I have
never done the simple sum involved!

The Emma Goldman Papers

850702132

[Letter] 1925 Feb. 18 [London to] Emma Goldman, [London] / Emmeline Pethick Lawrence. — 2 p. ; 36 × 22 cm.

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Copy

From F. W. Pethick Lawrence, M.P.

11 Old Square,
Lincoln's Inn, W.C.2.
18th. February, 1925.

Dear Miss Goldman,

I received your letter yesterday morning and also the typewritten document you sent me under separate cover.

I am returning it to you as I shall not have time to read it. I am going abroad on March 6th and from now until then I shall have some difficulty in fulfilling all my commitments.

In reply to your letter I feel I must say that I have considered this matter quite carefully and that I have definitely come to the decision not to take any part on one side or the other of the present Russian situation. It is quite impossible for anyone not on the spot to be able to adjudicate without giving very careful study to the matters.

I do not for one instant doubt that there is atrocious cruelty under the Soviet Government, just as there was under the Tsarist Government and just as there is — alas — under every Government. The terrible part about all political revolution is that after a tyrant has been crushed by methods of force, the new Government becomes the tyrant in its place. It is always the same thing and always will be until there is a definite change in our methods of achieving freedom.

When my country is involved in the iniquity as it was during the war, as it was during the suppression of freedom in Ireland, I feel it my duty as a citizen to make whatever effort is possible to arouse my fellow citizens to sense of our common crime and our common responsibility. But when my country is not implicated and I cannot feel that I have any share in the responsibility or any power to alter the circumstances, I definitely refuse to spend my energy in a protest which I consider to be entirely futile.

So far as I am concerned I do not want to hear or read in detail of atrocities which I knew only too well are happening. I have had first hand

The Emma Goldman Papers

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[Letter] 1925 Feb. 18 [London to] Emma Goldman, [London] / Emmeline Pethick Lawrence. — 2 p. ; 36 × 22 cm.

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2 - -

experience and I need no conversion as to the facts. I know there is hardly any depth of cruelty to which men urged by political passions or official position will not descend. But there is work enough to do to attempt to remedy the terrible cruelties and injustice one sees on every hand, and one must keep one's mind and thought a little free for other sides of life.

If you do not approve of this, do not be grieved or angry with me; but perhaps in that case it would be better if you do not come to see me as I do not want it to be an unpleasant time for you.

Yours sincerely,

(signed) Emmeline Pethick Lawrence

encl.

Miss Emma Goldman,
3, Titchfield Terrace,
N.W.8.

The Emma Goldman Papers

870925310

[Letter] 1925 Feb. 19 [London to] Emma [Goldman, London] / Prince Hopkins. —
2 p. ; 15 × 20 cm.

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Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

76 Palace Court

Feb. 19, 1925

Dear Emma -

Thank you
for your book. I
read it through
at a sitting, which
is evidence enough
that I enjoyed it.
I'll send in a review
of it to Labor Age.

The Emma Goldman Papers

870925310

[Letter] 1925 Feb. 19 [London to] Emma [Goldman, London] / Prince Hopkins. —
2 p. ; 15 × 20 cm.
*Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the International Institute of Social History.
Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.*

15867

Curious, that I
should have remarked
to you at table on
the likeness of Bolsho-
vism and Jesuitism;
I saw where you'd
used almost my words
on that topic.

Sincerely
Prince Hopkins

The Emma Goldman Papers

870924229

[Letter] 1925 Feb. 19, London [to Emma] Goldman, [London] / [Lady] Rhondda. —
1 p. ; 25 × 18 cm.
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Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.*

TELEPHONE NO.
KENSINGTON 3448

16282

15, CHELSEA COURT,

LONDON, S.W.3.

February 19th, 1925.

Dear Miss Goldman,

An awfully awkward thing has happened. All the women's organisations are up in arms in regard to the dismissal of married women by the London County Council. The elections come on on March 5th, and the women's organisations met here yesterday, and were very anxious to give a reception to the press before the elections. The only date they could manage was Friday, the 27th, and they were anxious that I should give the reception for them. I did not know what to do, but as it was something for women I thought you would not mind our date being altered.

I wonder whether you would care to come to the press reception on the 27th? I think you would find it interesting. You would meet there a number of women who are very keen feminists, and it might give you an insight into our women's movement here. Also, we could fix on our date for you to meet the internationally interested women.

Please forgive me.

Yours sincerely,



Miss Goldman,

513

The Emma Goldman Papers

870920239

[Letter] 1925 Feb. 19 [London to Emma Goldman, London] / David Soskice. —
2 p. ; 16 × 11 cm.

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Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

TELEPHONE NO.
RIVERSIDE 882.

5033

5, GIRDLE ROAD,
BROOK GREEN,
W. 14.

Feb. 19 - 1925

Dear Friend,

Tickets and programmes just arrived. I
will do my best to make use of them.
It makes me happy to learn that
you are not losing courage, as I feel
deeply how depressing the general
inertia in the matter must
be to you.

No luck with Mrs. Sawyer. She
has been ill with influenza last
five weeks, and she is going away
for a recovery. She says she would
like extremely to meet you,
but it must be at a later date.

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The Emma Goldman Papers

870920239

[Letter] 1925 Feb. 19 [London to Emma Goldman, London] / David Soskice. —
2 p. ; 16 × 11 cm.

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Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

503A

As to next Monday, we should
be very pleased if you came to
dinner; about 7.30 pm if convenient
but so you have let me know.
I should think that you might
accept the invitation of the
Liberal organisation in the
East End. It is a useful place
to speak in, and the fact that
the Liberal party has declared
against Socialism should not
stand in the way, as the Liberals
in majority are real Progressives
and many of them are real
Democrats.
Good Bye, dear friend
Yours sincerely,
David Soskice

Emma Goldman

The Emma Goldman Papers

870925204

[Letter] 1925 Feb. 20, London [to Edward] Carpenter, [Guildford, England] / [Emma Goldman].— 1 p. ; 17 × 16 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the International Institute of Social History.
Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

15687

3. Fitchfield Terrace
St John's Wood Road.
London, N, W.8.

Feb. 20th. 1925.

Dear Mr Carpenter.

I have wanted to write you ever since I received your card asking me to a cup of tea should I be in Guildford. But the campaign to arouse some response to the sufferings of the politicals in Bolshevik prisons has absorbed all my time and energy and has made it impossible for me to go anywhere outside of London. But I do want to see you very much, indeed I had hoped for many years that we might meet, but always there was something on my previous visits which prevented my meeting you. I am anxious that this time I should at last have the great pleasure of seeing the great Libertarian whose works have so inspired me all through my public life.

I wonder if you are free next Tues. Feb. 24. ? Will you kindly let me know? I will then come out. Perhaps you would be good enough to tell me how often the trains go in the evening. I mean I would like to come out about four and get back sometimes the same evening. Can that be done? Just tell me what trains to take to get to Guildford and back to London. I am still very much of a stranger in England.

Faithfully.

The Emma Goldman Papers

870924158

[Letter] 1925 Feb. 20, London [to Samuel Eliot] Morison, [Oxford, England (fragment)] / [Emma Goldman]. — 1 p. ; 26 x 18 cm.

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Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

3, Fitchfield Terrace.

16123

St John's Wood Road.

London, N, W.8.

Feb. 20th. 1925.

Dear Professor Morison.

You will be interested to know what our Committee has been doing all this time. The inclosed announcements will explain. We are also trying to secure a Hall either in Hampstead, or Chelsea for a lecture on Education in Russia. Miss Rebecca West will then preside. So far we have not been very successful, but we are not discouraged.

The inclosed correspondence with Mr Russell will interest you I am sure. It is amazing for a man of R's mental quality to reason as he does. Perhaps I ought not to worry him any more, except that I do want to point out the fact he does not grasp that if there will be a forcible overthrow of the Bolsheviks by the peasantry the responsibility for that will fall upon the shoulders of Messrs Russell and the rest rather than on our work. The peasantry is being driven to the very brink of human endurance, already some of them have ~~maxed~~ engaged in acts of vengeance, having killed about fifty Bolshevik officials in the villages within two months and if the regime continues to drive the peasants to despair it is certain that they will rise and slaughter the guilty as well as the innocent. Whereas, an organized, concerted international protest on the part of people whose names stand for Liberalism in the world would, I am certain have a restraining influence on the madness of Moscow, thus ward off the impending vengeance of a people lashed into blind fury. I can not understand how such men as Mr Russell, Laski and the rest will not see clearly what is certain to happen in Russia within the near future. Well, the old saying again justifies itself, namely that there are none so blind who will not see.

You aren't by chance going to be in London the week end of March sixth? I should be so glad to have you at our meeting. It promises to be a very hot affair. Islington is exclusively a proletarian district, many Communists live there. You can well imagine that they will come in full force. But that can not be helped. It will make the meeting exciting to say the least. It occurs to me that perhaps you and Mrs Morison intend to see Barrymore in Hamlet, perhaps you could combine the two affairs, attend the meeting Friday the sixth and see Hamlet Saturday. I'd be most happy to book tickets for you to save you the trouble. Let me know. But unless you can come conveniently, please do not do so because of the meeting. It will perhaps be more interesting when we have the other venture with Rebecca presiding.

I hope your cold is completely gone and that you are again in good health. Please remember me kindly to Mrs Morison and your cousin if she is still with you.

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The Emma Goldman Papers

881023227

[Letter] 1925 Feb. 21, London [to Alexander Berkman, Berlin] / E[mma Goldman]. —
2 p. ; 24 × 19 cm.

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Institutional Location: Alexander Berkman Archive.

✓
3. Titchfield Terrace.
St John's Wood Road.

London, N. W.8.

Feb. 21st. 1925.

Dear Sash. This is not to be the usual megille, just a short
reply to your letter of the 19th. in re publishers proposition.

First, in my blue letter file which I left with you
either in the back of it, or under D. you will find several
contracts, among them the one from Doubleday Page giving me
all the European rights. At least I think I left the file and
clipping book with you. If you do not have them, they are in
one of the boxes of books left with Kater. But I rather think
you have them.

Secondly, I do not want my book abridged, that is what
Bonnier of Stockholm tried to get me to consent to, I refused.
I do not know what could be left out without harm to the whole
work. Yes, the second preface, that is unnecessary if the two
volumes appear in one. If the man wants the book bad enough he
will consent to the full text, if not, let him go. I suffered so
much from the muddle of abridgement of my book and now of yours
I don't care to have the same business repeat itself. Suggest
to ~~them~~ man to get out a cheap edition on thin paper. I was told
here that if a ten thousand copy edition was gotten out it would
come to about eleven thousand dollars. All for two shillings
in the States? I don't know. But if it will be sold at three
shillings, I don't care. I will be glad to see it. ~~workers.~~
If I have any success with my tour and can organize our people
into some kind of party, I still want to get my book
into a two shilling edition, I am not sure I will be able to
sell it at that price.

Thirdly, if the man takes the book I want you to
write to him after a year. I am sure he will be glad to
put the chapter in the form of a brochure. Several com-
rades here suggested this idea. I can not consent to it for the
present, but eventually I will either have a cheap edition
or let the chapter go separately. I would like this proviso
made with the German publisher.

Fourthly, about the price, get as much as you can
from him. Naturally, it is not worth bothering if he is a cheap
scate. But the fact that his magazine has existed for so many
years proves that the guy must have readers, must have a public.
At any rate he already has his own advertising medium and that
means an awful lot. Now there is no reason why we should let him
get away with making profits in return for a few measely dollars.
Let him make you an offer how much he wants to give, then you
will be able to judge. I really don't know. Naturally, I want the
book circulated among the German masses, of course he is crazy
if he thinks he will dispose of fifty thousand copies. But that

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Be

his look out if I sell him the rights for an immediate sum.
To sum up, no abridgement except second paragraph, some substantial outright sum especially as he wants the rights for Germany Austria and Switzerland, must have the right to issue concluding chapter in pamphlet form after one year. However if the book is in a cheap edition, I will not press the last condition since the masses will be able to get the book if it is at 2, or 3, marks a copy.

Mrs Koller has been trying publishers for over a year. Perhaps she also tried Kiepenheuer. If not he might be tried, but fiction houses are never interested in socio political works. Anyway, I am tired of trying publishers.

Now dear, I want you to see what you can get from the man, I do not think he ought to get the book for very much less than five hundred dollars. As to being a Nationalist book, well, if there are no others. The Syndicalist could have gotten the book out in a cheap edition, why didn't they? The main thing is to ~~maximize~~ circulate the work among the workers, if the doctor can do it that is enough provided he gets it out in full and pays the price we want.

Naturally, you would feel tired, you slaved so many months and there seems to be no let up.

I saw the most marvelous interpretation of Hamlet I have ever seen, Barrymore beats Kainz and that is going some. I thought of you dearest and wished you had been with me. What a clown Moissie is in comparison with Barrymore, no wonder Stella was so disgusted.

Goodby for t. day.

Affectionately.

cf

not read
What did you do with
Alex Ballantine's letter?
Send it back please

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The Emma Goldman Papers

870925319

[Letter] 1925 Feb. 21, London [to] Emma Goldman, [London] / Prince Hopkins. —
1 p. ; 20 × 16 cm.
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Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

15876

76, Palace Court,
LONDON, W.2. 21st February 1925.

Miss Emma Goldman,
3, Fitchfield Terrace,
St. John's Wood Road,
N.W.8.

Dear Emma,

Your note came yesterday. I've something marked
down for that evening, but I may be able to get away.
In any case, I'll be glad to take 4 tickets for which
I enclose cheque.

Sincerely,

Prince Hopkins

The Emma Goldman Papers

870924163

[Letter, 1925] Feb. 21 [Oxford, England to Emma] Goldman, [London] / S[amuel] E[liot] Morison. — 1 p. ; 18 x 11 cm.
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Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

16129

21 Feb

Dear Miss Goldman

I thank you for letting me see the Russell and Lawrence correspondence. It is good news that your work is progressing and I hope we can get up to hear you in Feb. — but it is doubtful whether I can get away just then. Thanks for your

kind offer to book us tickets to Hamlet — but I don't think we could stay over Saturday in any case.

I am now trying to find out about the book on the opium question — if you have any pamphlets or information on the subject perhaps you could send it along.

Sincerely

S. E. Morison

P.S. We are going to Spain for 3 weeks about 15 March.

The Emma Goldman Papers

870924039

[Letter, 1925] Feb. 22, St. Jean [France to Emma] Goldman, [London] / Odette Keun. — 6 p. ; 26 × 20 cm.

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15940
Lou Bastidon, Saint-Jean, Grasse (A. M.) Feb. 22

Dear Miss Goldman,

I am up now, thank
after having had an awful time with a wheezed
ear that developed an "oto" after my influenza,
and did not give me a moment's rest from
pain till an incision was made in it. We
have such foggy sun here at present that
the warmth is restoring me rapidly. I do
hope that your health is good again. You
really are a plucky woman, carrying on in
that bitter climate with a bad cold. Don't
worry it — those things are so threatening,
and land one in such complications before
one knows what they are about.

I read your letter, the
resolution, and the articles with intense interest.
(Thank you ever so much for sending me the
notice re my book. I was quite pleased ... I
don't subscribe to press-cutting agencies, as the
article came as a surprise). No tell names shall I

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15949

Translate at once the article you wrote on "the
Political Prisoners" in Russia, which appeared
in the "Daily News?" You see, that has
nothing to do with economic conditions, (which
change so rapidly in Russia that our papers
there want only the present systems), and
I think it might easily be taken by the
"Quotidien" to which I would write. Shall
I ask them too if they want the article
"Heroic Women of the Revolution?" That
might be more difficult to place — the "Quotidien"
is a pro-Herriot paper, has been leading a
campaign against French communists, and
might not want to draw attention to anything
that could give some justice to the Bolsheviks.
Such an article, of course, would be better
in one of our reviews, but I see nothing,
except perhaps the "Europe Nouvelle," (which
is rather open-minded), that would care to
publish a description of that kind. In this
country, you would fall, as I did, between
two stools — the Communist Press will

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15950 2

Remember you, the Socialist Press will avoid pub-
lishing anything that could lead a glimpse of
good to the Soviets. One can be impartial
and liberal-minded only in books as soon
as one enters a newspaper. — or tries to — one
must belong to a political group, of the same
shade of opinion as the paper itself. — Think
it over, & tell me as soon as possible what
you decide.

Oh! I am so sorry about your
financial difficulties! I have no commercial
capacities myself, and long ago I've had to
give up all ideas of a marketable success. I
could only express my own ideas and my own
feelings, and they never seemed to fit in any-
where. I saw too vividly the different sides
of a question, and satisfied neither my friends
nor my adversaries. If I hadn't had a
little money of my own, I'd never have been
able to pull through. So let me know how
you are getting on. I wish you luck most
cordially.

I am glad you obtained your
"Resolution" at your meeting. If it is circulated

The Emma Goldman Papers

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Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

18951
widely, it may help people to realize something of the danger of Bolshevism, but I do not think for a minute that it will influence the Russian Government at all. I do not know anything about the English Communists — in France they are of two categories: the very young, who like adventure, fight, loud denunciations, even the demonstrations, but who are absolutely immature, rather futile in mind, and often under-educated; and older people, who are tied to the party, and who, for all sorts of reasons, political ambition, economic advantages, literary conspicuousness (or attempts at literary conspicuousness!) follow out blindly, the "note d'ordre" of the 3rd International. I have never met a Western Communist who had a real scientific grip-
"never." I was intensely interested by your two books in Russia. I am not always of your way of thinking (it does not seem to me, dear Miss Goldman, that Anarchy is the great remedy for our political evils) but the picture you give is so vivid, so brave, so living &

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15952
was all
So I suppose that it should remain as a historical monument of Russia when you read it. I have gone over it very carefully again. I am afraid that, from the point of view of a French translation, it would be extremely difficult to find a publisher. You see, the conditions you depict are already four years old. We have had scores of books about Russia during that period; it will always be interesting to students and historians, but the public — and therefore the publishers — want a description of the country as it is at the time they read about it. To day, nobody would even buy the "Russia Now" by Hellen. Because it is over a year old. Things change so quickly; French journalists are always going back to Russia & sending home continued articles about what they are actually seeing, so the public is well-informed. Of course the theoretical part of your book is as true to-day as when you wrote it, but by now people's minds are stabilized, so to speak, with regard to the theory of Bolshevism. They are either for it or against it — so what they ask for is only news

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15953
And with this new French Embassy in Moscow,
much easier coming, in. French reporters &
writers have greater facilities, & being under
less of suspicion, & thus more readily than before.
Do you speak French fluently?
In that case, I wonder whether anything
could be done to enable you to find some
investigations in Paris.
I hope you will find time to
tell me what you are doing, & to answer me
on the subject of the article I mentioned,
I think, that I had written to two newspapers
about you, but I had no success because the
first one dated from four years ago. But the
article on the prisoners is still a burning
question, so it may have a better chance.
Good luck, and with all my
most cordial wishes,

Odette Keun

The Emma Goldman Papers

870116020

[Letter, 19]25 Feb. 22 [London to] Emma [Goldman, London] / T[h]om[as] H. Keell].— 1 p.; 22 × 17 cm.

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Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

6733
445 High Road
N.W. 10
Feb. 22/25

Dear Emma

The Rand Book Store have sent me two large boxes of literature— one weighed 650 lbs, too big for such a purpose. It burst in places & was very difficult to get into our gateway. I found on top some loose pamphlets— "The Truth about the Boylshaviki" & "Brief on behalf of the Plaintiffs-in-Error" (your appeal to the Supreme Court). Also copies of "God & the State." These came through the break in the big case. I have not opened either. Evidently these are for you. What are we to do with them? (31 Windsor St.)

I have received a letter from G. Frost, & Leeds, saying we are to take no notice of anyone except himself & Comrade Hey, who is secretary, & can presumably be addressed c/o G. Frost, although he does not say so. He also says deposits have been paid on two halls— the Albert Hall (holds 1200) and Jewish comrades hall (500). Unfortunately he gives no dates.

I am writing to him this evening, asking communications to be sent to you only for meetings.

Will see you Wednesday evening.

Yours fraternally

Tom

The Emma Goldman Papers

870918307

[Letter] 1925 Feb. 23 Turö [Denmark to] Emma Goldman, [London] / Karin [Michaelis].— 4 p. ; 36 x 21 cm.

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Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

13262

Thurs 23 februar 1925

My dear wonderful Emma Goldman-

Your letter received, I was again with you and wished only to embrace you and tell, how I loved and wanted always to stay near you.

The same evening I started to work: That is, I wrote an article upon your

book and yourself, as good as I possibly could. And today I send

it to my paper. But as my paper, the next to Politiken most worldknown

danish paper berlingske Tidende, is very cautious and very conserva

tive(in spite of hard trying not to be so) I dont know, if they take

it. We shall see. Otherwise I try some other place. How terrible for

you with the misunderstanding with Doubleday Page, and how more than

funny tragicomical that but two of the critics found not.

Herewith the clippings and letter, which I read with enormous interest.

Now you know at the beginning I was bewildered and believed it was a let

ter you had got from somebody and therefore I could not understand that y

- even you- should write about petty things. Then I began as I

found out, and then it was my Emma Goldman, just I as I know her.

You and Alexander Berkman, he and you. I got a letter from him and immedi

tely I poured my heart out for him(not about Charlie). I feel quite

certain that he and shall be great friends, why I cannot tell. But o

you see, you are so great and so clever that I to you never could be of

of real significance. But a man never look so sharp. And my heart is go

good and clean, this I know, and for Sasha it is something. Oh, Emma dear

what would I have given to have been with you at this time, and sending

him letter in his living buried place! Once upon a time you must tell m

me very much about him. please!

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13263

Child I as am in many ways, I thought at first to write to our king - he is just a grown up nobody, in order to get you a passport for here, but then I sensed the foolishness in my idea and gave it up. It may be so, that you never get passport for here, but if I could work it out, could you then go back to England? There is the one thing making it possible: when I speak about your writing against Sovjet- the people dont understand very much, the possibility is there. You see!

I am again reading your book in English, thank you so very much for both the two volumes and the swedish edition, which I shall make some other people read. Still I believe there is no chance for getting it out here. Berkman's book my publisher now is reading in English. To-day just after beginning he wrote me, that it must be reduced with one third - at least! But when he has finished he shall write again. I also think it ought to be shortened. The beginning is too broad for non American, not interested in the Homestead affair. I also am trying to make propaganda for the russian political prisoners. Not thinking upon getting the book gathered by non Leviens and Berkman, out here, but solely by writing myself about some Chapters especially Spiridonova, also using what you told in your book and The prison without bars, and the young girl with the many holy fathers far up and far away.

You see, I am not lazy.

Today I got a very long and strictly confidentially letter from Agnes. After this I think really there is no way back to her Indian husband. Her last letter before this was terrible downhearted, so, that I feared completely break down or suicide. But today it seems that her work has got a good grip in her and she will come out alright. If she only had not the money difficulties, and I am not in the possibility to help

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13264

3 her otherwise than to take her here, when she has finished her treatment

do you believe in it? I feel very uncertain about it.

Charlie is going to America for two weeks, sailing this Saturday. It is

some business, I wish he should make some good out of it. And the time at sea will surely do him very well. Did I not tell you he was drinking?

It is not for me to believe. I thought it was the first thing I mentioned for you. But perhaps my poor English makes you misunderstand my

words. Well, he is now trying to come over it. I have no safe belief that he ever shall, but if I am near all the time, I think I can keep him away

from most of it and get him to do real good work. He has no strength.

His character is half very beautiful— from his mother, a fine and powerful soul, and half muddled from his father. Charlie always speaks about

telling the truth and telling me I am a liar, but the fact is, that he lies to himself and to me— while I only lies when I think he cannot stand (as most men) the truth. Why is it so? Tell me. Why cannot man and woman be just as they are and give themselves just as they are?

My whole life I strove for that, but never found it in love only in friendship. And why, tell me this has he so many friends who are no good in every way? He keeps up with people I never would have given one hour of my life. I have the most wonderful friends and never lose one.

I understand your attitude concerning Genia, but I love her and I understand why she has become just so. The worst thing with Genia is that nobody— I included— ever tells her the plain truth. We fear her temperament, her sorrow and then so many people depend upon her and their feelings are mingled with egoistical purposes. Often and again I

feel, I am the only one until death clinging to her. If something went wrong everybody would drop her, in one way or another. Then perhaps

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15248

is why I always try to make my friends- the best of them- to understand

her and not condemn certain things. I have no time to write letters but

simply, I could not let to do. No dearest Emma, my friend, I could

not. Please do never feel any, not the slightest obligation to write me, I

you have far more important things to do. This is my deadly earnest

Goodbye, forget me not. It is for me so good to have met you

Karin.

The Emma Goldman Papers

900417000

[Letter] 1925 Feb. 24, London [to] Havelock Ellis, [London] / Emma Goldman. —
1 p.; 34 x 21 cm.
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Department of Manuscripts.

EMMA GOLDMAN

3, Titchfield Terrace, London N.W. 6,

February 24, 1925.

Mr. Havelock Ellis,
14, Dover Mansions,
Canterbury Rd., Brixton, S.W.9.

Dear Havelock Ellis,-

If you only knew how deep is my grief that in my stand on Russia, I am giving aid and comfort to the "Times" and all the other papers of the same calibre. I came near to being broken mentally in the struggle as to whether I should or should not come out in criticism of the forces which crushed the Russian Revolution and enslaved the people. But after nearly two years, I came to the conclusion that silence in regard to the appalling conditions I left behind in Russia would make me a party to them. I assure you, I realised that the forces which in the past have misrepresented and villified my ideals and work, would compete with each other in praising me to the very heavens for my stand on Russia; but I had no choice: I had to speak out, no matter the consequences.

Ah! if only the Labour Press were big enough to value the right of independent thinking! But in my long years of public activity I have come to ~~realise~~ that most Labour papers believe as little in the right of free expression, and are as unwilling to face unpleasant facts, as the "Times", the "Daily Mail" or any other reactionary sheet. When I came out of Russia, and the "New York World" approached me for a series of articles, I was determined to first try the Labour and Liberal Press of the United States. Not one of them would accept what I had to say about my experience in Russia. I was then faced with the alternative of silence, or the "New York World". I chose the latter, because I felt that it was imperative for me to speak for the aged victims of the Bolshevik regime.

During my first two months in England, I tried by utmost to reach the leading men and women in the independent Labour Party and Trade Union Movement. They soon made me realise that here, too, the Labour Press would refuse to take what I had to give about Russia. In fact, one man in the I.L.P. openly admitted this, saying, "We know that the "Daily Herald", so far as Russia is concerned, is a lying sheet; but it is the only paper we have; we must stick to it." Thus, I was again put before the alternative of silence, or speaking out, no matter from what forum.

At present I am between two fires, and yet I feel that I must go on. I am confident that the time is not far when the very people who to day engage in a conspiracy of silence will be forced, by the overwhelming facts coming out of Russia, to take the position I am taking now. I console myself that by that time I shall have paved the way for a better understanding of the Russian debacle, which might have proven a great socialist experiment but for the Communist State crushing every attempt of the people towards a new social structure.

I have no desire, dear Havelock Ellis, to burden you with material on Russia; but when you get back to London, I hope you will let me send you a document about the condition of the politicals in the Solovitzky Monastery. You have done so much in bringing about a better understanding of the causes of crime and the inhumanity of prisons, that you, of all people, should know the barbarous treatment meted out to the political as well as to the common criminal in the country which dares to call itself a socialist republic.

Thank you so much for your good wishes. I cannot tell you how much it helps to know that there is one great personality in a country who understands the necessity of the work I am doing. I appreciate that more than I can express.

Sincerely yours

Emma Goldman

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The Emma Goldman Papers

831121014

[Letter] 1925 Feb. 24, London [to] Minna Low[en]so[h]n, [New York] / [Emma Goldman]. — 2 p. ; 31 x 20 cm.

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3, Titchfield Terrace,
St. John's Wood Road,
LONDON, N.W.8.

February 24th.. 1925.

My dear Minna,

I understood perfectly the delay of your writing. I had heard from Stella and others that you arrived in a blizzard and that you were being entertained by all sorts of friends . . . and naturally you could not find time to write to me. I am happy for you, dear Minna, that you are back home among friends and that you will again be able to take up the work you so faithfully did for many years. I am especially glad because I know that you will do your utmost to get subscriptions for S's book. From all I hear it promises to be a beautiful edition. Do your utmost, dear girl, to interest people in this great work. You have no idea how much it will help our friend.

I wonder whether Harry has sent the balance of the sum he still had on hand for S. The work which our friend did for the Baldwin Committee has cost considerably more than he anticipated and has swallowed up an addition amount . . . the result is that he is hard put to for funds. I wish you would see to it that whatever money Harry still has on hand should immediately be sent to S.

I have written Harry a long letter and have sent him copies of reports of our Meetings at the South Place Institute. I am sorry you were not there . . . I know it would have made you very happy to see that there are some people in London eager to get light on Russia. Naturally the Communists came in full force and tried their utmost to break up the Meeting but Colonel Wedgewood makes such a beautiful Chairman . . . it was his presence which really helped to pacify the fanatics . . . they were rather surprised at being given so much opportunity to express their pent up feelings. On the whole I think that the more sensible among them went away at least more thoughtful than they were ~~when~~ when they came to the Meeting.

Since then our Committee has been christened and now has a definite name "The British *Committee*

For the Defence of Political Prisoners
in Russia".

The few who belong to it are really very ardent and sincere. Unfortunately every one of them work very hard during the day and give no time whatever to the organisation of our campaign . . . that means that all the work has fallen on my shoulders and keeps me busy on an average 14 hours a day. Then for a number of weeks I was without a stenographer, my splendid girl having gotten a position which keeps her engaged many hours that she can do nothing for me. Today I have started with a new secretary who I hope will not be too distraught with the amount of work I will have to dictate. In any event I shall not be able to write you very often or very long letters; you will have to content yourself with carbon/ copies of my correspondence I am still keeping up with people in England who are so hypnotised by the Moscow myth. I am enclosing copy of such letter to Mr. Bertram Russell, and his reply to me . . . then a letter from Mrs. Pethick Lawrence. You will see how hopeless these people are. My only reason for bothering with them is that ~~that~~ I know that they are perfectly sincere even if they ~~know~~ they are so blinded, and if they could see the facts they would be big enough to take a different stand.

Some time ago Edward Carpenter invited me to go down to Guildford which I have been unable to do so far but I have written him to ask if I go down this week . . . I rather think that I will be able to get his support - it would mean a great deal.

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The Emma Goldman Papers

831121014

[Letter] 1925 Feb. 24, London [to] Minna Low[en]so[h]n, [New York] / [Emma Goldman]. — 2 p. ; 31 x 20 cm.

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Minna Lowison.

Page Two

Another person, not quite of the same mental calibre of Edward Carpenter v. but still a very *important* figure and a militant fighter - is Sylvia Pankhurst. She wrote me two weeks ago to see her as she herself is laid up with a sprained ankle . . . I went - though it took me four hours to go and to come back but I did not regret it. She is the one person in England who is intensely interested in Russian Affairs and willing to cooperate. And so they come . slowly but surely if only I can hold out long enough in England.

I am also enclosing herewith a copy of a letter to Harlock Ellis and my reply to him. From all this stuff you will see that I am keeping more busy than ever. *are arranging meetings*

Our friends in South Wales ~~have gone~~ I shall go there about the 20th March for a week. Later on I intend to go to Leeds and some adjoining cities ~~for~~ also for a week. On the 16 March I speak in Northampton but before that I have a number of dates in London. On March 4th the Conference of Branch Secretaries. March 6th a Meeting in Islington, March 17 a Meeting in the East End. . also I forgot to say I speak in the East End this week, the 26th . . you can see I am busy can't you dear girl, it is absolutely necessary for me to be so, as otherwise I get into such moods and find life most difficult to bear. Although I will not be able to write you often I want you to write me a letter once a week and tell me what is doing in New York. I really have no one to keep me posted.

Thank you for having attended to the gift for Ian, and that you will also give the gifts to out girls on 16th March. I am going out today to buy some gifts for them which I asked me to do, as he did not know what to get for them in Germany. Doris is not here but I know she wants to be remembered to you. She has finally succeeded in getting a Housekeeper, otherwise the woman would have collapsed on her hands. She works all day at her office and until 2 in the morning with her household.

Please give my love to all our friends and take a large portion of it for yourself.

Devotedly,

Page 2.

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The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1925 Feb. 24, London [to] Minna [Lowensohn, New York] / E[mma] G[oldman]. - 2 p. ; 31 x 20 cm.

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3, Titchfield Terrace,
St. John's Wood Road,
LONDON, N.W.8.

February 24th.. 1925.

My dear Minna,

I understood perfectly the delay of your writing. I had heard from Stella and others that you arrived in a ~~hurry~~ and that you were being entertained by all sorts of friends . . . and naturally you could not find time to write to me. I am happy for you, dear Minna, that you are back home among friends and that you will again be able to take up the work you so faithfully did for many years. I am especially glad because I know that you will do your utmost to get subscriptions for S's book. From all I hear it promises to be a beautiful edition. Do your utmost, dear girl, to interest people in this great work. You have no idea how much it will help our friend.

I wonder whether Harry has sent the balance of the sum he still had on hand for S. The work which our friend did for the Baldwin Committee has cost considerably more than he anticipated and has swallowed up an addition amount . . . the result is that he is hard put to for funds. I wish you would see to it that whatever money Harry still has on hand should immediately be sent to S.

I have written Harry a long letter and have sent him copies of reports of our Meetings at the South Place Institute. I am sorry you were not there . . . I know it would have made you very happy to see that there are some people in London eager to get light on Russia. Naturally the Communists came in full force and tried their utmost to break up the Meeting but Colonel Welgwood makes such a beautiful Chairman . . . it was his presence which really helped to pacify the fanatics . . . they were rather surprised at being given so much opportunity to express their pent up feelings. On the whole I think that the more sensible among them went away at least more thoughtful than they were ~~then~~ when they came to the Meeting.

Since then our Committee has been christened and now has a definite name "The British ~~Committee~~ (For the Defence of Political Prisoners in Russia".

to
The few who belong to it are really very ardent and sincere. Unfortunately every one of them work very hard during the ~~day~~ and give no time whatever to the organisation of our campaign . . . that means that all the work has fallen on my shoulders and keeps me busy on an average 14 hours a day. Then for a number of weeks I was without a stenographer, my splendid girl having gotten a position which keeps her engaged many hours that she can do nothing for me. Today I have started with a new secretary who I hope will not be too distraught with the amount of work I will have to dictate. In any event I shall not be able to write you very often or very long letters; you will have to content yourself with carbon copies of my correspondence. I am still keeping up with people in England who are so hypnotised by the Moscow myth. I am enclosing copy of such letter to Mr. Bertram Russell, and his reply to me . . . then a letter from Mrs. Pethick Lawrence. You will see how hopeless these people are. My only reason for bothering with them is that ~~that~~ I know that they are perfectly sincere ~~even if they know~~ they are so blinded, and if they could see the facts they would be big enough to take a different stand.

Some time ago Edward Carpenter invited me to go down to Guildford which I have been unable to do so far but I have written him to ask if I go down this week . . . I rather think that I will be able to get his support - it would mean a great deal.

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The Emma Goldman Papers

880926026

[Letter] 1925 Feb. 24, London [to] Minna [Lowensohn, New York] / E[mma] G[oldman]. — 2 p. ; 31 × 20 cm.

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Miss Minna Lowison,

Page Two

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I am also enclosing herewith a copy of a letter to Havelock Ellis and my reply to him. From all this stuff you will see that I am keeping more busy than ever. *are arranging meetings*

Our friends in South Wales have ~~gone~~ but I shall go there about the 20th March for a week. Later on I intend to go to Leeds and some adjoining cities ~~for~~ also for a week. On the 16 March I speak in Northampton but before that I have a number of dates in London. On March 4th the Conference of Branch Secretaries ~~was~~ March 6th a Meeting in Islington, March 17 a Meeting in the East End. . also I forgot to say I ~~am speaking in the East End~~ this week, the 26th . . . you can see I am busy can't you dear girl, it is absolutely necessary for me to be so, as otherwise I get into such moods and find life most difficult to bear. Although I will not be able to write you often I want you to write me a letter once a week and tell me what is doing in New York. I really have no one to keep me posted.

Thank you for having attended to the gift for Ian, and that you will also give the gifts to our girls on 16th March. I am going out today to buy some gifts for them which S asked me to do, as he did not know what to get for them in Germany. Doris is not here but I know she wants to be remembered to you. She has finally succeeded in getting a Housekeeper, otherwise the woman would have collapsed on her hands. She works all day at her office and until 2 in the morning with her household.

Please give my love to all our friends and take a large portion of it for yourself.

Devotedly,

of G

You can see my stenographer is new

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The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1925 Feb. 24, London [to] Kate [Richards] O'Hare, [New York?] / [Emma Goldman].— 2 p.; 32 x 19 cm.

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3, Fitzfield Terrace,
St. John's Wood Road,
LONDON, N.W.3.

February 24th..1925.

Dear Kate,

You must have been terribly fatigued indeed when you wrote your letter because you forgot to sign it. I do not want you ever to write me when you are in such a condition . . . I prefer to wait until you are rested and the spirit moves you. I have never believed in "duty letters".

That is indeed wonderful news that the "Union Made Garment Manufacturers Association" has given 50,000 dollars

You are a wonderful girl to be able to get such support. I only hope there will be no strings connected with such material help . . . there usually are you know; the few times similar offers have been made to me they usually implied some impossible compromise which on the face of it I would never consent to make. Thus I had an amazing offer from an American business man in London. He would get me into the United States; he would engage me for a lecture course of a year; and he would pay me £5,000; now comes the string - I would have to speak exclusively about Russia, in other words I am to be used against the ~~efforts~~ of Senator Borah and the others who are trying to get ~~the Congress~~ for Russia in order to show up the evil doings of Bolsheviks. Heaven knows they are evil enough and I am doing my utmost to present them in their real light. But under no circumstances would I lend myself to the purposes of the reactionaries - knowing as I do that if they were in the position of the Moscow Rulers they would do likewise. All sorts of such offers come to me which unfortunately I cannot accept, on the other hand the very people whom one would expect to be ready and willing to assist the work I am doing are so much wrapped up in their own political schemes that they will do nothing. You will understand better what I am meaning by the enclosed copies of letters I have received since I wrote you last.

Well I am not dismayed . . . I have fought a lone fight pretty well all my life and now too I must continue to do so. I am convinced that the time is not far when the very Labour people who are now under the mesmeric spell of the Moscow myth will come to realize their mistake . . . but for the present it is no picnic. However, I am being kept extremely busy with a lot of dates and with considerable writing. To save myself the time of reiterating the schedule of my daily doings I am enclosing you a copy of a letter I have written to Minna Lowison that will tell you the tale.

But to come back to your work which interests me intensely . . . I am so glad that you are realizing the necessity for some kind of labour for human beings locked away in prisons, still more that you realize that their labour should be remunerative, should give them a margin which they will need when they go back to society and begin their painful process of gaining ground again. I am certain that nothing will so affect the psychology and morale of prisoners unless they are helped back to their self respect and that can be achieved only by letting them do useful work in which they can take an interest and which would pay them enough for their own upkeep also the support of their family while they are paying their toll for their anti-social acts. I hope fervently that you may succeed in bringing about such a state of affairs which would be the beginning of new methods in dealing with social criminology. It must have been a strange sensation to go back to Jefferson City. I am awfully sorry that you did not make the time to visit the place which was our "home" for a while. So Mrs. Smith is still their torturing her unfor-

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The Emma Goldman Papers

831121013

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Mrs. O'Hare.

Page Two.

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No I never got your book, Kate, do please send it to me . . . You have no idea how intensely interested I am in everything you are doing and the general social activities of the people I used to know and work with.

That was indeed great news about your daughter's wedding. I have enough imagination to realize how painful it must be to a mother to turn her daughter over to a man. Fortunately she has little choice in the matter especially these days . . . when daughter's will choose for themselves. After all, however much a mother may love her child she cannot decide what is best for her or him. I know that you acted sensibly when you met your new son-in-law and that you made the best of the situation.

I am so glad to know that you are feeling well and are retaining your youthful looks and spirit. I had a letter from that queer boy Kraman who raves about your youthfulness. It is the only way to keep up the difficult task we both have before us. I wish I could say that I look as youthful as you seem to be: ~~xx~~ at least I can say I feel youthful. Sometimes a youthful spirit in an old body is a very unfortunate thing. Especially in the case of women. The world whether Conservative or Radical will go on judging women by her looks and not by her spirit; that is where man has so much advantage over her. No matter how decreed with age he is he can still claim the attention of youth and *a place in the world* of what avail ~~all~~ all feminist achievements if Nature herself makes such distinction. We may continue to beat our breast against this inexorable law but in the end we are defeated. The only thing to survive this cruel inequality is to devote ~~oneself~~ one's life to a great cause: to something worthwhile living for.

It is very kind of you dear Kate to tell you audiences that "the only person I ever met who gave me a realization of what Jesus Christ of Nazareth might have been was Emma Goldman" . . . No wonder your audiences were shocked ! I rather think that Nietzsche was right when he said "There was only one real Christian : and He was crucified".

Well dearie, I must stop. I do hope you will come over to England some day and then / we will talk and talk ! Could you not get yourself sent as a delegate to the Congress which has been arranged for August which will discuss Prison Reform and the new approaches to the criminal. I think it is an important event and would give you a great opportunity to present your ideas before the people who will congregate here.

Remember me affectionately to Edwina and our other friends.

Devotedly,

P.S.

I forgot to write you about Dr. Stoecker. She is a woman who has done great work in Germany for Womens Emancipation and for Motherhood and the child. She writes me that she is going as a delegate to the Birth Control ~~Congress~~ *Congress* which Margaret Sanger has to organise and that she would like to lecture in a number of cities in the United States. I wrote her that you may be able to help as she is the foremost pioneer worker for women in Germany: an able writer and I believe also a very fine speaker though I have never heard her. I sent her your address and told her to get into touch with you when she gets to America. I hope you will make it your business to meet her and see if you can be of any assistance. Knowing as I do how painful it is to be in a strange land I want Dr. ~~Stoecker~~ to feel that the advanced American women will offer her ~~hospitality~~ *hospitality* and co-operation.

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The Emma Goldman Papers

880926027

[Letter] 1925 Feb. 24, London [to] Kate [Richards] O'Hare, [New York? (fragment)]
/ [Emma Goldman]. — 2 p. ; 32 x 21 cm.

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3, Fitchfield Terrace,
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February 24th., 1925.

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The Emma Goldman Papers

881023225

[Letter] 1925 Feb. 25, London [to Alexander Berkman, Berlin] / E[mma Goldman]. —
2 p.; 24 × 19 cm.

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Institutional Location: Alexander Berkman Archive.

3 Titchfield Terrace,
St John's Wood Road,
London, N, W 1 8 1

Feb. 25th. 1925 .

Dearest, As you see this is not my machine, someone lent me this until mine will be repaired. I wish I were not so hard up, I am offered ~~four~~ pounds ten for my machine and I could buy an Underwood which is infinitely better for eight pounds in addition to my machine. But that is out of the question. After straightening my accounts with Doris yesterday, I discovered that my whole fortune consists of forty one pounds, just about enough for two months, what then? I see no chance whatever of earning a penny by writing, and I can take no money from our people for lectures on Russia. I am terribly worried I can tell you. The most expensive item is my room, I pay thirty dollars rent a month which is sheer insanity. I could easily get a room for twenty if not less. I only hesitate because I am free with Doris. I dread I might not be that in the ordinary English rooming house. The English beat the Germans in prudery and hypocrisy when it comes to women. I have a room offered me by Stan Harding, you will remember her name, she got into the Thoeke through Harris. But I know so little about Harding. I am going to her place Saturday for dinner, I will see how she is fixed and how much privacy I might have if I took her room. It is certain, I must make some change to drag out my forty pounds as long as I can since there is no hopes of earning anything.

"Lane" has returned by book, and so will everybody else, I am sure. On the other hand there is not one chance in a thousand to dispose of the Doubleday edition here, it is entirely too expensive. I am stuck with hundred sets which cost me about ~~£100 and 10~~ shillings. My book has been a regular curse ever since I started on it.

I will not have to waste your time with copying stuff for me, I have a new stenographer, I do not know yet ~~how~~ good she is, but she will be alright for copying.

Monday I bought some magnificent Irish linen for our birthday ladies, I spent altogether £3/ 11 for you. I bought a table cloth and six napkins of the finest damask linen for Fizzie, and a tea set for Stella. Both are beautiful and the girls will love them. I washed the linen last night and will send it unironed. I do not believe they will have to pay duty on the parcels. I wish you'd hurry your card, I must send the things off this Friday because the next sailing is not until March fourth too late to reach them on time. If I do not get your card I will have to send the linen without them. You might write both Friday, and the 14th which is a Saturday you might send a weekend cable, I will do the same it will reach them exactly the 16th. It will make 2. and 3. happy.

The Emma Goldman Papers

881023225

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Dearest, I know how you feel about the Baldwin people, still I ask you not to write any huffy letters to B, and still less to Henry. Since I am here I realize the terrible task Henry must have had. Certainly he is not to blame. You have repeatedly written me that the Moscow lie will take a long time to dispeil, how then can Baldwin or Henry help? You can see for yourself that the so called American Committee is trying to take up the whole issue of reaction so as not to make it appear that they are particularly against Russia. And it is the same here. I feel confident if I had approached people for a committee which should deal with the reaction in the world to day including Russia I would have had considerable response. But in America as well as here no one of the Liberal elements will raise a finger against reaction in Russia. Why should they when lies come from Russia repudiating and undoing all our efforts. Read the inclosed, a complete report of Bromleys speech, can you beat anything for lies. Yet everybody here tells me Bromley is honest, he tells what he believes in. In other words he like everybody else has been hypnotized. We know how well the Moscow gang can do it, don't we?

How do you like the newest reason for the complete suppression of political rights, foreign counter revolutionists would come to Russia and if they had political rights would cause counter revolution. For that reason all of Russia had to be turned into a prison camp. Or the story that the Mensheviks passed a resolution to kill the Bolshevik leaders on sight. Of course, Bromley the fool got his figures mixed, he must have been told that the Gotz group had passed such a resolution, that was one of the charges against them in their trial. But whether it is actually true that such a resolution exists, imagine making all other politicals suffer for what the Party SR did. I have decided to reply to Bromleys lies and send the letter to the Daily News, or the Observer. I hope to be able to do the letter Sunday. You might give the inclosed article from the ~~News~~, they are the same in every paper which carried the report, to Yugov or Schwartz let them write a reply if they have some one to translate it into English for them, I maybe able to get the Times to bring it. It is so terrible the amount of lies the Moscow gang can get over and we have hardly any facilities to meet them. One could do nothing else but reply to the misrepresentations. That would be good propaganda if we had the people and the time. But we have neither.

I can readily believe that Abromowitch will raise £25,000. We could raise a hundred thousand if we could get to A. If, if.

Dearest, I must stop, I really feel too rotten to write much when I am in better mood and have the time, I will again write you a megilla. Oh, about the German publisher, don't bother about him, only make him pay for the books fourteen shillings, I can not afford to let him have the copies for nothing, besides he wrote he would pay. please do not worry the Syndicalist, they have other books they intend to get out, and I would rather they do your book, it is more important.

The Emma Goldman Papers

871014197

[Letter] 1925 Feb. 25, London [to] John H. Cook, Providence, R.I. / Emma Goldman. — 2 p. ; 36 x 22 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the University of Illinois at Chicago Library.

EMMA GOLDMAN

3, Titchfield Terrace, London W8. 8.

February 25th, 1925.

Mr. John H. Cook,
83, Vesley Avenue,
Providence, R.I.

My dear John, —

I have neglected you this time. Not intentionally, I assure you. The work here is simply growing over my head; I mean to say that the few people who have so far interested themselves in my effort to bring light on Russia, are people who are engaged during the day, which leaves the entire bulk of the details to me. For a time, I had a stenographer, the daughter of an old Comrade, who was able to give me a number of hours a week. But she now has taken on a position, which keeps her hard-worked for many hours, so she can do nothing for me. The result is that I have to keep at my typewriter sometimes ten hours a day. However, I have a chance today to dictate a short letter to you, so it can go out with Wednesday's boat.

First of all, dear John, I cannot now write a criticism of your poem. Later on, if I have a little time, I will read it over again more carefully, and then perhaps I can tell you what is amiss. I was quite surprised to find the poetic vein in you. I mean to say, that I knew you were a poet in life, but I did not know that you can give it expression in words.

You will be glad to know that our first meeting in the South Place Institute was a much greater success than we had anticipated. I am sending you clippings and the copy of a report written by M. C. Owen. I am also sending you a copy of "Freedom", which contains my article about Sam Compers. I think I was much better able to say just what I had intended to say in my letter to Luis. I have not heard from her, but I suppose you have forwarded the letter to her.

I am also sending you copies of letters that I have written to Bertrand Russell, and his reply to me. You will see how hopeless it is, to rouse the interest and co-operation of English men and women who should have been the first to support fight on Russia. Well, it can't be helped! One must be prepared to carry on a lonely fight. I am glad to say that there are a few who are willing to help. They have banded themselves together in the "British Committee for the Defence of Political Prisoners in Russia", and are doing what they can to get me a hearing. Our next meeting is March 6th (as per enclosed hand-bill). We have also called a conference of Branch secretaries of some of the Trade Unions for March 4th. I have no idea how many will come, but even if there will be a dozen, it might prove worth while if we can get them to face the facts and present resolutions in their organizations.

The most important thing will be my tour through South Wales and the North of England. In both places, our own Comrades are arranging meetings, and that will at least give me a chance of reaching the workers direct, since the leaders are so hopeless. After that, I do not know what I shall do next. I think I wrote you before that I make no plans; I just live from day to day.

The difficulties about my present work are that I cannot accept the support I would easily get, to wit: from the reactionary element, and that the leading labour elements will not give their support. Within the last few weeks I had a number of 'enticing offers'. Well, I declined with thanks. The first was from an American business man in this city. He offered to get the permission of the United States Government to bring me back to America. He offered to engage me for a year at a salary of \$5000, provided I would speak exclusively about Russia. You can see which way the wind blows, can't you, John? Now that Senator Borah

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The Emma Goldman Papers

871014197

[Letter] 1925 Feb. 25, London [to] John H. Cook, Providence, R.I. / Emma Goldman. — 2 p. ; 36 × 22 cm.

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- 2 -

and their Liberals are trying to get Russia recognised. I daresay that the reactionary elements in America would like nothing better than my appearance upon the horizon in an attack upon the Bolsheviks. Needless to say, I could not accept such an offer. Again, I had several invitations here to lecture in reactionary clubs, which I also had to refuse. You see my plight, don't you old man? As it is, the Communists are spreading all sorts of ridiculous rumours, among them being, that our meeting had been protected by Fascists in black shirts. Not that I care what they are saying, but I want to be quite sure that what they say is not true. So I must continue in my own way, and, as far as possible, under our own auspices.

I do hope, John, dear, that the spring is in the air in Providence. I know how much you suffer under the severe winter. It is quite mild here, but then, London has no real winter; nevertheless, the weather is much more penetrating and harder to bear than the dry cold in the States.

With affectionate greetings,

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The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1925 Feb. 25 [Oxford, England to Emma] Goldman, [London] / [Charles] Wright Thomas.— 1 p.; 26 × 20 cm.

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Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

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Feb. 25, 1925.

My dear Emma:

I have been thinking of you very much lately. I hope you are well and happy. I have been very busy lately, but I have managed to find some time to write to you. I have been thinking of you very much lately, and I have been thinking of you very much lately.

I have been thinking of you very much lately, and I have been thinking of you very much lately. I have been thinking of you very much lately, and I have been thinking of you very much lately. I have been thinking of you very much lately, and I have been thinking of you very much lately.

I have been thinking of you very much lately, and I have been thinking of you very much lately. I have been thinking of you very much lately, and I have been thinking of you very much lately. I have been thinking of you very much lately, and I have been thinking of you very much lately.

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Wright Thomas.

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The Emma Goldman Papers

871014198

[Letter] 1925 Feb. 26, London [to] Havelock Ellis, [London, England] / Emma Goldman. — 1 p. ; 34 x 22 cm.

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EMMA GOLDMAN

3, Hitchfield Terrace, London N4. 8.

February 26, 1926.

(Copy)

Havelock Ellis, Esq.,
14, Dover Mansions,
Canterbury Road,
Brixton, S.W. 2.

Dear Havelock Ellis,—

If you only knew how deep is my grief that in my stand on Russia, I am giving aid and comfort to the "Times" and all the other papers of the same calibre. I came near to being broken mentally in the struggle as to whether I should or should not come out in criticism of the forces which crushed the Russian Revolution and enslaved the people. But after nearly two years I came to the conclusion that silence in regard to the appalling conditions I left behind in Russia, would make me a party to them. I assure you I realized that the forces which in the past have misrepresented and villified my ideals and work, would compete in praising me to the very heavens for my stand on Russia. But I had no choice: I had to speak out, no matter the consequences.

Ah! if only the Labour Press were big enough to value the right of independent thinking! But in my long years of public activity, I have come to realize that most Labour papers believe as little in the right of free expression and are as unwilling to face unpleasant facts as the "Times", the "Daily Mail" or any other reactionary sheet. When I came out of Russia and the New York "World" approached me for a series of articles, I was determined to first try the Labour and Liberal Press of the United States. But one of them would accept what I had to say about my experiences in Russia. I was then faced with the alternative of silence or the New York "World". I chose the latter because I felt that it was imperative for me to speak for the gagged victims of the Bolshevik regime.

During my first two months in England I tried my utmost to reach the leading men and women in the Independent Labour Party and Trade Union Movement. They soon made me realize that here, too, the Labour Press will refuse to take what I had to give about Russia. In fact, one man in the "Labour" openly admitted as much, saying, "We know that the "Daily Herald", so far as Russia is concerned, is a lying sheet; but it is the only paper we have; we must stick to it." Therefore, I was again put before the alternative of silence or speaking out, no matter from what forum.

For the present I am between two fires, and yet I feel that I must go on. I am confident that the time is not far off when the very people who today engage in a conspiracy of silence will be forced by the overwhelming facts coming out of Russia, to take the position I am taking now. I console myself that by that time I will have paved the way for a better understanding of the Russian debacle, which might have proven a great social experiment but for the Communist, thus crushing every attempt of the people towards a new social structure.

I have no desire, dear Havelock Ellis, to burden you with material of Russia. But when you get back to London, I hope you will let me send you a document about the conditions of the politicals in the Solovetsky Monastery. You have done so much in bringing about a better understanding of the causes of crime and the inhumanity of prisons, that you, of all people, should know the barbarous treatment meted out to the political as well as to the common criminal in the country which dares to call itself a Socialist Republic.

Thank you so much for your good wishes. I cannot tell you how much it helps to know there is one great personality in a country who understands the necessity of the work I am doing. I appreciate that more than I can express.

Sincerely yours,

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The Emma Goldman Papers

870924040

[Letter] 1925 Feb. 26, London [to] Odette Keun, [St. Jean, France] / [Emma Goldman]. — 2 p. ; 33 x 20 cm.

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Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

3 Titchfield Terrace,
St John's Wood Road,
London, N.W.8.

Feb. 26th, 1925.

Dear Odette Keun,

It was good to hear from you again. I had begun to think that your condition had grown worse. You certainly did have a bad siege of illness, I am glad to know that the worst ~~is~~ is over. I am happy that you live in a climate of sunshine and warmth. The London weather is enough to drive one to utter despair. And if added to the rain, gloom and penetrating chill to one's physical being is the English temperament in face of deep human suffering, then one is altogether paralyzed. You see I never before had to appeal to English people against some great wrong and I really never had much dealings with the English. It is only since I began my campaign for Russia that I realized with a shock how cold and stern the English temperament is. It is made of granite I believe, simply impenetrable. I often get into desperate moods, I just want to rush off to some spot on this great earth where the sun shines not only from the heavens, but in the souls of men and women. But that is only at moments. I have never been able to give up a chosen task no matter what the price may be, or the agony of spirit.

It is alright, dear Odette Keun your not agreeing with my Anarchism as a basis of a free social structure. Have you read much on the subject? Peter Kropotkin's works for instance? I should like to send you something if you care to read it. I have no desire to impose my theories on you. I hold that all we can give people is what their innermost being craves though they may not know what it is. Theories are like books, one gets out of them only as much as one puts into them no more. As for myself, I am certain that nothing will ever be changed in the world until man becomes a free unit and takes his place as such in society free from external compulsion, force and dependence.

Indeed, I will be grateful if you will translate my article about the politicals and get it placed in any of the liberal French papers. Also the one about the "Heroic Women of the Russian Revolution" I am terribly anxious to bring that before the world in as many languages as possible. By the way, do you also write for Dutch papers? If you do, would you take the trouble to translate both articles into Dutch and send them to some of the papers, or magazines? I am sure that would help the politicals and the women tremendously. Do you not think so? Apropos of Holland. Before I came here the Anti Military Society of Holland asked me to come for a course of lectures, the Foreign office would give me only three days in Holland at the Hague where the first large meeting took place. You see at that time a Soviet representative was being entertained by the authorities in Rotterdam, he came to negotiate about making of Rotterdam the main grain distributing center for Russian grain. Naturally, he was entertained royally. And I could not be given the right to engage in critical work against Bolshevism. Nothing succeeds so well as success, and the Bolsheviks have succeeded in cheating the whole world. Anyway, if you could place my articles in France and Holland I would be exceedingly grateful.

What you say about my book is of course true, no publisher cares for anything that is not of the moment. I have the same experience here. The last publisher to refuse my book for publication is Messrs Lane. Nor do I think anyone else will take it. On the other hand no one in England will buy the A. edition which is 15/. If only I could myself get out a cheap edition, I am certain many copies could be disposed of at my lectures, but that is out of the question.

I have a number of dates both in London and the provinces, I speak to night in the Eastend, the fourth of March before some secretaries of trade unions, the sixth at a meeting

The Emma Goldman Papers

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15954

in a congested proletarian district. March 16th, I speak in Northampton. March 19th, there maybe another meeting in London. The 20th, I leave for South Wales where I will be kept busy until March fifth very likely. After that I go to Leeds and some adjoining cities. There is a possibility that I may also go to Manchester and Liverpool. You see that I will be busy indeed. What will come of it I do not know except that I will have a chance to speak to the workers direct since the leaders are hopeless.

However, my lecture work on Russia will not solve the problem of an income. I am determined not to take a penny from meetings on Russia. If they were arranged by a manager or booking agency that would be another matter. But they are organized by individuals who work in the mines and barely make enough to support themselves and their families, from such sources I can not accept fees. If there will be a surplus from the meetings I want it to go to the politicals. You see then that my lectures on Russia will not keep me. I must therefore find some other way of earning enough for the necessities of life. Unfortunately, the newspapers and magazines here are not particularly interested in articles on Russia. Miss Rebecca West's agent is trying hard to place the article about the "Heroic Women" he may succeed though I am not very hopeful. I had depended very much on the acceptance of an article I wrote about "America by Comparison". It was ordered by "Colliers Magazine" Unfortunately the Managing Editor resigned before my article arrived and his successor out of sheer spite I suppose would not accept the article. It is now in the hands of a literary Agent in the States. But here again I am not very sanguine about my chances. The fact is I can not write in the ordinary newspaper style, without thought, or personality and that is all which has a chance of being accepted. Thus I had an offer to write eight thousand words about myself for a London Magazine. Of course I refused. I told the editor that my life is so full of events that I would need 150,000 words to cover half of them, and that could be done only in a book, not in an article.

You would be amused over the numerous offers that come to me to make me "rich" but they are such that I prefer poverty to their acceptance. Thus an American Business man wants to take me to America for one years lecture tour exclusively on Russia. He offers five thousand pounds. I am sadly needed to the Reactionaries of the United States so they can use my stand on Russia to justify their own black deeds against everything worth while in the country. I declined with thanks. Then there were several ultra conservative societies here who invited me to speak. That too I had to refuse. And so it goes. But do not think I lament that, I'd much rather forgo many things in life than my own integrity.

Since I wrote you last I wrote Bertrand Russell once more and Mrs Pethic Lawrence, their reply will make you weep. I inclose them herewith, also a letter from Havelock Ellis who at least sees the need of light on Russia. I am to see him when he comes back to town. I may get him to go on the Committee. I am also trying to get Edward Carpenter.

Goodby dear Odette Keun, do get well soon. And please keep me informed as to your success with my articles. I do not know how to express my gratitude for your offer to translate them and possibly place them with some French publications.

Faithfully,

The Emma Goldman Papers

871014199

[Letter] 1925 Feb. 27 [London to] Michael A. Cohn, Brooklyn, N.Y. / [Emma Goldman].— 2 p. ; 36 x 22 cm.

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3, Titchfield Terrace,
St. John's Wood, N.W.3.

Dr. Michael A. Cohn,
1457, Eastern Parkway,
Brooklyn, N.Y.

27th February, 1925.

Dear Comrade,

I did not mean to keep you waiting for an answer to yours of January 23rd. but I am really burdened with more work than I can possibly handle. Fact is I am doing the work which in America was done by half a dozen people and was less trying and difficult. I am therefore compelled to cut down on my correspondence but as I do not wish to lose touch with some of my dear friends and comrades I am making copies of important letters and am enclosing them to my American friends. I have to do the same with you. I am sure that you will be interested in my correspondence with Bertram Russell, Havelock Ellis and others, they will show you better than I could repeat in my letter to you how the Bolshevik superstition takes hold of some of the finest minds. Now not only the young are carried away by this superstition but a great many people of remarkably clear minds have fallen victims to the "Black Spook" which is obscuring their judgement, their feelings and their sense of justice. Under the circumstances you will understand that my battle is a lone battle and not likely to bring results for a long time to come. Of course I mean to go on - but I am not deceived in my possibilities.

The thing which worries me considerably is the question of income. I have definitely decided not to take a penny from the Meetings on Russia not that I care what the Bolsheviks are saying about me but I want to be quite sure that what they say is like everything else that comes from them - untrue. If there is a surplus from the meetings I must have that go to the unfortunate men and women who are languishing in Bolshevik prisons. On the other hand I find it most difficult to place articles on Russia. In the beginning I was able to dispose of a number of articles which brought in enough to keep on until now and for another two or three months but I have no idea what that will happen then. A Literary Agent who has been recommended to me by Rebecca West has tried a number of Publishers with my book on Russia. If one could be induced to get out a one volume edition at five shillings I am sure that the book would sell in great numbers and would leave a margin to keep me going - but so far we have not succeeded. On the other hand there are very few people in England can afford to pay 15/- for the American edition. Altogether the outlook is not very cheerful. Fortunately I am keeping so busy I have no time to think what is going to happen in two months.

I have sent a report of the Meetings, our Resolutions and lots of other things to the Fr. Ab. St. . you probably have seen it all but if you have not I am also enclosing some copies herewith.

Tomorrow I speak in the East End, on the 4th March we have a Conference of Branch Secretaries of the Trade Union. On 6th March I speak in London in a congested workers district. On the 20th March I go to S. Wales, later to the North of England. But inasmuch as our own people are arranging things I am going with much apprehension as to my success. I still have my first fifteen years activities in America in my bones, the inefficiency, the lack of understanding on the part of our people. I was young then and could stand it better, however, one must hope for the best if one wants to go on living.

I never hear from Lillian K., but I know that she is

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Dr. M. A. Cohn.

My dear Dr. Cohn,

a faithful soul and has always been very devoted to our work. I am so glad she is trying to get subscriptions to S. book. I hope fervently that it will lead to some sale, it would save our friend tremendous and urgent expenses he needs some rest for a vacation.

I have written the S. book some time ago but I have had no response. I hope they are getting along. Has he found a position? Give them my affectionate greetings.

I see by the Dr. A. C. that Brodsky is getting a hearing in New York.

I am glad that he is having a chance to place the case of Russia before his audience. I only hope he will speak in English that would help to break the awful hold that Moscow seems to have on East America.

hear from you.

Write again, dear friend. I am always glad to with kind regards to Anne and yourself.

Faithfully,

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The Emma Goldman Papers

870820236

[Letter] 1925 Feb. 2[7?] London [to] Agnes Ingl[i]s, Ann Arbor, Mich. / [Emma Goldman]. — 2 p. ; 30 × 20 cm.

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3, Titchfield Terrace,
St. John's Wood Road,
LONDON, N.W.8.

7212

27th February, 1925.

Miss Agnes Inglis,
809, S. Division St.,
Ann Arbor,
Mich. U.S.A.

Dear Agnes,

It was quite a surprise to hear from you after such a long period of silence but I have often thought of you . . . but as you did not write and I was exhausted with work I did not wish to impose my struggles and troubles on you. It is not that I doubt your friendship but I have a feeling that your interest in my life and activities are not quite the same as they were when I was still in America. That is of course all right: I want all my friends to feel free to give out of themselves as much as they can and whenever they so desire. But one who is confronted with desperate struggles to back through the conspiracy of silence which exists here on all matters of Russia one feels the need of fellowship and friends. However, it is quite all right dear Agnes: I can see that you have gone away from your former interests and that you have other things on your mind to bother much about the past. As far as I am concerned my affections for you and interest in the things you are doing have not changed only I am so absorbed in the dreadful things which go on in Russia that I feel anything else of very little importance to me at any rate. Perhaps if I would meet with greater response I would not be quite so taken up in the task before me but there is hardly any response here. You will see the stand a number of men and women are taking from the enclosures that will save me repeating the woeful story over again.

Still some headway has been made. The first Meeting held here on January 29th was much more successful than I had anticipated. Since then the few faithful souls who have helped to bring about the Meeting have banded themselves together under the name of "The British Committee for the Help of the Political Prisoners in Russia". They have arranged another Meeting for March 6th and a Conference to which the Branch Secretaries of the Trade Unions have been invited and they are doing a lot of other things. Then about the 20th of March I am going to S. Wales to be able to reach the workers direct since their leaders are hopeless. I shall be busy until about the middle of April, I will then come back to have more Meetings in London. The beginning is small but I console myself with the knowledge that all great things had a small beginning. I feel confident that in the not too distant future the very people who are opposed to my stand on Russia will come to see the logic of my position . . . until then I must forge ahead in my own way.

Thank you for the clippings you sent me about Ben. Some other friend did likewise besides that I had a letter from him the other day, the first since I was out of Russia. I do not think he has changed very much except his happiness is of the kind which Nietzsche calls "The desperate caperings of flies for a spot on the windowpane" I cannot understand such happiness and have no longings for it but he and others who are content with such limited ways of life are quite welcome to them.

Yes, I daresay that the Communists are active, the question is what does their activity aim for if not a repetition of the appalling things they have established in Russia and rather than have such a thing happen to any other country I for one should prefer that the present Institutions should persevere for some time longer. I can see no justifi-

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Miss Agnes Inglis.

Page 2

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revolutionary changes unless they aim at fundamental evils of which the State and the Dictatorship are the most hideous.

Please give the Grennells my Greetings. I have Mrs Grennell's letter but I really have not the time to answer it. You see dear there are really so few people who can give all their time to the organizing work here: the result is that I must do most of it myself, besides seeing a great many people I must keep up a terrific correspondence and of course dear ever so many other things which takes up considerable time. I am sure Mrs. Grennell will not mind if she will read your letter which is in a way a reply to hers.

Write again when the spirit moves you. Indeed I should love to get the letters you have preserved . . . Could you send them to me? They will certainly come very handy when I begin my autobiography which will probably be the thing I shall have to do as I do not see anything promising for systematic work in this country.

Affectionately,

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The Emma Goldman Papers

890126144

[Letter] 1925 Feb. 27, London [to] Max Nettlau, Vienna / E[mma] G[oldman].—
2 p.; 29 × 19 cm.

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Institutional Location: Max Nettlau Archive.

5. Kensington Terrace,
51, John's Wood Road,
LONDON. N.W.8.

27th February, 1925.

Dear Comrade,

It is very charming of you to write in such a
jocular mood about my new method of keeping my friends informed
as to my doings. Knowing you as an inveterate collector I knew
that you would not object to copies of my correspondence with all
sorts of people. Really dear friend, if I did not do that I could
not properly keep in touch with those who mean so much to me.

Yes, if I had the time I should prefer to write
a book in the 18th century style, though of course it would have to
be my style since I could not drop the style I have. But
I have no time for anything except the job I am engaged on now, and
I never realised it would take so much time and energy to arouse
people to what seems so obvious to me, but I find the conspiracy
of silence so dense that it is impossible to penetrate the situation
nevertheless, I keep on writing as you will see from the new batch
of correspondence, copies of which I enclose.

Dear Comrade, you should know that it is one
thing to stand for advanced ideas in theory and another thing to
be willing to stand for them in life. Certainly Bertrand
Russell is one of the clearest minds in Europe today. His social
philosophy is very much akin to ours but he is woefully lacking
when it comes to a stand for freedom in acting like this. I am
convinced that the main reason for his refusal to ally himself
with my work on Russia is due to the fact that he knows my
social philosophy. It is painful to suspect a fine personality
like Russell but his own letter strengthens that suspicion. I
have determined to write to him one more letter in reply to his
not so much that I hope to convince him rather is it because I want
to point out that if the Bolsheviks will be forcibly overthrown
not I and my friends will be responsible but men like Russell and
his colleagues who doggedly refuse to bring pressure to bear on
the Moscow regime which may tempt them to relax their terror.
If I do write that letter I will send you a copy. You are also
wrong regarding the attitude over Spirdonova and her comrades in
relation to Mirbach. It was not only he and Eichhorn they
attacked, they prepared an attack on Denikin, which would have
been carried successfully but for the fact that the Denikin
Army was smashed and driven into retreat. You see then that
Sp. and her friends were just as much opposed to the International-
ists backed by the Allies as they were to German counter-Revolu-
tionaries. I think to be just to this very remarkable woman
and her comrades it is necessary that you should divest yourself
of the belief that they were Nationalists or that they had any
more feeling against Germany than they did against other enemies
of the Revolution.

Yes, I used the Bolshevik Myth for the first
time. I had intended that it should be the title of my book
but for reasons which I cannot explain here I changed the title.
The A.B. has boxed his work in Russia. The book is
certainly is a very expressive of the situation in
the Bolsheviks.

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890126144

[Letter] 1925 Feb. 27, London [to] Max Nettlau, Vienna / E[mma] G[oldman]. — 2 p.; 29 × 19 cm.

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Max Nettlau

3. Fitzroy Terrace,
St. John's Wood Road.

I am sending you also a report of the Meetings and a copy of our Resolutions.

W. Schmalz
Lucy
The name Paronowski is very familiar to me. I have tried to recollect in what connection, I first heard of the man but so far I am not able to remember. How you do manage to get hold of people and work hidden and forgotten. You are certainly a marvel in that respect. No wonder you love to work in the British Museum. I never came across anything so antiquated in my life. I think I should die if I had to do research work. It takes days to get the least thing and then perhaps one gets the wrong book, that was the experience I had when I was there to find Turgenev's "On the Threshold". Of course I could not find it, I was then told by William Wess that the sketch appeared in a number of *Lucy* *Wess* paper. I searched for that for half a day and was finally given a magazine by quite another name. I simply could not get what was looking for, perhaps before the war it was different but now things move at snaillike fashion at the British Museum, entirely too slow for one of my temperament, but no doubt it would suit you very well indeed. How I wish you were here that you could work in your beloved British Museum besides I should be so happy to see you.

copies of

I am enclosing letters from and to Havelock Ellis. He seems to be of a different type from Russell and so very understanding and evidently very human. I hope to meet him personally when he comes back to London which I think is next month.

Well, dear comrade, I will have to close. There is always so much that I would like to write to you about - but I never seem to have enough time; perhaps we will meet again and then we can talk over what we have failed to do in our correspondence.

Faithfully,

EG

P.S. I find I have up more copies of B Russell's letters to my correspondence with H Ellis. I am having some copies made will send them to you.

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The Emma Goldman Papers

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[Meeting notes, 1925 Feb. 27, London to Max Nettlau, Vienna (enclosure)] / [Emma Goldman]. — 3 p. ; 29 × 19 cm.

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THE MEETING IN SOUTH PLACE

London, January 27th.

Emma Goldman formally opened her campaign on behalf of Russia's political prisoners at South Place Institute, London, January 27th. Colonel Forster O. Wedgwood, I.P. well-known as an indefatigable worker in labour and libertarian movements, presided, and was supported by John Turner, a member of the Trade Union Mission recently back from Russia. The hall, which seats about 700 and is not well located for week-day meetings, was amply filled, and the various speeches were listened to with that close attention which only the deepest interest can create. As had been expected there was much bitter opposition which came to a head at question time. Indeed, questions poured in upon Emma Goldman, and her greatest enemy could not have accused her of dodging any of them. In fact, her clear, terse and emphatic replies were the subject of general and admiring comment. Thanks probably to firm handling by the chairman there were no actual physical clashes, but for a time feeling was very tense.

Colonel Wedgwood opened the meeting by stating that he had been one of the earliest champions of the Russian Revolution, for which he received unlimited applause. His present attitude was due to the fact that times had changed. The Revolution was now no longer in danger of being defeated by foreign intervention, and the duty of the hour was now to tell Russia's present rulers that they had turned the Terrorist method that they had become afraid of change and all heretical opinions; that they were enforcing a tame uniformity, throttling free speech and crushing democracy. They were afraid of their own people, had become respectable, and were recognised as such by the other authoritative Governments. Authority invariably supports Authority, and similarly all libertarians must uphold those who are struggling for freedom. As we exposed the Tsar, and the dictatorships in Spain and Italy, so we must now expose the Trotskists holding down the Russian people for the maintenance of their own despotic rule.

John Turner spoke on somewhat similar lines, and urged in particular the necessity of giving the Soviet system a fair trial, free from the domination of any party. He moved a resolution protesting against

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890126146

[Meeting notes, 1925 Feb. 27, London to Max Nettlau, Vienna (enclosure)] / [Emma Goldman]. — 3 p. ; 29 × 19 cm.

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the continued denial of political liberty by the Russian Government, and calling for the establishment of the elementary rights of free speech, free assembly and freedom of press. The Russian Government was called on by the resolution to 'release from its terrible prisons the men and women whose sole crime is that they differ politically from the party now in power.' The resolution was carried with only 14 dissentients.

Emma Goldman's speech was, of course, the feature of the evening. Looking back on the experience of many years the present writer thinks that he never heard her to greater advantage, and it is certain that a greater advantage, and it is certain that a profound impression was made alike on those who agreed with and those who differed from her. The exposure of the existing horrors was relentless in its detail, but even more convincing was the logical linking together of cause and effect; the inevitableness of all that necessarily followed the establishment of a Dictatorship, resolved at any cost to maintain itself in power, and professing openly to act and justify the means. The Dictatorship does not believe in the people, or in anything except the concentration of autocratic power in its own hands. And it is not even a Dictatorship by the Communists only, as Lenin's time it was his Dictatorship. Now it is that of the Triumvirate into whose hands his sceptre passed, and the Soviets and trade unions are mere adjuncts of the Government. As for the peasants, who lost their lands and thereby made the Revolution — they had been taxed, expropriated, and ruined by being cut off from the land. The speech of Emma Goldman seemed to us specially impressive. How can you have democracy, she asked, when the natural co-operation between town and country is destroyed? How can there be industrial progress and democracy when there is no free interchange of opinions or free publicity to their views?

To such questions there can be only one answer, and it was noticeable that on these points, incidental to the speaker's powerful attack on State Socialism, the hostlers were silent. They always are, and it safe to say that Emma Goldman would have infinite difficulty in dragging any of our leading English Socialists into a discussion on the merits of that Russian they profess to adore. The offerings of Russia's political prisoners they will be sure to accept, according to their personal attitude toward



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SSP N.

The Communist Party, supporting which their opinion differs greatly. On the possibility of State Socialism, however they will not agree. It has become their creed, and they hold it every bit as fanatically as ever before. For they realize they will die, at the bottom of their hearts, loneliness and fearfully anxious from the very start to make an alliance with him. Now they have found their own leader. Throughout the recent electoral campaign they were crying a treaty with the Dictatorship, and they will not stab themselves by now attacking it. From these people we shall get therefore only steady, and often bitter opposition. Indeed, such opposition as they originally extended was quickly withdrawn, and their paper the "Daily Herald" is an excellent example - will blockade us with a conspiracy of silence.

The strongest effect of Emma Goldman's address was her fiery appeal for the revolutionists in Russian prisons. The collection was 12/2 which for English conditions at a paid admission is quite a lot of money.

Since then the people who have helped in making the meeting at North Place Institute a great success have banded themselves together into "The British Committee for the Release of the Political Prisoners in Russia". Several immediate steps were decided upon. First, a Conference of Branch Secretaries of the Trade Unions when Emma Goldman's right address on the conditions of the workers in Russia, the Trade Unions, etc. etc. it is hoped that this may induce them to present resolutions in their organizations in behalf of the workers in Russian prisons for striking. Possibly also to gain a hearing for Emma Goldman before the Trade Unions.

Secondly a series of lectures on various phases of the Russian situation to be held in different parts of London. Later other steps will be taken. The Committee is determined to bring light and truth in the now existing fog on actual conditions of Russia.

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The Emma Goldman Papers

850702125

[Letter] 1925 Feb. 27, London [to] Harry Weinberger, New York / E[mma] G[oldman]. — 2 p. ; 36 x 22 cm.

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3, Titchfield Terrace,
St. John's Wood Road,
LONDON, N.W.3.

27th February, 1925.

Dear H.W.

Thank you for yours of the 2nd inst. It was good to get a letter from you after your prolonged silence. First let me congratulate you on the victory in your appeal. I certainly hope there will not be a future trial and that you will be able to put "The God of Vengeance" on the stage again. That would be a tremendous triumph for you as well as for the freedom from censorship. Have you got a theatre for "Emperor Jones"? and what success are you having? I do not understand why some of the theatre managers here do not put on O'Neill plays. Everyone of them far above most of the plays in the London theatres at the present time. It is amazing how great epochs deteriorate. Fifteen years ago the English drama was among the finest in the world: now, as I am being told by competent people, and as I have already been able to see for myself, the drama in this country is in a woeful condition, most of it extremely mediocre stuff. I should think that the plays of O'Neill would have a great success if they were properly managed. I saw John Barrymore in Hamlet the other night, he was sublime. In fact he was the most perfect Hamlet I have ~~xxxx~~ seen in many years, and as I have been able to see some of the greatest artists in Hamlet I think I ought to be able to judge. Yet some of the criticisms in the London Press were ridiculous. The critics did not remotely grasp the artistic achievement and the depth of John Barrymore. I have been trying for several days to write him a letter to congratulate him on his great art . . . but I have not been able to put it into the shape I want. While I am discussing theatres I want to tell you that the Macdonald Players (you remember them in Paris, don't you?) have been running a cycle of Bernard Shaw's plays with tremendous success. I must say that their acting is much superior to what we have seen in Paris. I saw "The Man of Destiny". The part of Napoleon was played by a young actor, it was a masterly production.

Now to other matters. The only person I could see about writing to the Governor of Texas was Rebecca West. She promised to write her a letter, I hope it will help. I cannot approach any other woman, firstly because I know few who would have any idea of the history of the case and I cannot now take the time to write a long article about her, - secondly they are all busy with their own affairs. They seem to have no interest whatever in anything outside of England, and I have had more than one proof of that in my efforts on behalf of the Bolsheviks in Russia. For months now I have been trying to interest women in the fate of women political prisoners in Russia and have not succeeded. However I hope to meet a lot of women on Saturday at Lady Rhonda's home, I may be more successful then but at any rate I could do nothing in the case of Rangel and Cline. I am sorry.

I am sending a lot of enclosures. My correspondence with a number of people in regard to the campaign on Russia. You will see the difficult stand I am having and why I have not been more successful than I should have been in all these months and after so much effort. Of course I will go on but I can't say that I am enthusiastic about my future in England, however, I mean to go on through the summer and will see what will come of it.

All Governments have some excuses for the breaches of faith with the people who placed them in power, so too the Mexican Government. I understand that perfectly, I only do not wish you to fall into the error of some of the people who visit Russia in official capaci-

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Mr. H. Weinberger.

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[Feb. 27, 1925]

ties and then come out portraying the conditions as Heaven itself. I do not want you to be carried away by these things you saw in Mexico on your visit. I am fully convinced that nobody can properly know a country or a people unless one has been in the country for a long period and has had a chance to be close to the life and habits and aspirations of the people of the country. I am in England five months, I can go about as free as anyone and under any Government, in fact freer, yet I would not presume to write or speak authoritatively about English conditions. How then can people who go to Russia for seven weeks as official guest or how could you possibly as an official guest to Mexico know anything about the things underneath the surface. I know you will not be provoked with me for calling your attention to this fact.

There are many more things I would like to write about - but I have a Committee Meeting tonight and I still have an awful lot to dictate.

The enclosures will give you a pretty accurate account of my situation here.

Faithfully,

EG

Mr. Harry Weinberger,
32, Union Square,
NEW YORK.

The Emma Goldman Papers

870925312

[Letter] 1925 Feb. 28, London [to] Emma Goldman, [London] / Prince Hopkins. —
1 p. ; 17 × 16 cm.

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Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

1869

76, Palace Court,
LONDON, W.2. 28th February 1925.

Miss Emma Goldmann,

Dear Emma,

Thanks for the tickets which you sent with your
note. I didn't know that I'd sent 2/- extra. Better
keep that for general expenses.

Sincerely,

Prince Hopkins

The Emma Goldman Papers

870924092

[Letter] 1925 Feb. 28, Berlin [to] Emma [Goldman, London] / [Isaac] Don [Levine]. — 1 p. ; 28 × 18 cm.

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Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

16032

Prinz Regenten Str. 98,
Berlin, Feb. 28, 1925.

Dear Emma:

Tomorrow I expect to leave Berlin for Italy, France and England, arriving in London about March 10. I am naturally very anxious to find you in town. The purpose of my trip is to collect personally introductory letters from celebrities for my compilation of prisoners' letters. I sent you a bound copy today, comprising about two-thirds of the material, which is intended for Mr. Brailsford. I had mailed it to him, but received it back because of the wrong address. I therefore beg you to forward it to him, as well as to mail the enclosed letter to him. Meanwhile, you will get an idea of the work done. I had about thirty-five similar bound copies prepared and shipped to the world's most celebrated writers (not politicians). So far I have received answers from Zangwill, Rolland, Russell, Einstein, Hansun, Lagerlof, Karin Michaelis, Kellermann, and Holitscher (1) I had a very discouraging note from the secretary to Mr. Wells. G.B. Shaw answered not at all. Nothing from Brandes, Hansen, Sven Hedin, Hauptmann, Gorky, Tagore, Schnitzler, Ozapok, Bergson, Aulard, Maeterlinck, Bennett, Thomas Mann. I feel that it is imperative for the success of the enterprise to mobilize the leading representatives of the world intelligentsia, but how is it to be done? I hope to be able to see Wells, Shaw, and Bennett personally, and perhaps Galsworthy and one or two others, and secure letters from them. Then I want to take the matter up with an English publisher at once, for Spring release.

It is my belief that the book should be primarily a humanitarian work, an appeal to the Moscow dictators, but by such a powerful group of persons which would command attention even at the Kremlin. I am sanguine enough to believe in results.

It is also my plan ~~now~~ to utilize the material of the book, text and illustrations, in the press before the publication of the book itself, i.e., about April 10. The idea is to organize a simultaneous campaign. Karin Michaelis will write some articles for the Scandinavian newspapers. You will perhaps be able to place a few stories in England. I will let loose in America. At the same time the letters of the celebrities will be issued by the publishers to the press as advertising matter for the book. In a word, it is possible to time the blow so as to hit very hard indeed with the ammunition in our possession. All this we will have to talk over personally, as well as other matters. I talked to S. over the phone today. He said he had received a letter from you in which you referred to the possibility of arranging some kind of an evening for me to speak on Russia. If you should want to reach me by mail, address a letter c/o THE AMERICAN EXPRESS, Nice, France, where I should be about March 6-7.

The recent mother and the lively son both beg to be remembered.

Yours Don

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870919109

[Letter, 1925 March?] Berlin [to] Emma [Goldman, London] / Agnes [Smedley]. —
6 p. ; 27 × 21 cm.
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Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

11544

Berlin W. 15

Pariserstr. 4

bei Rommels

Sunday

Dearest Emma -

It suddenly occurred to me that I had not fulfilled my promise about writing you. I saw Sasha - he came to my house for dinner. He is perfectly healthy and says that although he misses mom cooking like hell, still he's not the man to starve! And he certainly looks well. The minute he ~~saw~~ Chatto the two of them started their old stories and because Bakas's brother was present I had to stop them; at which Sasha remarked: "This atmosphere is too pure for me; I noticed it the minute I entered the room."

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2

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We all had a very interesting evening with Sasha, however, and it is now Sunday morning and I'm going out to post this letter, then on over to see him and get him out for a walk in Grünewald, for two or three hours.

I wonder how Bakar really is. Will you please let me know; before he went to France he was not well and his cough had returned. Please tell me how he now is. I have been much worried about his brother here and have had much trouble with him and many sleepless nights. But now things are better and running smoothly again.

A short time ago I had finally decided to go to America and went for my passport. On the way I stopped to see Chatto's doctor - a psycho-analyst and told

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3

11546

know that my entire life depended upon it. The doctor, however, informed me - that he will not be responsible for Chatto's life if I go at this minute; that the man may commit suicide! So here I stick. It is a strange obsession with Chatto and the doctor has asked me to remain for a few months longer. So here I am bound but, Emma, it is unbearable at times. There are times when I really fear I shall not be able to face the nights with their coldness and hard facts. If it were love on Chatto's part I might understand; but love and the things he is capable of against me do not go hand in hand. It is insanity and a peculiar sadism. I may last here another couple of months but I am almost certain that then I shall take the chance. My life and work are smashed, because 3/4 of

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4

11547

the time I am unable to work because
of these disturbances.

I write here much of the time. Now
I am writing a play and find to my intense
surprise that it is the one form of writing
in which I feel absolutely at home. Yet I can
not pursue it because it takes some length
of time and I am compelled to write things
which bring money within a short period of
time. The coming month I have a number of
things appearing but at least $\frac{1}{3}$ of my
earnings go to pay for translations. And even
at best payment is bad and uncertain here
in Germany. I have decided, if I can
possibly do so, to gradually leave political
writing and go over into the short story
and the drama. But it may take years
before I do this. But if I breathe
freely and deeply in the drama form I have
faith that that is my natural atmosphere.

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5

11568

The technique is, of course, difficult, for I know little of the stage. I am going to Karin's in July (after ~~the~~ University closes) and in my month there I shall not be worried about meeting my daily expenses. So during that month I intend to work on my drama and try to get it into shape to send to Fitzee in America.

Now for a business question: give me the name and address of some English monthly magazine which would accept (possibly) an article on the art of Käthe Kollwitz — with a number of illustrations. Of course, remember that Käthe Kollwitz is an artist of social misery. Yet I think her work ought to be of interest to all — I am interested only in the best class of magazine — perhaps a monthly. Do you suppose the agent who

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6

11549

Could your article (Rebecca West's agent) would
also handle mine? I prefer to place my work
in the hands of an agent. And this is ~~not~~
the only article I shall want him to place for
me. I shall await a reply ~~to~~ from you
soon for I am working on the article now.

Did you see my little sketch in
Freeman on "In an American Mining Camp?"
It incidentally it is a real fact - a memory
of mine.

I'm a short haired woman now and
it has by no means improved my appearance.

Love to you always, dearest Emma.

Agnes.

The Emma Goldman Papers

880615081

[Letter, 1925 March?] Bristol [England to Gabriel Javicas, London] / E[mma] G[oldman].— 1 p.; 22 x 28 cm.

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Institutional Location: Paul Avrich Papers.

5 Wyndham Rd. Dec 1.
Redland-Bristol
Dear Ray,
You are a true Jew, so
glad to have found a couple as
great as you, are. But you
were too hasty. I'm new but
I was doing when I said
Idelphi hotel, it is being called
that in Liverpool. And now
I got your valuable letter,
it's a day

Mr. G. W. Newman
8 Quayle Street,
Victoria Australia
in the many who sent the
money order, but I am
not sure whether to Salaman
or Cattan. But you can ex-
plain that I am entitled
to have money.
I will write Miss Harder

I will have to arrive on
an earlier train to have the
afternoon to adjust myself
to my new quarters. But
there is no need to meet
me. I will go straight to
27 Langford Rd where you
at the lecture. In a few
days I will send you a
list of things to order at
Selfridge. If you order them
Monday morning when you
have no classes that will
be fine. You can also order
a few flowers there with
impress upon them to have
the flowers at 27 Langford
Thursday morning. But
I will write again
directly after Sunday
Affect,
E. G.

The Emma Goldman Papers

870930024

[Letter] 1925 March, Vienna [to] E[mma] G[oldman, London] / M[ax] Nettlau. —
8 p. ; 20 × 17 cm.

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Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

Wien, IX/2, Lagartgasse, 32, III/22 14824
Vienna, Austria.

March 1925

Dear comrade E. G.

I was delighted to get your newsbudget or letter bag or epistolary output again and I hope two things: that you will send it to me not only as a collecting oddity but also as a friend and comrade in this and other good causes, — and secondly that you do not mind my lack of seriousness in style sometimes which is not flippancy but Galgenhumor, laughing sometimes in order not to weep, the only thing almost left to me here — so do not mind it — you see plenty of serious people every day in dear England.... I thank you for the letters; do not forget the Russell letter (out of print), please.

You are hard on Liberator; after that Kier librarian it is the turn of the British Museum. As a champion of lost causes I beg to disagree. The prose poem On the threshold (Die Schwelle) was so very often printed in socialist papers, but when you wanted to get hold of it, these twain lines were a little difficult to find. You looked for them in the best Turgenev edition issued after 1883: is it possible that they had to be excluded from Russian editions, at least until 1905 — or has the Brit. Mus. none of the latter good editions of Collected Works? Or is there a question of authenticity? — I believe not. — In any case it is curious that you did not put your hand on a good edition of smaller writings by J. T. — Lavroffs Paper was the Vjestnik Narodnoi Voli.

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under: Kavelin (Konstantin).

14823

3

By the way, if ever you want exact dates (name, date, & venture) on Russian revolutionary events 1801 to 1896, arranged year by year, consult Burpee's [D.D. : Burpee]: Za sto let (1800-1896). London, 1897.

Burpee also wrote a wonderful description of the Brit. Mus. Library, namely the Russian part, printed in: Istoricheskii Obozreniie, January 1895, 256-286, full of description the mechanism of this library: this would be the best possible guide to a new student there. (to get it: Catalogue, P.P. — periodical publications — Locality: St. Petersburg — then alphabetically: Istoricheskii O. — 1895).

To say have become "snail-like".... even at that, this is the best room in the world to wait 30 instead of 10 minutes for a book, if that is the present rate of progress. Surely one has not one but half a dozen little literary problems to advance in the meantime with the help of the splendid Catalogue and works of reference — or one may pick up any of the many thousands vols of books and reviews on the open shelves — (you could always refer to old Kropotkin articles in the Nich. Century or to what others wrote on Russia in earlier days — or in that half hour one reads the day's paper or writes letters —

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4) I suppose, no one here could help you¹⁴⁸²⁴ along with "On the threshold", since it is not the title of a "book"; but in essence you could have made your way to the Slavonic specialist where they keep or kept formerly in an inner room. I never consulted him, but Butsoev knew him and hurried him up and made him complete the Russian collation and became his nightmare (in the nineties). He might have told you instantly about the Threshold, but no one else obviously could do it.

Do not judge him by this specimen. If I may venture a joke, I should say you are a little spoiled by your Russian Museum, skirts with special orders, special car, when the poor librarians and record keepers everywhere trembling for their lives, humbly deposited their best things in the ^{library} ~~car~~; these poor worms could not afford to be snail-like. Used to this rhythm, the next must appear a slow place — but enough of this; here we are doomed never to agree.

Yesterday the Trade Union Visit report was to hand in the papers here; for the pseudo-communist press new gospel truth on Russia is proclaimed — they are delighted. The bourgeois here Freie Presse says that it is extremely wonderful and quite new that Englishmen make so light of the loss of the parliamentary system, freedom of press and opinion etc. as they do in their conclusions — in this sense probably that they may declare it a new experiment, outside the tradition paths of parliamentarism — as Turner also does in his speech. This is the argument you will always meet:

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let them alone — give them a chance — a fair trial — (5)
These are the conventional tracks of reasoning¹ which
are quite useful to shelve, to sidetrack, a
disappointing subject. These English philanthropists
whom you meet are, by a long tradition, experts in
showing the card or the warm shoulder to things.
You make a noble fight, but against all
odds, for your difficulties are obviously known
to your enemies who are cool calculators
and on whom the few good names and a small
working class minority can make no impression,
as they exactly know who is with them and who
remains indifferent or benevolent neutrality
towards them. The time is gone when English
public opinion had some influence abroad, if
it ever existed. I am doubtful about this for
very many years, from historical observations.
I am also doubtful about the former wonderful
and fascinating sight of asylum in England. In
both cases not generosity but political expediency
was the prime mover — England could only profit
by sheltering the revolutionaries, its ants which, from
the standpoint of States, weakened the continental
States — which did the same against England. France
sheltered the Jacobins and the Irish, England
sheltered the enemies of French royalty, then the
royalist enemies of the French Republic, then the
republican enemies of French Royalty and Empire
and so on. Mary II was the typical case — the

Here a letter from Samfleben (Alfred G. Samfleben
from Zürich) reaches me from California — Apple Valley
a fruit farm on the brink of a desert, far out — he is ruined
in health — degrading — trying to recover out there — he
mostly as today "only" sends a shoal of little poems, in German and
in English.

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Creation of Italy as a minor power, thereby always a rival and a thorn in the side both of Austria and France and, very important also, dividing up the naval development in the Mediterranean, — this creation was an immense advantage for England — Italy is from the British standpoint, a continuation, an outlying part of Malta, a territory in the English Zone — and so Napoleon forced open arms and he installed his nationalism into the English working class — by their leaders who after the fall of Chartism were all under his influence, in the fifties, and were very little altered by the International in the sixties and frightened by the Commune of 1871 and unwillingly led into their watery "socialism" by and by — whilst were changed at least beyond Napoleon's nationalism and bourgeois-socialism.

Did you read, *Garibaldi's Rosa* by Alexander Herzen (Moxell, 1865); ~~etc~~ this describes Garibaldi's English visit 1864 and Herzen saw through these things: Garibaldi was wonderfully received by the people — but then, as wonderfully spirited away by governmental reasons, by Gladstone himself. This little book helps to see how these wires are pulled.

There are always a few single enthusiasts who will champion every good cause. — but the real leaders of opinion are all absolutely connected with government or one of the large parties and they are strictly disciplined and will favour only such movements of protest etc. which these high fathers

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from reasons of their own and those of the state. ¹⁴⁸²⁷ ~~They are not~~
judged on their merits, but on political reasons.
To raise at present economic reasons would
and the working class leaders do exactly the same
as the politicians who end the industrial and trade
interests as their unique guiding motive. The
working class of a country, as long as states exist
is interested in the supremacy and welfare of the
particular state and expects employment and
relative prosperity — may the other countries go to
the dogs — they cannot afford generosity any more
than a tradesman can or wishes to do. This is the
present situation, getting worse every day since 1918
and only the feeling, the inner conviction of
generous internationalist, state-destruering anarchism
can make people psychically loathe this state of
things which converts them into ungenerous brutes —
only such ideas really swaying the hearts of people
can make them desirous to act, to destroy the
present brand of things which everywhere make
consolidate the alliance of workers, bourgeois, army
and the national state.

Russia is an immense market, the interior
conditions of which trade did not mind under
tariff, nor will it do now, and this dominates
the situation, as you know. You pit generosity against
employment and prosperity — it is a noble fight,
but you will have to dig very deep before you win,
to change people's minds and hearts deeply and
the question is whether direct work in this direction is
not preferable to the present speculation on Russia.
It is a misfortune that others do not this direct
work efficiently, but you will know long since that this
is not done in England to an appreciable extent.

The Emma Goldman Papers

870930024

[Letter] 1925 March, Vienna [to] E[mma] G[oldman, London] / M[ax] Nettlau. — 8 p. ; 20 x 17 cm.

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Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

3) The Russian and the Italian people must help ⁸²⁸ themselves by scouring the dictatorship openly and collectively — After Mussolini's death a beginning was made in Italy — This is the only way to get really rid of a system, scorn it, ignore it, laugh at it, in one word becoming superior to it, doing without it. This requires mental and emotional development and this must be encouraged and prepared. This is not sufficiently done neither against fascists nor against bolshevists, because much people are relied to the fascists by the chord of patriotism, nationalism (of which they are the most consequent expression) and with bolshevists by the chord of socialist and labour feelings which makes people proud after all that the underdog is "on the top" in Russia. — These claims weigh on most people like chains. — Only stronger moral factors can break these chains: complete internationalism which considers the existence of independent States an antisocial crime — and the conviction that socialism is something above economic satisfaction. That socialism is inseparable from freedom and that a State-pampered slave, the product of State communism, is misnamed a socialist and remains a poor victim. — In these chains your action ought to drift to revive the almost extinct desire for freedom and ~~the~~ human dignity. — You never made an appeal to the American photo-creators to change their technique of exploitation: is it different when you imagine or give the appearance that you could move the Moscow rulers? People who did what they did and do are as little moved as Morgan and Rockefeller. — Do not be disappointed, as you try the impossible, but ~~try~~ by and by lay the foundations of new love for freedom with your audience and you must dig very deep: for freedom is covered by the glacial period of many years now, by ruins and by ice. — Jugen-Baranowski the Russian, economist, author and professor, antimarxist, not socialist, but somewhat independent? — Best wishes for well-being and ~~good progress~~ ^{progress} Yours truly M. Nettlau

The Emma Goldman Papers

890126155

[Envelope] 1925 March 3 [London to] Max Nettlau, Vienna / [Emma Goldman]. —
2 p. ; 14 × 20 cm.

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Institutional Location: Max Nettlau Archive.*



Mr. Max Nettlau,

Lazarethgasse 32,

III/22

Vienna,

AUSTRIA.

578

The Emma Goldman Papers

890126155

[Envelope] 1925 March 3 [London to] Max Nettlau, Vienna / [Emma Goldman].—
2 p. ; 14 × 20 cm.

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Wien, 3. 3. 1925
10 4. 3. 8 m

579

The Emma Goldman Papers

870927060

[Letter] 1925 March 3, London [to Stella Ballantine, New York] / E[mma Goldman]. — 2 p. ; 33 x 20 cm.

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13821

5, Titchfield Terrace,
St John's Wood Road,
London, N. W.8.

March Third, 1925.

Darling, I always get mail from you the day after I mail my letter. The funny thing is this time I got your letter dated the 20th, on Saturday the 28th. The day before, I wrote you a long letter and sent off the gifts for you and F. Sassa asked me to get. Then yesterday I got your letter of the 17th, which as you see took so much longer to get here. Since mail goes so quickly I am going to add some birthday greetings to those I sent Friday last. I am also sending the card I sent to go with the linen which came too late. Darling mine you will have a happy day with Teddy the 1st. A quiet glass to your old Tante what loves you more than I am able to put down in words. May this year bring you much comfort with your precious two kids.

I am very happy indeed to hear that Ted is so well in painting. I mean that he is begining to be. Not that that is an indication of anything, still we are one to know our worth, or at least to know the value of. Perhaps the miserable business with the people at the will be of some use to Teddy. Indeed, it was a rotten to take off 25 dollars a week. Funny, I never cared. I always thought him terribly superficial in his approach to dramatic art and not very sincere in his criticisms. That a man like that should be in a position to decide plays and artists. What about O'Neill? Has he nothing to say of the theatre? And dear Fitzie works herself receives nothing worth while in return and then must find something more worth while and where her ability would be appreciated not only in so many words, but hoping the trouble at the Playhouse will help Teddy get the stage and see what he can really do with painting. Love him.

This afternoon I went to Estelle's to take tea. I took the Healeys a long time to find a house but they found it. It is in such a lovely part of London, Hampstead, in the country almost and yet in London. Eight magnificent rooms. One must have means to fix up such a home. Healey is well fixed. Estelle looks quite large with the event. I suppose you know she is about to have a baby. Quite domesticated now. Then do you suppose I met at Christel Eastman. She looks ~~like~~ aged since I saw her but she is still a very handsome woman. She asked me to notify when I lecture and I will give her my address. I will speak the 19th in the Hampstead Conservatory and will preside. I do not think Christel will take much notice of what I have to say about Russia. Max must have given her a description as the Trade Union Delegation. You never saw more terrible in deliberate misrepresentation. I have succeeded in getting any English paper to consent to take articles refuting the Report. But I called up the London agent of the N. Y. Times to ask whether he would send a copy of his office asking whether they would take several articles. I have a reply by Thursday. The Report is such a glaring white that I feel it must be replied no matter where my articles are. I am hoping therefore the Times will cable to go ahead. But I do not bank too much on it.

Just what article have you sent to the New Review? Is it the one on America? And does that mean the Center also refused it? I suppose Liveright does not want to handle the stuff because it is from me, or does he not handle articles? I send it on until you have tried a lot of Magazines, perhaps the Sunday paper would take it. What about the World? And did I send a copy of the Heroic Women in Russia? You might try that. I am discouraged about getting anything accepted. I wish I knew what else I could do to make my living.

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The Emma Goldman Papers

870927060

[Letter] 1925 March 3, London [to Stella Ballantine, New York] / E[mma Goldman]. — 2 p. ; 33 x 20 cm.

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Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive

18822

I am very glad about Carlo Tresca. Give him my affectionate greetings. Hadn't expected Coolidge had so much in him to see the frame up of the Fascist gang who have the nerve to reach people across the sea. Their own crimes at home are not enough for them. Good for Coolidge even if he is a dub in other matters.

I am so glad you wrote about our dear Graf. I have not heard from him for a long time. He went to visit with Hauptmann so I did not wish to bother him. But I will write him and send him the clipping. I doubt whether the man in charge of the new hospital will care to have a man like Wiser or his method, but it will make the Graf happy to know you thought of him.

I wish they would give something worth seeing in the theatres here, most of the stuff is too awful and just one's evening of which I have not so many. Except Barrymore were rich I would see him again and again. I am going to ask Levine to let me go with him as he will surely want to see me. I have not yet been able to write the letter to Barrymore, I am carrying in my system since I saw his performance. I hope to write it to night.

Rebecca is much better I am glad to say. I hope she will go on improving, she is so cheery when she is well. Albert is a queer chap. Since I introduced him to the young lady, I have not seen him again. I am glad he has found someone who might help him. The three of us will go to the concert of Weingartner, he conducts Beethoven Monday, we may also hear Shaw speak if we can get tickets. They are always at a premium when he speaks. I have not yet heard him.

I will believe that the Nation will print some of the material dear S. slaved so to get together when it printed. But even if the Nation does take it, of what use is it going to be. Who reads the Nation except the milk and honey radicals? Besides S has furnished material for an overwhelming extensive book, not for a few measly pages. I think it will be an outrage if the Baldwin group does not publish the whole story. That way alone will they serve the political. You will see the tremendous success of Levine's work and the publicity it has. That is the only thing the murderous gang in Moscow feared. I feel rotten to think how hard and devotedly S. slaved for months and what a masterly piece of work he did and now it is to come out in bookform. Give Henry my best regards. I am sure he is trying to get up a meeting. Let him keep us posted as to the date the British Committee for the Defense of Political Prisoners will send a cable, and so will the other committees.

Good night darling. I think I will get a good drink to your and Fitzie's health the 16th. I am grateful to God that you are on this mean earth. I might be much poorer without you, so there.

I hold you very close in a fond embrace

Love to Daddy & Jan

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581

The Emma Goldman Papers

880817029

[Letter, 1925] March 3, London [to Isaac] Don Levine, [Nice] / E[mma] Goldman. —
1 p. ; 36 x 22 cm.

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Institutional Location: Levine Collection.

3, Titchfield Terrace,
St John's Wood Road,
London, N, W.8, March Third,

Dear Don Levine,

I got your book yesterday, your letter to day. I had flattered myself that you sent me the copy for myself, but it is alright. It will go to Brailsford. First however, I am having Rebecca West read it who is infinitely more important than Brailsford. She will read it in a day and then I will send it to B. By the way, he had rather a good review of the Whitewash of the Trade Union Delegation. You never saw anything more dishonest, it beats anything the Bolsheviks in Russia themselves would say. I am trying to get some London papers to accept a review of the Report. The fact is the papers here are so well informed on R. affairs and write so well about them there is no reason for them to accept outside contributions.

About the material you are compiling, it is overwhelming and should move stones. I will certainly do what I can to get some publicity for the work as soon as you say the word. Meanwhile I want you to meet some people here to talk to them about the actual situation in Russia. Is it positive that you will get here the tenth? If so I would get Rebecca West to call some people together for the eleventh. She has a nice Apt. and people will be more likely to come to her than to me. Better wire me as soon as this reaches you whether the eleventh will be alright. The 12th Shaw lectures that will give you a fine opportunity to get hold of him. If you can not get here for the 11th, let me know when you are sure to be here. Your coming falls in nicely with a plan I have to start a campaign for Spirdonova. Some of the leading people who would do nothing in a general criticism of the Moscow gang said they would in specific cases, it occurred to me therefore that we might get help and lots of publicity for Spird. I was to see Rebecca Sunday and we decided to get some people together at her place. But now we will make you the center of attraction, how is that? You can then talk about the general situation in R. and stress Spird.'s lot in particular. So you had better wire me when to expect you.

Where do you plan to stop? If it is not to be an expensive Hotel would you like to take a room where I am living, it is in the Regent's Park district, a large sunny room, you can have breakfasts, we have a phone and we are pretty centrally located. The woman who has the house is an old Russian revolutionist, I mean she really is not old, only long in the movement. If you would care for the arrangement you can let me know I will reserve the room for you. And I will meet you if you will tell me when and what station you arrive. It is alright if you feel you would rather stay at a hotel. I suggested the above for your convenience.

You must look up Frank Harris since you are in Nice. He lives on the outskirts of Nice, Boulevard at Edouard Sept Giries, Nice. I am writing him that you may look him up, he and his very charming young wife will receive you with open arms if you are in the city. I think you ought to get Frank's signature, he will be glad to give it to you especially if you could let him read your material. And he may tell you of others who live in Nice. Anyway, look him up and give them both my love, they are among the few truly devoted friends I have.

Rebecca will be able to help you with Wells, she is in correspondence with him, possibly also with Galsworthy, Gilbert Murray and others. Do wire me when you are sure to be here.

*Don Levine
In writing to you
enclosed the note Goldman
3 Titchfield Terrace London.*

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The Emma Goldman Papers

861111051

[Letter] 1925 March 3 [London to] Emma [Goldman, London] / John Turner. —
3 p. ; 20 × 15 cm.
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Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

17 Newburn Sq. W.C.1.
3.3.1925

6660

Dear Emma —
I have just made the enclosure
for your card, notice of next Friday meeting,
come to your 10 Bank Street, London, W.C.1.
I was interested in your article on Congress, as also
the report of the 1st meeting and, Owen's
review of your book.
I found your Feb 28th on my return to town
last night, with a welcome translation from "Koska".
Is it interpreted as, "as a piece
of the Russian system? I see that misanthropic
conclusion affects the Russian system as
a whole, as we in the delegation have improved
sympathetic class? If so I have got the
clue to the mystery of the Russian character?
I do not feel anything but an immense
interest in what you have said about me and

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The Emma Goldman Papers

861111051

[Letter] 1925 March 3 [London to] Emma [Goldman, London] / John Turner. —
3 p. ; 20 × 15 cm.

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6665

like the immediate reports from the Social Democratic
Section of the Paris Committee respecting our
disposition to remain silent of immorality?
As to the independent capacity of decision, by really
telling the truth? Or is there something
incalculable from human instability?

I did not find it necessary to reply in the
Lancet. I was to the untruthful and
unstable suggestions of the reactionary press
of this country. I did the same when to do it
for the sake of the matter as I know it; and
I do not know I ever felt the same
about the early morning of the day. — it only
makes me more sure.

It doesn't seem I have not received a copy of
the report; and when you comes to hand I
will be able to let you know it. Your anticipatory
opinion of it is to say the least, interesting!

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The Emma Goldman Papers

861111051

[Letter] 1925 March 3 [London to] Emma [Goldman, London] / John Turner. — 3 p.; 20 × 15 cm.

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Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

6666
I may feel free however in saying that I am
not "bound" by any "situation" more than I
am by old comrades! I am only bound by
what I believe to be for the best; by my
own instincts; and by my own conscience.
I may proceed without me or come! I have
paid the price for this personal independence
and have no intention of surrendering it during
the present struggle.

So far as my attitude toward Russia is concerned,
I took council with practically all sections of
the anarchist movement in Russia; and am
being guided, as far as my common sense
will allow me, by that council.

Sincerely, patriotically, yours
John Turner

P.S. I have agreed to go to Northampton on
the 16th inst.

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The Emma Goldman Papers

861111050

[Letter] 1925 March 3 [London to] Emma [Goldman, London] / John Turner. —
1 p. ; 30 × 20 cm.
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Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

6663

17, Tottenham Square,
W.C.1.

3.3.1925.

Dear Emma,

I have just read your letter in "Pravda" and your article on Gompers, as also the Report of South Place Meeting and, Owen's review of your books.

I found yours of Feb. 23th on my return to Town last night, with enclosure translation from "Pravda". As I anticipated I find it amusing as a piece of hysterical lunacy! Does that unfortunate complaint affect the Russian system as badly as we of the delegation were informed syphilis does? If so I have yet another clue to the mystery of the Russian character! I do not feel anything but amused interest in what "Pravda" says about me, and like the miserable report from the Social Democratic section of the Paris Committee respecting one delegation to Russia, it is full of inaccuracies! It is either side either capable or desirous of really telling the truth? Or is crazy partizanship inseparable from Russian mentality? I did not find it "necessary" to reply in the Labour Service Press to the untruthful and sinister suggestions of the reactionary press of this country, I felt the "urge" to do it for the sake of truth as I know it; and I did it! I confess I don't feel the same about the silly invective of "Pravda" - it only makes me smile!

At present even I have not received a copy of the report! If and when it comes to hand I will gladly let you have it. Your anticipatory opinion of it is, to say the least, interesting! I may just say, however, in passing that I am not "bound" by any "traditions" any more than I am by "old" comrades! I am only bound by what I believe to be for the best; by my own judgement; and the use of any faculties I may possess without fear or favour! I have paid the price for this personal independence and have no intention of surrendering it during the few years I have spent of me!

So far as my attitude towards Russia is concerned I took council with practically all sections of the anarchist movement in Russia; and am being guided, as far as my common sense will allow me, by that council.

Sincerely and fraternally Yours,

(S) J. T.

JOHN TURNER.

I have agreed to go to Nottingham on the 16th inst.

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586

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 19]25 March 3 [London to Emma] Goldman, [London] / Florence Wedgwood. — 2 p. ; 14 × 9 cm.

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Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

16453

12, Deanfort House,

S. W. 3.

Chelsea, S.W. 3.

Dear Miss Goldman

If you could be at the House of Commons at twelve noon on Friday next, Col. Wedgwood could spare you half an hour. He is sorry he cannot make an earlier engagement, but he is much occupied these days — you know & will understand!

Will you wait on that seat to the right of the entrance to the members' lobby & he will know where to find you (he is very short-sighted).

I hope he will be able

x meeting on Committee

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 19]25 March 3 [London to Emma] Goldman, [London] / Florence Wedgwood. — 2 p. ; 14 × 9 cm.

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Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

16454

to do what you want.
I wish I had power to
be your "good Angel" in
more important matters
than arranging an inter-
view with an M.P. How
are you getting on I
wonder — my best wishes!
I enclose (as it may interest
you) the letter Mr. Webb wrote
on Russian affairs, she had
600 copies printed, 500 were
distributed in her Husband's
constituency & I sent 100 to
women in our constituency.
In case you may not have
seen Mr. Garvin's article in
Sundays "Observer," I will put
that in too, you approve of it?

Very sincerely,
Florence Wedgwood
I am
very
kindly
yours

write
after
the
first
of
the
month
if
you
are
interested
in
this

The Emma Goldman Papers

880615077

[Letter, 1925] March 4 [London to] Gab[riel Javicas, London] / E[mma] G[oldman]. — 1 p. ; 17 × 14 cm.

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Institutional Location: Paul Avrich Papers.

March 4
Dear Salice
I might as well
be in Paris for all we
see each other. Don't
think? Well, we'll
make up, tomorrow
meet me 6,45 at the Restaurant
au Caveau, corner Strand
& Buckingham Street. The
latter is just a short walk
from Charing Cross. The
corner before the Lyric
Theatre. You can't miss
it. Please Salice leave
Sunday 4 o/c free. I shall
want you to meet me at
Maces. I need your
help & I need you more
Affect. E G

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Institutional Location: Paul Avrich Papers.

Emma Goldman

590

The Emma Goldman Papers

830720005

[Letter] 1925 March 5, London [to] Powers Hapgood, Rome / E[mma] G[oldman]. —
3 p.; 35 x 22 cm.

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3, Titchfield Terrace,
St. John's Wood Road,
LONDON, N.W.3.

Mr. Powers Hapgood,
c/o. American Express Company,
ROME, I T A L Y.

March 5th. 1925.

Dear P.H.

I had quite given you up not having heard from you for such a long time. I thought that perhaps in the joy of being with your Mother of the glory of the Italian Sunshine you had forgotten your friends whom you left in grey and gloomy London. I am glad this is not the case. Indeed I shall be very glad to see you and your parents if you will be here. It is not that definitely settled that I am going to South Wales the 20th of this month and I will probably be there for two weeks. Then some time in April I am going on a trip to the Industrial Gallies of the North. Of course I shall be back by the end of April. I am hoping that you and your parents may come when I am back. I should feel very sorry to miss them.

So you cannot go back to the States? That shows that your sympathies with Labour are sincere; that you really mean to do good to the workers, and to win your own life's work in the struggle for a better world.

I certainly hope that you will be able to go to Russia, but if you have to get rest out of it, out of the usual visitors I sincerely trust that you will go in the capacity of a worker and without patronage on the part of those whose interest it is to keep the Reds from the outside world.

One of the first steps that you should take is to begin studying Russian. It is true that it is to come to a country without the language. The Russian people have become suspicious of all strangers as unarmad guests because they who visited them came as official guests without any sympathy for the understanding of the people of the Russian people. If you want to get anything out of your visit to Russia you will have to be able to speak the language of the people and to understand them. I hope you will not go unless you have some knowledge of the Russian language.

The Report of the Trades Union Delegates to Russia has finally been published. I have not yet seen a copy but all the London papers on which I have seen reports from the original. It is a very interesting thing and was published in the papers of the entire Delegation. They were simply hoodwinked by the shrewd suite on the hands of Russia. hence we were able to skin the surface merely without having gotten hence. It is simply heartbreaking to see men who have stood in the Labour Movement for many years turn out a complete whitewash of the lot which have made of Russia into a luncheon. I am hoping to see the people in physical and spiritual bondage. I am trying to get some of the London Papers to accept a Review of the Report. I have enough recent

Hapgood Mss.
Manuscripts Department, Lilly Library
Indiana University, Bloomington, Indiana

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[Letter] 1925 March 5, London [to] Powers Hapgood, Rome / E[mma] G[oldman].—

3 p. ; 35 × 22 cm.

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Mr. Powers Haggood.

Page 2

data about the Trades Unions, Unemployed masses, the conditions of health and the political of the Politicals to write every one of the Politicals in the Report. Unfortunately, this cannot be done in limited space and I am not sure that any of the newspapers will consent to take the series of articles. If I fail with the Editors I shall write a Review anyway and ask the British Committee for the Defence of Politicals in Russia to publish it in pamphlet form.

You will want to know who are on the Committee. It consists of the people who since the very beginning were willing to back me in the work on Russia :

Rebecca West,
Colonel Melgwood,
Professor Morrison of Oxford.

and a dozen or more men and women whose names though not known are the actual workers. It is this Committee which is bucking me in a series of meetings for this month. One next Friday and again on the 19th March when I shall speak on the Educational Aspects under Dictatorship. Also the Committee called the Conference of Branch Secretaries of Trades Unions, which is to take place on Wednesday but now that the white wash has appeared I am afraid very few Secretaries will have the courage to attend the Conference.

Dear Friend, I am afraid I will not be able to send your friends in South Wales copies of my correspondence with the different people here. I thought at first that I might do that but on thinking it over I am come to the conclusion that it is best not to do so since my correspondents may not care to have their letters made public. I will write all points - besides as I shall be in South Wales for some time I will have chance of hearing me on the subject of these and to judge for themselves if they are capable of judging. I hope you will not misunderstand.

Yes, the Dortmund Mine explosion was a dreadful thing. It is queer how an association of ideas sometimes works. When I read of the appalling accident I at once thought of you and for a moment I could not get rid of the feeling that you were still there and probably caught in the disaster. In fact it gave me a sinking of the heart. You see we can none of us escape our own subjective feelings. It is quite different when we know people than when we read about tragedies concerning people we do not know. Naturally I felt very intense about the unfortunate victims in the explosion but I know that the feeling would have been much more intense had you been there or anyone else whom I know personally. Isn't it natural after all that we should feel for those who mean something in our lives more than for the abstract known as humanity? - And yet some of us who have dedicated our lives to humanity will often refuse to do for individuals, dear and near to us, what they are ready and willing to do for humanity in the mass. Human nature is so complicated it is difficult to know what drives us on.

I do not think I ever envy anybody anything except their chances of enjoying sunshine - or is it that I have had so little of it since I have been in England that I crave it so much.

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The Emma Goldman Papers

830720005

[Letter] 1925 March 5, London [to] Powers Hapgood, Rome / E[mma] G[oldman]. --
3 p. ; 35 x 22 cm.

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Mr. Powers Hapgood

Page 3

For that alone I want to be in Italy but on the other hand I
should probably suffer more there because of the blackening created
by the Fascisti - that is the law of the land.

Please write very kindly to your Parents and
do write again when you have the time.

Fraternally,

EG

Please return inclosures.

Out of 200 Brand Secretaries invited
or 12 came last night. It was
interesting, just the same. But
the talk of Mascan or Hegst - -
EG

Hapgood Mss.
Manuscripts Department, Lilly Library
Indiana University, Bloomington, Indiana

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The Emma Goldman Papers

870924236

[Letter] 1925 March 5, London [to Emma] Goldman, [London] / [Lady] Rhondda. — 1 p.; 25 × 18 cm.

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Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

TELEPHONE NO.
KENSINGTON 2448.

15, CHARLES STREET

LONDON, W.1.

March 5th, 1925.

Dear Miss Goldman,

I have asked various women whom I thought likely to interest you, for Friday, the 13th, at 3.30 p.m. I have not had any acceptances yet, but people are very slow in answering, so, unless you hear to the contrary, that is fixed.

Yours sincerely,



Miss Goldman,
3, Fitchfield Terrace,
St. John's Wood Road,
N.W.8.

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 19]25 March 5 [London to Emma] Goldman, [London] / Florence Wedgwood. — 4 p. ; 17 × 12 cm.

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Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

16403

12. Beaufort House,

Chelsea, S.W.3.

5. m. 25

Dear Miss Goldman

If you can run up on
Sat: morn, as soon after 10 a.m.
as you can manage, Col. Wedg-
wood will wait for you. We
propose a long cycle ride
into the country, which is
our almost invariable way
of spending those rare Sat:
mornings which he has free.
He leaves here on Sun: morn:
at 8.30 a.m. for Abingdon - a
meeting - & gets back at 3.30 p.m.
on Monday. This is the third
Sunday he has had "long
distance" meetings & a night

You will tell me when
you come? Sat: 10.15 a.m.
with kind regards & best wishes
Florence J. Wedgwood

Col. Wedgwood.
Mar. 6976.

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 19]25 March 5 [London to Emma] Goldman, [London] / Florence Wedgwood. — 4 p. ; 17 × 12 cm.

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in the train to get back¹⁶⁰⁰ for
early engagements on Monday.
With regard to a meeting
of "worth while women" — such
women (— who can & will work
for a cause —) have already
adopted their chosen field. — I
do not think anything is to
be gained by speaking to them.
They are already well-informed
& will give sympathy (or other
wise) to the cause, but their
time & money is engaged for
their own work. — For example —
Lady Courtney, wrapped up in
the W.I.L.; Sylvia Paulhurst
engrossed in the Italian Freedom
League; Mrs Jennie Baker in
Birth Control; myself in taxation
of L.V. propaganda. Mrs S. Webb

The Emma Goldman Papers

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Gal. X. 11. 6976.

16405

12. Beaufort House,

Chelsea, S.W.3.

is writing another book, & therefore remains away at her country house, refusing all engagements, I am sure she would be no use to you. The only thing to do is to educate public opinion, — to get hold of the People, & that is done 1) thro' the press, & 2) by addressing meetings of the people. (not personalities such as Mr P. Lawrence, Mr Snowden etc.) It is slow work but sure. If you are willing to do this spade work, I can help you to numbers of small meetings (especially of women) before whom you can lay your

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16406
Case. Best of all, would be, to
give in your name to Miss Annie
Somers, our London labor women's
organiser, as willing to address
women's sections in London &
environs. You would then re-
ceive numerous requests from
various parts, but they would
almost all be small audiences
of from 20 to 40. I address about
40 such meetings every year, &
tho' there are no showy results,
there is steady increase of know-
ledge, & support for the cause.
I strongly advise you to work
on these lines (you can almost
always get a "resolution" carried
& forwarded by the Branch to the
right quarter) for these busy
influential women (like Mrs. P.H.,
have "no time" for any cause but
their own. I could arrange for you

at the
section if you
like, then I
could be about
the "women's
club" & have
the people at
my disposal, &
don't forget
the "women's
club" & have
the people at
my disposal, &
don't forget

The Emma Goldman Papers

870927201

[Letter] 1925 March 7, Nice [to Emma] Goldman, London / Frank Harris. —
1 p. ; 27 × 20 cm.

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Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

My dear Miss Goldman,

Please pardon this hurried note but I am rather
overwhelmed with work at the moment.

Of course I will do my utmost in the way of
showing hospitality to a friend of yours, and will be as gracious as
I can to Den Levine for your sake.

Affectionately
Ever Sincerely yours

Frank Harris

Miss Goldman
3 Titchfield Terrace
St John's Wood Road
LONDON N.W.8

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599

The Emma Goldman Papers

870925311

[Letter] 1925 March 7, London [to] Emma Goldman, [London] / Prince Hopkins. —
1 p. ; 20 × 16 cm.
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Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

15060

76, Palace Court,
LONDON, W. 2.
7th March 1925.

Miss Emma Goldman,
3, Titchfield Terrace,
St. John's Wood Road,
N. W. 8.

Dear Emma,

I'll go over my list of names and see
if I can find some which will be useful to you.
I've spoken to several about your lectures, but
have not been successful in getting many to come.

I should be glad to help by getting a
few tickets; but the lectures can't be considered
a success unless you've a substantial number of
supporters.

Sincerely,

Prince Hopkins

P. S. I enclose 10 s. to cover 4
tickets. ^{most} Please send them to the
Psychological Laboratory, University
College, Gower St. In fact, I think it
would be best if you sent all my mail there.

600

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 19]25 March 7 [London to Emma] Goldman, [London] / Florence Wedgwood. — 2 p. ; 14 × 9 cm.

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Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

Oct 25 1912

16488

12. Deaufort House.

7. iii. 25-

Chelsea, S.W.3.

Dear Miss Goldman

The threatening weather drove us home earlier than we intended & I have had time to write out some addresses for you tonight. I hope there will be a good response, but Hampstead certainly is rather far out, & my husband is pessimistic.

I wish I had known before you left that you

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 19]25 March 7 [London to Emma] Goldman, [London] / Florence Wedgwood.— 2 p. ; 14 × 9 cm.

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16456

had brought us the lovely
daffodils, it was a kind
thought & they give me
so much delight. I love
flowers, & as a gift they
give double pleasure. Thank
you so much!

I will communicate
with you again when I
have arranged with the
Shelva L.P. Secretary & with
Mr. Somers, I shall ask
them to write direct to
you - with best wishes
Florence L. Wedgwood.

The Emma Goldman Papers

870920253

[Letter] 1925 March 8 [London to Emma Goldman, London] / David Soskice. —
2 p. ; 17 × 18 cm.
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Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

5059

TELEPHONE NO.
RIVERSIDE 882.

5, GIRDLE ROAD,
BROOK GREEN,
W. 14.

March 8-1925

Dear Friend,

Yes it is sad, but the hall was out of
the usual way, and that explains the
poor attendance. Then, the 'is also
responsible for a good many being
absent. However, 150 are not quite bad.

I should advise you to affix big
posters at the entrance of the Co-operative
Fair and wherever it is possible.
The little Landbills should
be for distribution with the tickets.

Please send me: ^{12 tickets at 1/-}
4 " " " 2/-
2 " " " 1/-
i.e. for £1-6-0 altogether. I do not
ask for more at little time remaining
and besides at least about half

603

The Emma Goldman Papers

870920253

[Letter] 1925 March 8 [London to Emma Goldman, London] / David Soskice.—
2 p. ; 17 x 18 cm.
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of the tickets I have taken for
the last Meeting remains untold.

My house is still filled with
invalids. But I hope we shall
soon be all right, and must hope
you will come to see us.

Please send a few handbills.

I enclose a cheque of £1-14-0 for the
tickets (including 8/- for last Meeting
tickets).

Yours sincerely

David Soskice

~~Please send me 3 or 4 handbills~~

The Emma Goldman Papers

870920101

[Letter] 1925 March 10 [London to] Emma Goldman, [London] / Stan Harding. —
1 p. ; 25 × 20 cm.
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Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

MUSEUM 8878.

4773

35, DEVONSHIRE STREET,
THEOBALDS ROAD, W.C.

10th March, 1925.

Dear Emma Goldman,

I tried and tried to think of Hampstead people who would be greatly interested to hear your lecture and I could tell others, and can only think of :-

Mr. Henry W. Nevillson,
4, Downside Crescent,
N.W.3.

Miss Edith Durham,
35, Clonsdale Road,
N.W.2.

Mr. J. Bruce Bullock,
Widley,
N.W.3.

Miss Neta Fitzgerald,
47, Broadhurst Gardens,
N.3.

The Fellowship of Reconciliation,
17 Red Lion Square, W.C.

The Student Movement House,
32, Russell Square,
W.C.1.

If you send a couple of bills to Miss Neta Fitzgerald she will get them posted in two or three places, libraries etc. in every part of the world. She posted a notice of your Islington lecture at the Fellowship of Reconciliation in Red Lion Square and I suggest that you should send them another and also the Student House which is frequented by a great many people living in Hampstead.

Wishing I could be much more helpful.

Stan Harding

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605

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1925 March 11, London [to Alexander Berkman, Berlin] / E[mma] G[oldman]. — 4 p. ; 29 × 19 cm.

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Institutional Location: Alexander Berkman Archive.

3, Titonfield Terrace,
St John's Wood Road,
London, N. W. 6.

March 11th, 1925.

Dearest . At last I am able to write you. The week since last Wed. has been a mad rush leaving me hardly time to ~~take~~ breath. The review of the Report had to be ready for yesterday, that means I had to read the Report and do it very carefully. I did not get the damned thing until last Wed. I began reading it when the Committee left 11,30 P. M. read until four in the morning. Thursday was our meeting so I could do nothing with the Report, but I read until three A. M. that night. All day Friday until early morning hours. Saturday I saw, I do not know how many people, worked part of the night making notes. Sunday all night and part of Monday and in the evening Doris typewrote the whole thing. My greatest difficulty was to squeeze in as many of the important points as I possibly could. But I had to leave out equally important things as you will see when you read my review. The Report is one mass of misrepresentation, take their statement as to prostitution, I could have answered that if I had space, about the ~~last~~ h ~~omes~~, Georgia which I was able to merely touch upon. In short the Report would require at least a brochure. I wish to Christ we had the money to do it and sell it at cost price. I am sure the Report will do a terrible lot of mischief, my reply isn't enough. I am anxious to know how you like the reply. I would have given anything if I could have sent it to you for revision, but it was impossible as the thing had to be in the hands of the London correspondent of the N. Y Times yesterday afternoon. I took it over and it went to A. this morning. Tell me how you like it and frankly please though it will not help to correct whatever errors you may find. I try to be as objective as possible but I was so enraged with the white wash ~~whitewash~~ had to hold on to myself not to call the Delegation the names it deserves. ~~He~~ will find much of the English spelling of the language, Doris can not do it any ~~thix~~ other way, she also insists on using some English expressions. But it is alright. People in A. will think I became Englishized, God if forbid.

Most of the material comes from the stuff Schwartz has been sending me. I should have liked to give him credit for what ever I quoted, but I could not do that as it would have prejudiced the accuracy. The quotations from the Pravda appeared in the German Bulletin the RSDP is issuing in Berlin. I hope they are reliable. I used very little from Dni except their Pravda quotation about the destitute children. Regarding the Trade Union the reference is partly from an article of Schwartz, partly from one in the German Gewerkschafts paper. I really must subscribe to the Pravda, or you should, then you could send it to me, or just the parts of interest. It is so much safer. Well, the review will have to stand as it is.

The way I got in touch with the N. Y Times is through the London correspondent. I met him some time ago, he asked me to phone him ~~if~~ when I have anything I want to publish on Russia. When I read the reviews of the Report I saw at once that it that the Report itself must be a terrible whitewash. I then asked the London man of the World to cable if the W. would take a review. He did. The reply was in the negative. I then called up the Times man who cabled. The reply came within 24 hours to send a review of three thousand words and that they would pay hundred dollars. I was not very enthusiastic to go into the Times but there was no other paper and something had to be published about the damn report. Then two hundred dollars is a baggerly sum for a paper like the Times. Still it is better than nothing. Anyway I consented ~~add~~ after I got your wire.

The Emma Goldman Papers

881023224

[Letter] 1925 March 11, London [to Alexander Berkman, Berlin] / E[mma] G[oldman]. — 4 p. ; 29 x 19 cm.

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2

The Time's man ~~said~~ is trying to place the same article here, ~~said~~ there is no objections to the appearance of the article in London, provided it is stated that the copyrights for the U. S. is with the New York Times. But I fear no paper here would take it because most of them have had very good reviews and they hate to take up much space for outside ~~writers~~ writers. Still he is trying. You see I have to put my foot down against three leading papers, the Mail, the Morning Post and the Express. The first two are violent Tory papers, the Express is so sensational And the others had good reviews. I am sending you the Manchester Guardian with Michael Farbman's review, also Garvin's from the Observer.

If my review can not be placed here we ought to enlarge it and get it out for use here in a ~~pamphlet~~ pamphlet. What do you say? I will talk to the Committee this evening, perhaps Freedom would undertake to stand part of the expence. The Committee had a big difioit last Thursday, the meeting was attended by hundred and fifty people in a Hall of eight hundred. You can imagine how I felt. Still the spirit was not bad, I rather think even some of the Communists went away less antagonistic than they were before the lecture. But that is not going to cover the difioit. The Committee now hopes for success at the Hampstead meeting. But I hate to bank too much on it though no doubt Rebecca's name will draw out a lot of people. Anyway, the Committee has no money, we have no material backing and no people. I do not know therefore who will stand the cost of ~~the~~ a pamphlet dealing with the rot rotten report. I will see what the folks have to say. Should we decide upon it, I will have to ask you to enlarge my article by whatever you wish to say so that both our names can appear, or still better the name of the British Committee. What do you say? Let me know at once because it will have to be done quickly if at all.

Dearest, I did not mean that I am already dead broke, I think when I wrote I said I still had enough for about two months to live. And now with the hundred I will get from the Times I will be alright until the end of May. Then we will see. It is only that one ~~can~~ not stand the strain of insecurity. If I could only earn something regularly, even half of the expences it would not be so trying. But just know I am alright for several months and "far spater wet Gott sorgen" The thing which worries me more is that we have no backing. Think of it Hopkins is here, he is immensely wealthy, yet he sends a few measely shillings, he did contribute five pounds once to the campaign that is all. It is simply disgusting how people of means cling to their rotten money. And among the English I have not found one person who has offered to help. That makes it difficult for our work. I do not know what will be further, so far we have managed somehow.

How ridiculous for Steinberg to say that I am doing "wonderful" work. Hell of a lot he knows the kind of work you and I are used to doing. What I do here seems like a drop in the ocean. I know I could do much if I had even a little help. Some competent person to organize things or give his time to it, a few people to raise a fund. If things do not improve it occurred to me that I might write to a few of our American friends who might raise couple of hundred dollars for the work here. What is your opinion? I will wait until I see the response in South Wales. I will know better than.

I read Brailsford's suggestion of a general Red Cross. I would have sent it to you but I knew you were too hard worked with the Baldwin stuff you could not spare time to read or do anything. I am sending you to day under separate cover the New Leader containing the editorial, also the New Leader of last week containing Brailsford's review of the Report. You will see that even he could not stomach the whitewash. Am also sending you laste weeks Manchester Guardian with Farbman's review. It is impossible for me to keep all the different parties supplied with material, it costs too much and takes too much time.

The Emma Goldman Papers

881023224

[Letter] 1925 March 11, London [to Alexander Berkman, Berlin] / E[mma] G[oldman]. — 4 p. ; 29 × 19 cm.

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3

Steinberg will have to borrow what I send from you. Take for instance the Report, I got ten copies, spent nearly two pounds. In my present position this is criminal, but I had to get a copy each for you, Shapiro, Nettlau, Rudolf, Henry Alsberg, Ben Capes, John Cook, the last two repeatedly sent money towards the work here so I must keep them supplied. One copy I have for myself and one I mean to send to the Freie Arbeiter Stimme. Oh yes, one I must send to Schwartz, he more than deserves it for the amount of material he sends me. I must have spent four pounds on newspapers since I am here. I simply can not keep this up. But of course, I want to keep you supplied. I just want you to explain to Steinberg why it is impossible for me to send everybody some material.

To come back to the New Leader's suggestion, Bilsford will not work with us. I have been thinking that our Committee might take up the idea, but I must first see the possibilities of the provinces, if there is any response and there are people we may start such a move as a general Red Cross for all politicals. Just now we can do nothing.

Had a wire from Don, he is coming in tomorrow and will be my next door neighbor. I suggested he should take a room in our house, he seems to be glad about it. Dear I did not mis understand the arrangements of the stuff Levine is getting up. You explain that some ages ago, you ~~must~~ simply have forgotten. I do think your name ought to be mentioned. I will see if I can suggest that to Don. It is heiklig for me as it is for you because it is your name I will suggest, if it were someone not so near to me it would be different. But I will see. My main reason for wanting your work credited is that the book will probably have a big sale which would help to make you known in Europe. I will see.

My young friend Switz told me last night that the Nation has some of the stuff you have sent Baldwin. He promised to send the Nation to me. I will then send it to you. It is the blackest shame that the Baldwin gang will break up your material in bits. But one is helpless with the gang. The same number of the N. is supposed to have an article by Fisher attacking us because "E. G. and A. B. never protested against politicals in Russian prisons when they were in Russia" The liar. As if we did not begin making protest six weeks after we were in Russia, and again in behalf of Kronstadt, and against the imprisonment of our people. All the documents are on hand, but these God damn liar are in ourable. Do you think the Nation should be written to in this matter Let me know.

I am afraid I will not be able to get many people to gether to meet Don. The Trade Union report has spread its poison. I could sense that the other morning when I went to have a talk with Wedgwood. I had to be at their house at nine in the morning. It takes an hour to get to them and I went to bed at three the night before. You can imagine how much sleep I had. I had hoped Wedgwood would consent to the plan Rebecca and I have, to organize a tea and call people together for Don to address. Then out of that started a campaign for Spirdonova. Well, I found Wedgwood a changed man. "After all Miss G, you are out of Russia too long and Mr Young has been there now. I could not doubt his word" Young is the rat who was in diplomatic service under the Tsar, never protested against the terror then, wrote the report on Georgia, in short a hypocrite of the worst sort. Yet Wedgwood believes him, and is no longer willing to go ahead. He did not say that he does not want his name used on our Committee, but I would not be surprised if some of these days he'll ask that it be taken off. It is madning. Well, when Don comes I will first of all get him together with Rebecca then we will see. But I know already we will not achieve much.

Friday afternoon I am having tea at Lady Rhonnda one of the most important feminists here, she has asked some women to meet

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Much love.

temperature during go in
in the package

The Emma Goldman Papers

881023223

[Letter] 1925 March 12 [London to Alexander Berkman, Berlin] / E[mma Goldman]. — 3 p. ; 29 x 19 cm.

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3 Titchfield Terrace
St. John's Wood Road.
N.W., 8,

March 12th, 1925.

Dearest, I must follow up my megille from yeeterday, My Committee feels that it is of the utmost importacne to have a more detailed rejoinder to the Report than I could make in three thousand five hundred words. In fact, if we do not get out a pamphlate of at least sixtheen pages or even more we might as well pack up our efforts since the mischief already done by the whitewash has ~~already~~ effected a lot of people, and is going to do so more and more. I feel therefore that you must help, Bash dearest.

This is the plan, first I am sending you my copy of the Report which looks like a battlefield, I have read it more carefully than I have anything else in many years and I have marked the most important parts. That will save you going over the damned whitewash at length.

Secondly, I am sending you the Bulletin of the RSD, with marked articles of value to our purpose. I had to ~~xxx~~ use the most condensed part, you will be able to add to mine whatever you find necessary from the data contained in the Bulletin, it is authentic as the Bulletin gives the source and date. For instance the chapter on Trade Union "bliss" must be considerably enlarged, you have the article on the subject from Schwartz which is very good, you have several things quoting Tomsky, especially the one I got to day which I am sending dealing with the graft in the Unions and Tomsky's threat that the death penalty will be imposed. The only method the damned fools know. And there is a lot more on the unions, oh yes also the short article inclosed here dealing with strikes. All that should come in in reply to the part of the Report which states that "The workers in Russia are the ruling class and enjoy the preveleges of the ruling class"

In connection with this and the statment of the in dependence of the Soivets it will be well to bring in the data on elections, conditions of the workers as quoted from Trud and the data contained in the Bulletin about the exploitation of young workers. Then again in regard's care of health you also have a lot of data to enlarge on the chapter I am dealing with

1001, which is a very good one, I am sending you a rough copy of the data which I have collected, and a complete relation of the figures in the data dealing with the working conditions of the women in the old Bulletin, I think it can be enlarged by quotations from the conditions of the women in Solovetsky. Also you have data

Then about desitute children, my chapter dealing with that can be enlarged from the data I am sending you. In connection with that should come the state of health among the Communist scouts as per my quotations and some more data I am sending you.

In regard to prostituion use some of your own data and add my chapter which I am sending you in the rough copy giving statistics from Soviet source.

Treatment of common prisoners I used from your copy in the old Bulletin, I think it can be enlarged by quotations from the conditions of the women in Solovetsky. Also you have data

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610

The Emma Goldman Papers

881023223

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dealing with the et/appe method. And anything else you might have yourself. Treatment of the politicals is doubly needed, first to refute the report, secondly the liss of Krassikove which as you will see from the Nation I am sending you passes as the Government's report on the improved conditions in Solov. You have enough material to quote from, about the renewed hungerstrike. Then there is Susdal and ever so many places. I am sending you some quotes and you probably have some more. Could you not use something of the material prepared for the Baldwin group? You will see by the Nation that what we expected happened. The Nation took an infinitesimal part of your material and gobbled even that. Inclosed is Henry's letter to the Nation which came in a letter from Harry Kelly. By the way, Henry also mixes matters, writes I was not officially connected with the expedition which is nonsense. However you can see what has been done with your labours, and the report of that Washlappen Ward, it is sickening. Anyway if you can use some of the material you have, do so, it is important no matter what the Baldwin gang will say.

Connection with the chapter on politicals and the latest hungerstrikes of S R and others, use Spirdonova, use the cases of our own women, or rather this should be used in connection with the cruel methods of exile after sentence expires. A very forcible chapter can be made of that. And also in connection with that the liss that "capital punishment is used in extreme cases of counter-revolution" needs to be refuted by quotations from the penal code and the accounts even in Soviet papers of shootings.

In reply to the statement of the "satisfaction of the peasantry" as quoted in the report, you have data to smash this to pieces from somethings I am sending you and the general alarm of the Government itself, the new overtures and promises to the peasants, a substantial chapter ought to be devoted to that.

Then regarding Georgia, I am sure Schwartz and the others must have some recent material, it is very important to have a thorough refutation of that damnable whitewash which by the way was written by that lakey Young, in diplomatic service for 20 years.

In the conclusion it might be a good idea to quote from Brailsford's article in re complete suppression of all political rights, and also Turner in Foreign Affairs which I am sending. Dearest Sash, I know I am loading you with a big job, but it is absolutely imperative that we publish a refutation of the liss in the report showing that the Delegation demanded ~~nothing~~ on Soviet documents, and not on what they could possibly have gathered in a little over six weeks. The Committee really has no means to get out this pamphlet but it is ready to do it just the same, even if the members will have to contribute individually. I therefore ask you to compile the material as soon as possible. I wish to Christ it could be done soon enough for my meetings in Wales, but that I know is impossible though if you would devote yourself to the job at once and send ~~it~~ the manuscript to us, we'd have it done quickly. It occurred to me that it might even be advisable to do without the large quantity of the new Bulletin and have the pamphlet instead, we want to be able to sell it at two pennies if it is sixteen pages, if more for three pence. I depend upon you dear boy, to help us with the job. You can change whatever you want in my article. It will be necessary to state that part of the material was contained in article written by me for the New York Times.

The Committee wants that your and my name should go on the pamphlet as responsible authors, but that it would be gotten out by the British Committee.

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Be

Dear should I reply to Fishers charge that we never protested against the imprisonment of politicals while we were in Russia? I think it ought to be done, but I would first like to hear from you. If you agree give me the time when you went as one of a committee to see Krestinsky in behalf of the politicals in Butirka. It was Krestinsky you went to see wasn't it? give me also what he said. Then I should like a few quotations from the negotiations with the gang in behalf of our people who were hungerstriking in 1921, Maximoff and the rest. In short any thing you think best to shew up the everlasting misrepresentation on the part of the Soviet foreign lakeys. I will then write to the Nation.

Have just been called up by my agent, the Westminster Gazette which is the most liberal here is ready to bring part of my review of the report. It is a daily paper and evidently can not spare too much space. I am waiting to hear how much it wants to take and what part. I will let you know.

I have a million things to do and I want this to go right now so it will reach you Saturday morning, am also sending two packages of printed matter. I shall want my copy of the report return and the Bulletin of the RSD. the others I do not need.

Let me hear from you at once and whether we can depend upon you to let us have the manuscript as soon as possible.

Love. *E*

No word from Don, do not know what time he arrives.

To Murese has a son at last. am sending the kid. Dred if only you were here, we could do so much more

The Emma Goldman Papers

870927200

[Letter] 1925 March 12, Nice [to] Emma Goldman, London / Frank Harris. —
1 p. ; 26 × 20 cm.
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6/6 The American Express Co. Paris
P. Rue du Commerce
NICE A.M. FRANCE

March 12th. 1925

My dear Miss Goldman,

I was so glad to have your letter and thank you
for sending me your articles. ^{*I'll see what can be done with them.*}
S. I think your advice about the
"Bomb" excellent, and should be very glad indeed if you would
write a review of it and send it to the "Syndikalist". *I'll send*
you the German if you wish.

I treated your friend Don Levine as charmingly
as I could for your sake - have sent him some literature, and
will send him on to England to tell you himself all about it. *He's*
really interesting & well worth knowing.

Excuse more for the moment as I am very rushed
for time as you can guess with the proofs of my new book
needing constant correcting.

Sincerely and affectionately yours

Frank Harris,

Miss Emma Goldman,
3, Titchfield Terrace
St Johns Wood
LONDON N.W.8

The Emma Goldman Papers

850702137

[Letter] 1925 March 12 [New York to] Emma Goldman, London / H[arry] W[einberger].— 3 p. ; 28 x 22 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the Yale University Library. Institutional Location: Harry Weinberger Papers, Department of Manuscripts and Archives.

March 12, 1925.

Miss Emma Goldman,
3, Pittenfield Terrace,
St. John's Wood Road,
London N. W. 8
England.

My dear E. G.

Your letter with interesting enclosures has been received. I note Bertrand Russell's position which I think is a fair one. The others who feel they should not raise their voices because they are busy at home, are wrong. They can make their protests to condemn injustice. Even the modest socialist should be willing to stand for that.

I do not know whether or not there will be another trial of the God of Vengeance. With all the furor of "What Price Glory" and "Desire Under the Vines" being complained about, and "The Good Bad Women" having been taken off, and some of Belasco's plays coming into the light, I am not getting into the picture, though all these producers will be the inheritors of my fight and get the benefit of the same.

Personally I do not believe they will stop "Desire Under the Vines" when it is considered that so many intelligent people have stood up for it.

I spoke at a dinner the other day with Mr. Hanson, head of the Actors Union and his excuse for the Play Jury is that it is the only way to bar censorship for the theatre similar to that of the movies, but he said that if they find the Play Jury interferes with fine plays, they will withdraw their consent. In the meanwhile the Play Jury has been working time, nothing has come of it and the plays have been going on.

As far as putting on the God of Vengeance again I told the District Attorney I would not discuss it, that I was talking only of the present indictment. As a matter of fact, I would not put it on without someone else doing the fine thing.

I have closed the "Emperor Jones" and would have made considerable money but had to leave from the Lyric Theatre where I was beginning to back them in and then instead of getting the Princess Theatre, the "L. L. Glendon" insisted on stopping there after I had a contract, so I had to give it up and then took a theatre west of Fifth Avenue and lost money. "Emperor Jones" may go over to London this summer.

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E. G.

-2-

March 12, 1925.

I have always liked John Barrymore's acting and I liked him in "Wendell" though I would have had more fire in it. I never saw Shaw's "The Man of Destiny" nor have I read it. I saw "Mrs. Warren's Profession" last night at the Jewish Art Theatre. One poor Jewish Rabbi made a protest.

Don't worry about Ransel and Cline. As soon as the Pardon Board gets started there may be results.

There was a fine meeting for Karolyi protesting about his being gagged. Professor Beard spoke and got a stupendous ovation at the end. They will probably bring his speech out in pamphlet form.

Mexico has a long way to travel before she has any economic health. In addition she is honeycombed with graft almost from top to bottom and the present President who is trying to do away with it is probably tinkering with his wife at the present time. I would not express a definite opinion in detail on any country without first touring its language, politics, riding and mixing with its people for months.

I am glad to note what you say in reference to your meetings of protest. I suppose you will be deciding by the meantime what you want to do as to staying in England and other things. I am looking for a new office at this time.

I enclose herewith a copy of a letter recently sent to Dr. Cohen, from which you will be glad to note that we have received \$258.99 up to February 2nd on your book. They also seem to be putting some big odds in the Nation and there is a discussion about your book in the Nation. This ought to help sell some more.

Otherwise all quiet along the Rialto. Trying to attend to law business and earn a little money.

I enclose herewith a clipping from the New York Times which is standing up for the God of Vengeance and Desire Under the "Bliss", according to newspaper reports.

Sincerely,

H. W.
Enc.

P. S. The committee of course believes in free speech, free press and for the freedom of political prisoners everywhere, spoke up the meeting the other night at Town Hall. Personally I believe the police should not have been called in and that a real chair would have been able to make the audience believe in free speech and chairmen to let us make a speech really.

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A. G.

-3-

March 12, 1925.

saying that Love told for the communists, and while he was trying to make up his mind, the meeting broke up.

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616

The Emma Goldman Papers

881023220

[Letter, 1925 March 13? London to Alexander Berkman, Berlin] / E[mma Goldman].— 8 p. ; 21 × 30 cm.

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Institutional Location: Alexander Berkman Archive.

Friday 

Dearest A.

I sent you a box
of stuff yesterday. Maybe
everything arrived safely.
I am rather worried, be-
cause I sent the material
for our pamphlet in
an open envelope with
just a string around
it. I hope they will not
be lost. It would be
too bad.

I write so hard
to day to let you know
anything of recent date
perhaps which might
be of use to you
regarding, wages, etc.

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881023220

[Letter, 1925 March 13? London to Alexander Berkman, Berlin] / E[mma Goldman]. — 8 p. ; 21 x 30 cm.

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Institutional Location: Alexander Berkman Archive.

trade unions, etc etc

Dearest, since you are
not likely to be able to

have the new Bulletin
ready in time for Jack

Waller, you had better
not attempt to do so for

us. I will do with it
especially as we want

the brochure as quickly
as possible. My mother

will begin the 22nd
a night conference until

April 5th. You might
figure out how you

can get the Bulletin
or order copies for

The Emma Goldman Papers

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[Letter, 1925 March 13? London to Alexander Berkman, Berlin] / E[mma Goldman]. — 8 p. ; 21 × 30 cm.

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accordingly. Do consider
well what some
course, but I will not
need more than 5000
however, if 10,000 are
ordered for us it is
all right.

I had an awful
day because of Dan.
Got a wire this morn-
ing that he has been
refused a British visa
and could Rebecca do
something. I phoned
her at once but as I
expected she said she
in vain, much a pity
with the present Government

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[Letter, 1925 March 13? London to Alexander Berkman, Berlin] / E[mma Goldman]. — 8 p. ; 21 × 30 cm.

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as I must, see. I have
checked after office,
without result. When
I returned home at
• 10 o'clock, I found
• another piece saying
it was alright and
that he is coming at
ten forty to night
so I must go to meet
him. I am certainly
• glad he managed to
• get the visa for no
one I know here
could have done any
thing for him.

The Emma Goldman Papers

881023220

[Letter, 1925 March 13? London to Alexander Berkman, Berlin] / E[mma Goldman]. — 8 p. ; 21 × 30 cm.

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I go to Northampton
Monday afternoon, will
return Tuesday. In the
evening I have the
meeting in East end
Green will also give
translation to the Paris
Commune
I am so glad I
got some of your
samples. I will
take them to J. W.
Key will do much good
among the miners.
Wish me Dad many
our leaders will not

The Emma Goldman Papers

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[Letter, 1925 March 13? London to Alexander Berkman, Berlin] / E[mma Goldman]. — 8 p. ; 21 x 30 cm.

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- he bought the people
no money. I hope. I am
pamphlets would go to
meetings. Freedom side
has a lot of my
pamphlets now they
can be sold. I had
a stick in the mud
Reel is — no wonder
Freedom has no
sales or no circulation
Bereza has a square
at last, I am sending
her a wire to write
Simply had no time

The Emma Goldman Papers

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[Letter, 1925 March 13? London to Alexander Berkman, Berlin] / E[mma Goldman]. — 8 p. ; 21 × 30 cm.

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before.
I must be aff. I
shall have no credit
I hear from you
I hope you got everything
write me tomorrow
In any event I shall
could supply
note a set of y eggs
P.D. Berkman
German, it has to
at good data
Love E
Dear perhaps, you
better write to
Berkman, I am afraid

The Emma Goldman Papers

881023220

[Letter, 1925 March 13? London to Alexander Berkman, Berlin] / E[mma Goldman]. — 8 p. ; 21 × 30 cm.

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Institutional Location: Alexander Berkman Archive.

you will be mixed
up ~~with~~ me, my
a new instructed in
cg.

Return Asprey's letter
to the Nation, 9
ward to have copies
made of it.

The Emma Goldman Papers

880817030

[Letter, 1925] March 13, London [to Isaac] Don [Levine, Paris?] / E[mma] G[oldman].— 1 p.; 28 × 22 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the United States Library of Congress.
Institutional Location: Levine Collection.

3. Titchfield Terrace.
St John's Wood Road.
London, N, W.8.

March.13.

Dear Don. Just this minute your wire came. I am certainly shocked to hear that you were refused visa. Why on earth did you not provide yourself with one in Berlin? You would certainly have had greater chances there through your many connections.

I called up Rebecca though I knew it was useless since she could do nothing. She is too tainted with Liberalism to have any effect upon the Tories. Well she told me she could have no effect whatever, in fact she would spoil your chances if she tried to get you a visa. I have no idea whom else to approach. None of the Labour people could do anything. They are all hated like the pest since they were the Government, besides I know so few.

I could approach Steele of the Chicago Tribune but I would first like to hear from you whether there is not some strain between you and the Tribune gang. I have a hazy idea you were on the outs with Seldes. Better wire me as soon as you get this.

Outside of Steele there is only one other person who maybe able to suggest what one might do, he is a Russian lawyer. I will call him up this evening, I can not get him now. The worst business is that I must leave for South Wales next Saturday so unless we succeed in helping you I will not be able to see you at all, and I really must see you for a number of reasons. It is a damned shame about the visa, I have your room all ready and was sure I would find you on my return from Bernard Shaw's lecture last night.

Could not Dush'Fleuro help you? He was always most helpful to me. I suppose he is still holding the Paris post on the World. I can not think of any one else in Paris or here. But I will try Soscise and I will get in touch with Steele if you say so.

Keep me posted about your end.

Faithfully
E. G.

Be sure to see Shapiro he is at 26 rue Boussingault. Paris 13, better drop him a line as he is always out.

The Emma Goldman Papers

861111052

[Letter] 1925 March 13 [London to] Emma [Goldman, London] / John Turner. —
5 p. ; 24 x 20 cm.

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Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

John

1. William Ly. W.C.P.
March 13. 1925

6667

Dear Emma

I am delighted to learn from Venice to hand
that you have read the *Delegations*, about. A letter from
H. W. W. under this machine informs me that a copy of same
is being sent to me along with the Council's journal. I
do not know how to read the *Delegations*, but I am
sure that it is a very important document. In particular,
you have the advantage of being able to read it.

I have read it with a feeling of great interest and
am bound to say I find it with some very valuable
information. It is a very good example of the kind of
as the *Delegations* are written by Communists. I am glad to
see that you have read it.

You say that *Delegations* has been under the sway of the Moscow
magicians for a long time. — I have ^{fortunately} never, in any
way, succumbed to this influence and, can understand the
violent reaction in some quarters. In a time of such a
which you are in. But in my opinion this feeling is a very
instrument. and if you are not careful, will drive you into
the Political position occupied by Russia, during and
after the French revolution! I feel it is very necessary to
keep "a sense of proportion". In dealing with the situation in

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[Letter] 1925 March 13 [London to] Emma [Goldman, London] / John Turner.—
5 p.; 24 × 20 cm.
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666 ●

Russia and while agreeing heartily with you in your criticism of the Communist Party in relation to its political tyranny - particularly in the past, I am quite sure the intelligent Americans will not share the impetuosity in rushing to join a "Third International" party in the manner you advocate.

the common law, the right to sue for one's own injury, and I think it is a good thing. But I must also say the common law is a very old law, and it is not always the best law, and it is not always the most just law.

I can assure you I am neither sitting on one, much less on two chairs: not on a sofa, nor on a rug, but in bed, with my head on a pillow, and my feet on a rug, and my hands on my knees, and my eyes on the ceiling, and my heart on the cross.

[illegible]

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[illegible]

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6670

This is respecting our country the United States: There are scores, if not hundreds of disfranchised Americans and unfortunates being sent in the same way through out the country every district shows them on the road it is appalling!

Then there are the imprisoned prisoners still existing working any number of years or more without trial! A whole list!

And what of the Englishmen from the North Irish and else where who are now imprisoned on suspicion! have never been brought to trial! have been sent over to this country and are still in prison like the others!

There can be no in face of this about Politics showing in Russia that I though I have not hesitated to say what I thought should be said!

No wonder the others would not accept my conditions! They only desire to distract attention from the injustice of the assassination case to the relative worse things that have been done in Russia! I decline to lend my name to these games!!

And as for moralities! what of the N. A. cases and the Irishmen and the others of recent years! not to mention the series of notorious cases that have been dealt with recently under the criminal law tell they now would to present by law the publicity of them!!

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6671

Sincerely & faithfully Yours.

5. 11. 1944

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630

The Emma Goldman Papers

870925320

[Letter] 1925 March 14, London [to] Emma Goldman, [London] / Prince Hopkins. —
1 p. ; 20 × 16 cm.

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Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

15077

76, Palace Court,

LONDON, W.2.

14th March 1925.

Miss Emma Goldman,
3, Titchfield Terrace,
St. John's Wood Road,
N.W.8.

My dear Emma,

Thank you very much for the tickets for the
Meeting on the 19th which you sent me ^{and as a present, which I} I've come upon
a copy of your letter to Laski, which evidently I
failed to send back to you, and I therefore enclose it
herewith.

Sincerely yours,

Prince Hopkins

631

The Emma Goldman Papers

870923148

[Letter, 1925] March 16, Paris [to Emma Goldman, London] / [Alexander Berkman]. — 2 p. ; 24 × 21 cm.

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Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

Paris, March 16

8792

Dear, your good long letter from Liverpool received. Am anxious about your bad cough. Sure, you must consult a physician. See what is the matter there -- should not be neglected.

I am glad that at least you have a good room and service there in Bristol. Service the wrong word, of course. I mean attention. Give my greetings to our friends there.

I am busy with the Bulletin now. How many can you use. Please tell me at once, to know how many I am to order. A postal will do. We shall probably have no other Bulletin ~~xxxx~~ for a couple of months, and it will contain the financial account for the last year. So may be you want to send some special copies out. Let me know.

As soon as Bulletin is ready, will start on translation. Trying to get the Levine play from Berlin. No, it is in Yiddish -- did I say in German? Hardly. Levin understands only Yiddish. I never met him, but Rocker said he writes like a genius.

Am having dinner tonight with Meyerovitch. He is trying to get a certain Russian novel for me -- an old one, little known, but one that he thinks would be taken up in U.S. now -- deals with sex.

Yes, Meyer. is a fine fellow, his wife even nicer -- you'd like both.

Old Harry Weinberg and Yetta Grosz Pile. send love to you and inquire about you.

Had session Sunday with Jewish and Russian comrades in re Red Cross. They are no good and merely are jealous of the work of the Joint Comm. I am through with them as well as with the Jewish group here. There is one or two decent fellows there, but the groups just want to talk -- no idea of doing any work.

The representative of Vladimir said a ne Comm here is necessary, mainly because the Russian groups in U.S. have no confidence in the Berlin Comm. Proof: they never sent to Berlin money. Did they send money anywhere else, or do they do anything else? Well, no, they don't. Some proof, eh?

Well, they are no good. I am sure Shapiro is right -- he told me that before. But I wanted to give them a chance -- now we are through, and I need not waste any more time with them.

I am surprised the attendance at your lectures is small. What is the reason?

About your books -- I think it would be best and cheapest to send them or bring them direct to Paris. No telling where we shall be this summer. In France, I suppose, but whether in Paris or country, we cannot tell now.

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The Emma Goldman Papers

870923148

[Letter, 1925] March 16, Paris [to Emma Goldman, London] / [Alexander Berkman]. — 2 p. ; 24 × 21 cm.

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2

8725

I don't think there is much reliance either on Dorothy or Gugenheim.
I somehow don't care for any of those people and I see them seldom.

That parasite life, fake artists etc. in those cafés sickens me. All
pretense. I rarely go there, it is nothing but stupidity and drink.

If you will have your drama books here in Paris, they could be sent to you
to the country in the summer. It will be cheaper in re postage also.
Senya or Shapiro could from time to time send you whatever books (from
those you'll bring from England) you may need in the country here.

As to myself, of course I'd like to be in the sun etc. this summer. But
first of all I'll have to see if I get permission to stay. End of this
month I have to call for my identity card. Then we shall see.

Nothing new here. Quiet life. Working.

Love S.

You did not reply:
from whom were
those £ 5-10 you gave
me when you met me here?

Love S.

Today is but I
74 have a cable
on 4th

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633

The Emma Goldman Papers

881023221

[Letter] 1925 March 16, London [to Alexander Berkman, Berlin] / E[mma Goldman].— 3 p.; 30 × 19 cm.

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Institutional Location: Alexander Berkman Archive.



3, Titchfield Terrace.
St John's Wood Road.
London, N, W.8.

March 16th. 1925.

Dearest own Sash.

I got your short note of the 13th this morning, and just now your wire. I can not understand the latter. I know of course, how worn you must be ~~xxx~~ from the slavery of the whole Winter and now with the Bulletin. Still, I can not understand that you would refuse to help me in what is of the utmost importance ~~for~~ the work here. I have written you that the Report has already done a terrible lot of damage and it is certain ~~xxx~~ to do much more. As it is my position here is so difficult, the support so small that if we do not refute the lies in the Report, I might as well pack up and go. I shall not be able to swim against the terrific steam of prejudice any longer. It is this which compelled me to ask you to help on a pamphlet much as I hated to add to your burdens. Now what can be the reason that you should wire a refusal? Perhaps it is because you think there is not enough material for refutation? I am sure that must be the reason. ~~Butxxxxxxx~~ Anyway, I am waiting to get your letter of explanation.

Now listen dearest, my own article will almost make eight printed pages, it means that you would have to add another 3500 or so to the material, surely you have enough material from the stuff I sent you to make up sufficient quotes to refute the Report? The Pravda and Trud quotations alone are enough to show up the "golden" story regarding the Trade Unions in Russia painted in the Trade Union Report. Then about the children, you have enough to reply to that. You have more than enough to refute the statement about common and political prisoners. Perhaps you are tired out from the rush and strain of the whole Winter. I can readily believe that. Only dearest the situation here is too impossible, the conspiracy of silence too thick, the prejudice too much, I must have something that would help me in the struggle. I feel a pamphlet would be a tremendous weapon. I hope you do not think you will have to carry the burden of getting it printed. You are to have nothing to do with that. The printing will be done here, Owen can read proofs. You are only to get the manuscript together, to enlarge what I have written. I do hope you can do that. But if you feel it impossible, please send back the material I sent you with my copy of the Report, I will have to do the job myself and get Doris to typewrite it for me. How I will do it before I go to South Wales I really don't know. I only know it has got to be done.

Don arrived Friday night, but has so far not been able to do anything. No one is in town from Friday to Monday evening. He did see Laski who promised to get him ~~xxx~~ letters from Thomas Hardy, Shaw and others. Laski told him that while he absolutely agrees with my criticism of the Russian situation, he could not join me because he feels the stress must be laid upon purely humanitarian grounds in behalf of the political and not on the grounds I have taken, namely the point of view of political criticism of the regime. In other words, Laski thinks like the Liberals in A. the Moscow regime must not be touched under any circumstances. I wish I knew how it is possible to discuss the conditions of the politicals in Russia without touching upon the causes which shroud the country under an iron heel and puts everybody in prison for the least attempt to express an opinion. It maybe possible to use this indirect method in a book such as Levine has compiled, or if your material sent to Bald

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win were published in bookform. But from the platform it is impossible to simply quote document after document without comment of any sort. Well, each must do the work as he is best fitted for. I am sure Levine's book will cause a furor if he can get it out the way he intends. The furor however will be created not so much by the material as by the letters of European celebrities he has. If to the fifteen letters he can add some from Shaw, Wells, Hardy, and other English men and women of importance that will do the trick. Levine has the knack and will get the letters I am sure. But he will not get them in such a hurry as he imagines, it will take at least a few weeks if not more to get at people here. The English move like snails.

The party from whom he hoped to get money is on the Continent. Who would endure the London Winter if he can be elsewhere? Poor Don suffers terribly from the penetrating chill. I am here six months and have not gotten used to it. Anyway, his man is not here. But that does not dismay dear Don, he tells me he will go after him and will get the money. I hope he does. I feel sure that a cheap edition of the book is indispensable if it is ~~to~~ have the effect.

Don has a new idea, at least he claims it is his, another book to follow this one dealing with the dreadful state of the children in Russia. I see he has Volodin gather material for that. Don showed me a lot Volodin has already collected, all from the Soviet Press. If more can be gotten it would indeed make an overwhelming document and would most likely have a much wider appeal than the documents dealing with the conditions of the political. He wants me to help, he hopes to get money for that to get several of us to help. Yes, Levine has the trick to move matters. ~~But I am not sure~~ Well, I am really interested to see what luck he will have here. He certainly will get no money from the English, it will have to be a rich Jew, or American, the English are too close fisted to contribute to anything outside of their own immediate sphere.

Don has been with the book he is getting out so long that he is absolutely sure now that it is his idea and that he has compiled the whole material. I am therefore going to say nothing about giving credit to whom credit belongs. He is gracious enough to say that Zangwill wrote him E G prepared the ground here, and that George Brandes wrote he had read E, G, book and now after reading the documents sent him by Levine he feels he must send him a letter of protest, something to that effect. I did not see Brandes letter yet. But what difference does it make who will get the credit, the main thing is that the work will be published. It is more needed than ever now that the N Y gang has made such a botch with the material, you have slaved to get together. The recent Nation has Alberg's letter and a reply from the editor to the effect that, of course, the Nation could not print 180 pages sent to them by Baldwin. And of course they have grabbed Henry's foolish statement that I was not officially connected with the expedition. They quote from my book and say evidently Mr Fischer did not understand Miss Goldman's own statement that she was officially connected with the Government. ~~anyway~~ the Nation tries to get out of its contemptible conspiracy of silence on Russia in the Jewish way it has learned from Moscow. I am absolutely determined to write a letter to the editor and tell them what I think of their methods. When I have written the letter I will first send it to you.

To come back to the proposed pamphlet, Keell gave me The New Leader a Socialist paper appearing in N Y. It

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Institutional Location: Alexander Berkman Archive.

contains an interview of John Turner with the representative of the Jewish Forwards. If John is quoted correctly the interview ought to go into the pamphlet. It is a complete reversal of everything contained in the Trade Unions report, an attack on the regime more violent than anything we have written. I am seeing Turner to day as he has been invited to preside at my meeting in Northampton, in fact we are going up on the same train together. I will confront him with the interview and if it is correct, it will do more to offset the mischief of the Report than quotations ~~from~~ from the Pravda. I am certainly going to have it included in the pamphlet. If you change your mind and help me with it I will send you the interview, if not I will add it here.

The English psychology is certainly strange if a man like Turner can sign the Report and give such an interview, or write me a letter in reply to mine copy of which I inclose. Just think of the temerity to compare my position towards Russia with that of Burke to the French Revolution, it is stupid for words. Anyway, I inclose my reply to his letter. Please send me back the letter of T. My correspondence with him will come handy some day.

I am also sending you a handbill announcing the meeting Henry has gotten up. You will see that Russia was sandwiched in with the rest, I suppose it was the only way Henry could get the meeting and the speakers. I wonder what Baldwin and Vlodeck said about Russia. I can understand Henry's difficulties much better now than before I came to this rotten-country. The spook about Russia is as much abroad in the States as here and it will take much more time and effort to expose it than in the rest of the world.

Dearest, this will reach you the 18th, greetings of love and devotion go to you as usual on this day. I must close now, I leave for Northampton in a few hours and I still have an awful lot to do. Please, please Sash dear do help me with the list for the pamphlet. You have no idea how valuable it is for me here in my work to have some competent refutation of the stuff in the Report. Hopkins sent me five pounds towards the expense of printing and I think I can get more from some of the Russians, anyway, I feel we must have a pamphlet for circulation among the workers. It is alright if you can not do it in an hurry, it will be time enough even if the pamphlet is printed by the end of April. I am expecting to have meetings all through May. Besides if I know positively that we will have the brochure I can get the comrades in South Wales to ~~order~~ give advance orders for it. Anyway, I expect to hear from you in reply to this dear. I may not leave for South Wales before the 23rd, because the meeting the 22nd is not yet certain. The next definite date is the 25th, that will give me a few extra days in London which I need badly as I want to help Don in meeting people.

I embrace you dearest.

Devotedly.

Colliers finally sent me \$40. Key agreed to pay if Key do not take my article about America. You see I am rich

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870920102

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4774

MUSEUM 3979.

**35, DEVONSHIRE STREET,
THEOBALD'S ROAD, W.C.**

11. 17th

Dear Emma, I'll never

I want to love you
again. I am feeling so
thick. So much so a little

1000

Ich habe Sie sehr lieb und
hoffe, Sie werden bald
zu mir kommen.

1111

After the war

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637

The Emma Goldman Papers

870930023

[Letter] 1925 March 17, Vienna [to] E[mma] G[oldman, London] / M[ax] N[ettlau]. —
4 p.; 21 x 17 cm.
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Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

Vienna, March 17, 1925 ^{an. 18/2, Lxxviii 32 11/2}
Dear Comrade? I thank you for thinking of me
by sending the Trades Union blue book on Russia.
I hope only that it cost you but the postage;
it would be too bad otherwise. If J. T. is
anything in enabling this supply to friends, I thank
him also.

Now the motto of this book ought to be:
maudus vult decipi, ergo decipiat —
the world wishes to be deceived, so let it be
deceived.

I looked over a good deal of the book and read
the amusing travelling account, the preface, which
tells, page XXIII, that exactly every bit of the
book itself, 234 pages, was "prepared" by the
three advisory delegates. — I see from this how
hopelessly adrift I am; I still write books
myself, but it is evidently more convenient to
have them "prepared" by others.

Who selected these "advisory delegates" and
gave them that title which is ~~under~~ halfway
between a delegate and an adviser. Did the
Trades Union Supreme Authorities (T. U. Congress
General Council) or the unions or the delegation
appoint them and who gave them that title?

Who are they? see page IX.

G.: ... Admiralty Intelligence Department
1904-1905 [that is secret service or marine
spying] — governor of Hong Kong Naval Prison (oh
that press: it may have been considered as the

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nearest approach to an expert on political prisoners
in Russia) — and naval attache, St. Petersburg
[the highest type of naval spy] —

— Mc D. — British Vice Consul, Dube — British
Military Forces in Caucasus.... 1916-19.

(to his credit; he seems not to have joined the
I. L. O., as the two others did in 1915 and 1919)

— Y. diplomatic service — Admiralty
Intelligence, 1915-18 (spying during the war)
joined I. L. O. the same year, 1915.

Now I say again, You are old-fashioned. I
have an aversion against people who pass their
lives in the diplomatic service and who are of
those most clever and most plugging ones who
are picked out for secret service or to be
governors of prisons. They are no doubt an
elite, but in the most governmentalist sense.
Till now I thought that labor had an
adversion to them, though, of course, as a labor
government they continue the old system. Still I
believed that as independent trades unionists
— made independent by being paid out of the
contributions of millions of workers — they
would themselves loathe the contact with diplomatist
military secret service and prison people, and
second, that they would not insult the Russian
people by bringing such men over under the
cloak of British labor — nor insult the British
workers and public by — pointing the work of these
men on them as their own genuine effort of
investigation; I know that they acknowledge

The Emma Goldman Papers

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[Letter] 1925 March 17, Vienna [to] E[mma] G[oldman, London] / M[ax] N[ettlau]. —
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14819

their part... the work on page XXIII; but in my
impression this acknowledgment ought to be infinitely
more conspicuous to be a sincere statement; the
very title of the whole publication ought to have made
this fact visible to all at the first glance.

I cannot help seeing that the Russian authorities
must have seen all this and if they accepted these
evident life long British confidential State officials
— whatever their present status may be — as trusted
investigators, appointed and endorsed by British labor,
they knew what they were doing. Probably they gave
in this way to the British government (Macdonalds) an
opportunity, asked for, to investigate semi-officially, by
trusted governmental experts, whether trade and investments
in Russia were now safe etc., in short what is required to
reassure the capitalists — and this was done under the
cloak of a labor delegation. — Hence the brand of the
investigation is ~~the~~ to prove that Russia "is a strong and
stable State" — all the rest means nothing; for it is quite
indifferent to the capitalists what the manners and customs
of the particular negro tribe or Russian people are with
whom they trade — this is ethnographical detail — all they
want to know is whether trade and investments will be safe
— and this requires a strong and stable State — Russia is such
(3) a State, the trained confidential servants say — so everything is all right.

The Emma Goldman Papers

870930023

[Letter] 1925 March 17, Vienna [to] E[mma] G[oldman, London] / M[ax] N[ettlau]. —
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That looks to me the inner history of this report;
whether it suits the interests of the present government, is
another matter.

I am quite wrong, of course, as usual, but I question:
were there not three men to be found, knowing the
Ruman language, and who were not in the way —
(openly described, I recognize this: perhaps, that others
might not unveil these antecedents described in lifelong
intimate contact with government? —

Probably all these distinctions, discriminations are
a matter of the past, since socialism and labor have
tasted of power — I am an isolated relic of the past
who still shuns such contact — so I tell you my
impressions for what they are worth.

Of course such a report cannot have any weight
one way or the other in the matter of the political prisoners.

It reminds me of the once "famous" newspaper
reports of Vienna, when the Emperor Francis Joseph visited an
exhibition — he would tell everyone: *das ist sehr schön, interessant*, alternating
by: *das ist sehr interessant* — and president MacMahon said
to everyone: *continuer* (Führer, Sies so fort) — and when a coloured officer
was presented to him, he said: you are a black man, *continuer*. — So
the advisory delegates tell the bolsheviks: *das ist sehr schön* and
continuer to the bolsheviks since you cannot help it — the State is strong.
Trade will be safe, now you may stand in your own price as much as you like.
Many thanks for the book. Yours ~~the~~ sincerely E. N.

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 19]25 March 18 [London to Emma] Goldman, [London] / Florence Wedgwood. - 2 p. ; 14 x 9 cm.

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Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

16487

12. Beaufort House.

Chelsea, S.W. 3.

18. iii. 25.

Dear Miss Goldman

I wrote to Miss Somers
- received the enclosed reply.
Then I wrote to Dr. Phillips
- asked her to reply
direct to you, so if you
have not already, doubtless
you will hear from her.

also I have spoken
to our Secretary about a
meeting for you at the
-Kene's Club in Chelsea;
they will be only too glad
to have you speak there,

4. I have given notices of your meeting to several people & expect it to attract good ones!

The Emma Goldman Papers

870924388

[Letter, 19]25 March 18 [London to Emma] Goldman, [London] / Florence Wedgwood. — 2 p. ; 14 x 9 cm.

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Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

16458

~ I told them to arrange with you for a date some time in April.

I do hope your meeting tomorrow night will be very successful. Col. Wedgwood will not be able to get away from the House, ~ as you know I never go to meetings because I cannot hear; so we shall not be there but thank you all the same for asking us.

I trust you will enjoy your change in the country & have good weather. We shall not be going away till Easter, except for week-ends. Very kind regards from Florence & Wedgwood.

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The Emma Goldman Papers

881023222

[Letter] 1925 March 19, London [to Alexander Berkman, Berlin] / E[mma Goldman].— 2 p.; 29 × 18 cm.

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Institutional Location: Alexander Berkman Archive.

3, Titchfield Terrace.
St John's Wood Road.
London, N.W.8.

March 19th. 1925.

Dear Sash: Your letter of the 16th, for some reason did not get me until this morning. I can not go into it because I speak to night and as you know do not feel at ease or happy. Naturally I am bitterly disappointed that you can not help with the pamphlet. I was so absolutely certain you would that I spoke to the Committee about it in a most emphatic way. That was of course, my mistake so I have only myself to blame for looking foolish now. I realize that you must be completely worn out, or you would not have refused. I had hoped that once you are through with the Baldwin material you will not be so rushed. I can see that the grind continues and I regret having put some more burdens upon you. If the situation here were not so desperate I should certainly not have asked you to help with the pamphlet.

However, we absolutely must have a reply of some sort. And we can not accept the material which the Mensheviks would compile. Not that I should not have faith in it, as long as they give the source and the date I would accept their compilations, but naturally I could not sign something we did not write, but more important is the fact that the prejudice here against any thing that comes from Russian Social Democrats is too great for such a pamphlet to have any value. Yet we must reply to the Report. I will therefore have to do the job myself, I can get Doris to translate some of the Pravda quotations, also Don has brought a collection of Pravda stuff about the destitute children some of which I will ask Doris to translate during my absence to have it ready for me when I get back April 6th. I will then have to write and arrange the whole thing and let Owen go over it before it goes to the printer. I realize as well as you that sixteen pages are not enough, but they are better than no reply. As to the seriousness of the reply, if we have Soviet papers as the source it will carry weight and will show up the inaccuracy of the material doctored specially for the Report. Now dear, I wish you would have sent back not only the German RSD, but all my Russian clippings I sent you, the Pravda containing Lunacharsky's report, I must have them. If I had them now I could instruct Doris what to translate, perhaps you will do this at least, go over the clippings I sent you and mark what you think ought to be used, then send them to Doris, I will talk it over with her before I leave Saturday so she will know what to do while I am away. I am also writing Schwartz to let me have some of the material the RSD have, I may find something for my use in the pamphlet.

Dear don't think I am angry or anything, I only feel miserable to know that you are so worn out and yet have not the means to get away for a rest. As to my work here, it is not a question of energy, I whip myself into line every day, I have worked fully as hard as you in Berlin, 18 hours out of 24, but you know yourself, if one undertakes a thing, one can not do it half ways. Now that I have started I must go ahead until I see some results. I do not see any now. If to night's meeting is not a success, the Committee will have no funds to work with. Don is trying to get us a little money, I doubt whether he will succeed more than I, especially since he is dashing off to Nice again, he has something else he is now chasing after, I can not go into it now. He tells me he intends to come back to London, but that is not certain, and nothing can be accomplished here in one week. Anyway, if he does not get some

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The Emma Goldman Papers

831121217

[Letter] 1925 March 19, Ann Arbor [Mich. to] Emma [Goldman, London] / Agnes [Inglis]. — 2 p. ; 30 x 22 cm.

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Ann Arbor March 19th 1925.
809 So. Division Street.

Dear Emma, —

Before sending you any more of your letters I want to be sure you got the last all right . I want you to be sure to let me know when the letters reach you . They must not be lost . They are very, very wonderful letters and full of interest . I am copying some of them in full and some I am quoting from . Then I shall send them all to you . You can use them and then they should be kept by someone . You decide as to that . I can put them in the library here if you think that a good idea.

I am reading some of them to a girl who is typewriting for me. It is the first time in my life I ever had any one type for me. Quite a luxury. Some of your letters are written in pencil and are hard to read and type at the same time . You will not mind, will you , if I use some of the quotations and some of the letters?

I am doing a bit of writing and am endeavoring to write up some of the experiences of the last years . It may not amount to anything and then again it may I am accumulating a vast amount of data and references which in itself is valuable to have even if what I write does not amount to as much as I wish it would.

It was in 1910 you were in Detroit and had such a time with Croul but finally spoke . It was the same year you spoke in Ann Arbor and had such a time . Then you spoke in 1912 . I heard you but did not meet you . Then you spoke in 1913 Mary Ensfield introduced me to you . Then you came to Ann Arbor I think in 1914 , do you remember ? I remember I asked you to supper but you could not come . Then in 1915 I got the hall for you and that was the beginning of our friendship.

It is very wonderful to go over the letters . They bring it all back all that human vital experience . This morning I was re-reading your letters from the Tombs in 1917 .

I think it is quite worth while to be working in the library with Joe's collection. It is a great collection. I wish he could come and help with it . its no

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joke to take all that mass of material and fix it up so students can really use it. It is not a work everyone can do. One has to know the material. People don't appreciate that.

There are lots of things I like better to do, but at present it is the work I can best do. It's cheap and doesn't take money, which suits me.

I wrote a letter to the paper a while ago and both Jo and John Pancher wrote me. It was like old times. I am writing another letter now about the deportation cases. That's one subject I know about. It seems the High school students are to debate upon the Constitution and one man wrote a letter suggesting as a subject for debate the Manseovich case. I don't know who the man is but it was nice to think that case is still rankling in people's minds. It gives one a chance to go on agitating.

Spring is coming. It has been a very cold winter and very icy.

I wish I could write you about people but I can't as I see so few, and none that you know. I see the Grenells once in a while. It seems the man who is speaking for the Political Prisoners in Russia is being badly treated by the Comms. Bad policy on their part. They will gain nothing. I think human conduct is above isms. I never hear about Stella or Fizzie or anyone now. I wonder how Fizzie is?

Well, some day I may go again to New York. I was surprised to hear that Stella Smith went to Europe. She is active. I never hear from her or anyone out there that belongs to their group.

With lots of love, dear, Emma, and warm remembrances of those days which were so absorbing to us both. What days they were! I wonder as I read over about them all how they could hold so much.

Well, I look healthier and better, too now. People seem to like it in one.

But in those days I did not think of such things.

Mrs. Crowell says you look so pretty and well. I'm glad.

Agnes

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870920251

[Letter] 1925 March 19 [London to Emma Goldman, London] / David Soskice. —
2 p. ; 17 × 18 cm.

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Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

5058

TELEPHONE NO.
RIVERSIDE 882.

5, GIRDLE ROAD,
BROOK GREEN,
W. 14.

March 19 - 1925

Dear Friend,

I am returning your article.
It is well written, and I hope
it will be successful. The idea of
enlarging it into a pamphlet
is quite good, and I would
gladly contribute to its publication.
I am sure Dr. Saurau will also.
But I should advise you to wait
till tomorrow at Saurau's the question
of forming a Russian Committee
for collecting funds. Ask Mrs

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The Emma Goldman Papers

870920251

[Letter] 1925 March 19 [London to Emma Goldman, London] / David Soskice. —
2 p. ; 17 × 18 cm.

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Indiscreetly to become Treasurer.

I shall be glad if Mr
Don Levine would find
it convenient to come to
see me next Saturday, to have
tea or dinner together, — just
as it were convenient to him.

Wishing you every success

Yours sincerely
David Soskice

The Emma Goldman Papers

870919120

[Letter] 1925 March 20, Berlin [to] Emma [Goldman, London] / Agnes [Smedley].—
5 p.; 29 x 21 cm.

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Berlin W. 15
Friedenstr. 4
bei Kommeis
20. März, 1925

11576

My darling Emma:

I feel very close to you in one particular if in nothing else on earth (although there are many); it is that you write long letters, just as you talk. And so do I. Other people often make me feel ashamed of myself because I see they write a page or two and finish. But the only time that I can really express myself is when I have a pen in my hand or sit before the typewriter. So here goes for a long gossip conversation.

I now have a letter from Sasha in response to one from me; he comes to dinner to my house on Tuesday evening and I'll give him the once over from top to bottom. I had to get him here by intrigue and told him that I was commissioned by you to impart certain matters of importance to him. That brings him! I'll write you after he comes. My relationship with Sasha the past year has been very stormy. Two or three times I invited him and he had so much work he could not come. Then I wrote him letters telling him to go to hell; and he telephoned and said he would, but that he would try to see me first and discuss the matter! Now I pretend to hold a secret in my hand. He has seen Chatto two or three times,--for everybody sees Chatto. Then Bakar saw him while he was here during Christmas. But I lead the life of a hermit and see no one.

Before coming to other things I must tell you that I spent last evening with Kathe Kuhlitz and her husband, and the first thought that struck me was: "I wonder if Emma has included her in her book of creative women". Otherwise I think you have left out a creative woman. She is a very quiet, simple person--so simple that you would think she has nothing to say or think. She is going to India to paint the peasants' and workers' life, and I am to write two or three articles on her work in the Indian press first. I thought she was a Communist, and so I went prejudiced against her. But I find she is not. She is decidedly left in so far as she has any political convictions. But she is simply a person painting the misery of the masses and political means nothing to her. She is a-political. Yet I talked little on politics.

Can you not send me a copy of your "Heroic Women" that I may try and sell it for you in India. "America, by Comparison" is of no use for India.

All that you tell me of your work in England is intensely interesting. I wonder what success you had in Wales. I have always heard that the Welsh miners are a revolutionary people. I quite understand your difficulties in getting a hearing in England. It is almost impossible to fight a Government, particularly one which buys up a section of the leaders of the working class like the Russian, and uses them as its agents. I should like to see your correspondence with Bertrand Russell. Of all Englishmen he is the one who interests me. I do not know what I would think were I to meet him, but when I read what he writes he seems to have touched the heart of truth. I am just now reading his book "The Problem of China" and I find it very wonderful. I want to see his attitude toward your work, for even in the book I have mentioned I see that he has said things about the Bolsheviks which are enough to condemn them in my eyes for all time. He does not call them names. If you have the book, read pages 18 to 20. Russell attacks England and America in China, and I do not

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2

11577

understand why he keeps silent about your work on Russia. If you would send me a copy of your review of the Trade Union Report I shall also send it to India for publication.

I have not seen the New York Nation or other American publications. I shall get all information from Sasha about his work.

I also wish I could come to England to see you as you suggest. But the idea is phantastic. No pass, and then friends of mine have been refused permission more than once because of their connection with our work. I am living under this old German personalausweis under the name of Hussain, but I use only my own name now in all my work, in meeting people, etc. There are times when I so long to get away, and really feel that I can't hold out another hour here and keep my sanity. There is really no way by which I could make my living in England except in some miserable capacity. My work is India, and I am an out-and-out propagandist. Such work does not go in England. That is one reason why I hate to return to America. America is so anti-Asiatic now that the press will never publish anything favorable to any Asiatic people. If I return to America I would have to give up my work for a time and simply become a journalist on some daily. Of course I should like to come to England, but I tell you frankly I have not two pence worth of interest in England or anything in England. I doubt if I would have interest enough in anything to stir there. I would hang about you, I would go and see Bertrand Russell, and I would of course see Bakar. Further, I have no interests in England, and if you three should leave, I should perhaps forget the damned country. The only thing which has ever reconciled me to anything good in England, or to a tolerance of the idea that perhaps something is worth while ~~there~~ ^{in there}, ~~England~~ is that Bakar has insisted on studying there. I don't believe it, but I tolerate the country because of him. When he leaves I shall want once more to sink the island in the sea. For his sake I spare it! Provisionally only! Then when I think you are trying to convince the English people of the principles of Anarchism! It is such a joke. It isn't in them to see the ultimate truth. They only understand compromise, whether it be in politics or in principle.

Yes, there are literally thousands of things I could talk with you were I there. Writing does not express everything. There is lacking expression, there is lacking the thousands of things which can only be expressed by personal conversation. And yet the past year has been a time when of all things on earth I needed a woman friend who, although she might not agree with me, would at least understand and tolerate me. Everything I have kept locked up in myself and in there it has seethed and boiled and almost destroyed me. I have had my doctor: but the very nature of my treatment makes anything personal in the way of friendship out of the question. I would as soon lay my head on a stone (although a moss-covered stone) as on the lap of my doctor. My problems have been chiefly personal, and I fear that they still are. In so far as my public work is concerned, I always feel that if I can but get my health on a secure foundation I can conquer the world and, like Alexander, still sigh for more. So my work does not bother me. It is my most miserable personal life which rears its form between me and contentment, and which actually keeps me ill. I feel that four years have been cut from out my life and sacrificed to some God ~~xxxxxxx~~ whose face I can not see but who is my enemy. I would give almost anything if I had been analysed five years ago. So much misery would have been spared me.

I do not blame Chatto ~~xxxxx~~ in all this, except in so far as he has been guilty of certain definite acts which no one on earth could excuse. That he has suffered is shown by his gray hair--for his hair did not have one ~~xxxxx~~ gleam of white in it when I met him four years

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Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

3

11578

ago. I have but one thing to say: it was insanity on his part to force me to remain with him. And I was, of course, insane to remain with him. And he got control over my will by a strange psychic circumstance which is now almost completely broken. Were I present with you I could explain. Psychic things sound so unreasonable and inexcusable. And they are from the conscious point of judgment. But I have learned that the unconscious mind is often stronger than the conscious, particularly when it gets the upper hand and is diseased as I have been. We see what people do when hypnotised, when the unconscious mind alone is active, and we see what strength, both physical and mental, the unconscious mind is capable of.

Well, I have promised to remain here for six months, during which time Chatto has entered the analysis and by the end of that time I expect him to have overcome his infantile attitude toward me.

You say that you think I should go to Denmark and Bakar come there. Well, Emma, dear, I have no desire to take any step which would affect Bakar's life adversely. Bakar and I are surrounded by many people and our actions, whatever they may be, affect a number of people. Furthermore, Bakar is a young man and has yet to find a great love. I do not intend to bind him to me emotionally or otherwise. And were we to be thrown together much of the time I am not certain of the results. I know him very well and I know the nature of his love for me. It is a reaction to my love of him; it is the gratitude of a lonely soul; it is, to a more or less degree, a compensation for the ~~XXXX~~ loss of the mother-love which has tortured him all his life. I do not care to be thrown too intimately with him, not only for his sake, but for my own. I can't endure any more suffering just now, particularly when it is connected with him. And after all my body, mind and spirit are pagan and of great intensity. In any relationship with Bakar, from friendship onward, I am the one who has to bear the responsibility, for I am older and stronger and more conscious than he. And I do not care to have to bear responsibilities for a relationship which might develop were we two thrown too intimately together. I have the Indian work to think of and of the effect of my actions on it; I have Bakar's younger brother, who is like my son, to think of. I have Bakar's relationship to Chatto and to his family to think of. I have ostracism from the Indian movement to think of. The Indian movement is not an Anarchist movement, or even a Socialist one. It is, from the social viewpoint, reactionary and nationalistic. I am not strong enough to face it and fight it all alone. It would destroy me.

One thing I call your attention to in all this, however, in which you can be of help to Bakar. The one thing Bakar needs in life to make him work and strive for nobler ends is love, and if possible that mother-love which he knows nothing of. I know him very intimately and I have for years watched this hungry longing in him and I see him watch every older woman. His mother died when he was a baby and he and his brother grew up in orphan homes and in boarding schools. Unless you understand this in dealing with Bakar you will not understand him. And you are such a wonderful mother-soul that you will understand it, I am sure. I believe it is his search for that love which has driven him into all sorts of scrapes ~~and~~ (although I do not know) and led to harsh results. I am thoroughly convinced that Bakar can and will never take one social or political step of importance until the fundamental longing in him is either compensated or fulfilled. And I know him as well as any ~~woman~~ woman does. I am very happy that he always comes to see you for not only are you an older woman, but you are a revolutionary. It is a fine combination.

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The Emma Goldman Papers

870919120

[Letter] 1925 March 20, Berlin [to] Emma [Goldman, London] / Agnes [Smedley]. —
5 p.; 29 x 21 cm.

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I wonder if you have met Zakir Hussain. He is a dear soul. During the winter a German guest in his face had called him a damned Jew. Zakir turned the other cheek and said: "Here also". That was using Christianity against a Christian with a vengeance. But that is Zakir's nature. He is an uncompromising follower of Gandhi and because of his strength of character is bound to play a rôle in Indian development in the next few years. Yet I do wish you would blast a little earth from under him on the question of women and sexual morality. And do not let him deal in theories, for Indians are mighty wielders of the lordly tongue. See just how far he would apply theories to his own wife. Zakir would benefit more from life if he would have some love affair here, but he does not believe that men should do what they would not like their wives to do. So he leads a rigidly ascetic life and suffers from insomnia! Well, I can't preach too loudly, for I do the same and shall continue doing the same although it is often damned uncomfortable! Yet I do not do it from morality, from because of aesthetic reasons. I don't want to get my life mixed up in some personal mess with someone I don't like. There are plenty of nuisances about from the revolutionary wing to the University Professors. But for the living life of me I can't stick them and ask nothing better than that they keep a good safe distance from my flat. I am a very good adviser in love affairs but further than that I do not go. Unfortunately for me, in my analysis I have come to see that I believe in one great and lasting love, and so I suppose I shall remain a weeping widow the rest of my life unless I find such ~~something~~ a remarkable thing as a great and lasting love. From the reasonable viewpoint, of course, there 'aint no such animal. And it does seem to be the nature of love, the beast, that it must be hopeless to be intense and lasting. You may laugh and repeat the old Indian proverb to the effect that the cat, having eaten ~~some~~ mice, has gone on a pilgrimage to Mecca. Well, that remains yet to be seen. In the meantime I am writing articles and have ten outstanding, three of which have been accepted. But I do get rotten pay in consideration of the work I put in on them. Then in my room I have a radio, installed by my most beloved son--the ~~brother~~ younger brother of Bakar. And here I hear concerts and lectures when I can do nothing else. My radio is not strong enough for London, unfortunately. I do wish it were. It would be jolly and exciting to say the least to hear you speaking.

I am to deliver a lecture at the University the first week of May--on India and the preparations for an Asiatic war. And I am supposed to teach during the summer semester. But if you could only guess how I hate teaching of any sort. I simply hate it and if I can make enough money by writing I shall not teach in the summer semester. All the prestige it gives me in other walks of life does not appeal to me. Then I am under the supervision of a Professor who is a rotter and of whom Bakar can tell you if you wish to know. The more I associate with University Professors the less respect I have for their intelligence and for their general sense of honor. I found the same thing in America. The standard of ethics of the working class is a thousand times superior, particularly of revolutionaries.

Chatto is well. He was sick for a week and I had to drop everything and go and nurse him. I think he will get over his infantile attachment ~~fixation~~ to me, particularly in view of the love of his secretary for him which seems to be claiming a bit more of his attention than formerly. I am glad and heave a sigh of relief and hope it continues.

You say you are pessimistic and depressed there in that cold and indifferent country. But surely there is so much writing to do and you have your book on creative women. I thought you would be

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happier in England than you were here, but I do believe that England is no place to teach principles of any kind, particularly of Anarchism. It must be a wonderful place for writing, though. I have used your book on the Social Significance of the Drama in my university course two or three times and have assigned chapters for reading. I am only sorry I have not a copy of your book on Anarchism and other essays for the same purpose. For I have been quite successful in getting in a number of intensely interesting discussions on subjects of vital concern to us.

Do you know that Karin is translating Sasha's book on Prison Memoirs into Danish and swears that she will have it published if she has to do the typesetting herself.

I wish I were indeed with you, but as for cheering you up--!! What with my hearse-like temperament I fear I could do little. Perhaps if I could only get out of this rotten atmosphere I might see the sunshine again and find laughter returning to my heart. Where are you going to be during the summer? Do you suppose I could make my living in an honorable manner (!) in England and pay a debt in America? And if so, how? And who and what would prevent me from being deported if the honorable Scotland Yard found out my presence there? I have been corresponding with Karin for months and she tells me there is absolutely no chance of my lecturing in Denmark, or even getting any but religious and cultural articles in the press, for the Danes are very pro-British and have had a great wave of religion sweep over the country. There are only two possibilities for me--America or here, and both are very unsatisfactory. The most I can do is to go to Denmark on a short vacation during the summer; and I can't afford a vacation I fear. In France one must learn another language, for all I know of the damned language is "~~the~~, ~~the~~". Then one can't make money in France. Italy is out of the question for I would have to buy my own grind organ! And I can't accustom myself to the passion and dagger habits of the Spanish, although I do know something of the language. Sometimes I think there is only one thing for me to do to get out of all this difficulty, and that is to marry some fat rich fool of a man. Yet there is no fat rich fool in sight and if he were I suppose I should kick him in the eye. But, hell, doesn't one get tired of the struggle! And the social revolution is still a hundred years in the future. Had I had the making of the world it would have been a slightly different looking thing than it is today. For one thing, I'd leave out poverty; and for another, I'd make the human heart of steel, so that nothing might ~~hurt~~ hurt it.

This volume ist zu ende. A rambling, gossiping thing. Filled with nothing of value. But I warned you in the beginning, so you need not complain.

One thing I send you of value and that is my love and my honor and my respect. Chiefly my love, for ~~the~~ it includes the last two. You will hear from me again when I see Sasha.

Agnes -

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20. 3. 20

16460

12 Beaumont House

Dear Miss Goldman

Enclosed from Mr.
Marion Phillips she
should have sent to
you direct.

I do not know any-
thing of "Miss Colebrook,"
- I would advise you
rather to ask her for
an interview than to
write. But I expect
you won't do anything

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16461

in the matter now Tell
you return in April.

I hope you had a
good meeting last night?
I am furiously busy
sending out "letters" to
the Constituency, & I hope
to get away tomorrow
for the week-end.

Best wishes

Yours sincerely
Florence E. Wedgwood.

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870924041

[Letter, 1925] March 21, St. Jean [France to Emma] Goldman, [London] / Odette Keun. — 4 p. ; 27 x 20 cm.

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15955
Bon. Bastide, Saint Jean, France, March 21st
return

Dear Miss Goldman,

I've had no luck with that poor article! It came back from the "Quotidien" & the "Revue." The reason is because our newspapers are just now choked with the quarrel between the Government & the Cardinals, and another is, I gather, that the article is rather an appeal and a denunciation rather than a narrative. A friend to whom I had sent it wrote that his director would have taken it if it had been a description of things personally seen; but that there have been hundreds of these protests, and they do not strike the imagination of the reader any more. I am very sorry!

So you know, I am afraid that you would have found in France exactly the same attitude towards the internal policy of the Soviets, that you've found in England. The cause would have been different — here we don't put any real hope in commerce with Russia — but the results would have been the same. We are distracted by our financial

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difficulties, the warring of the franc is ^{15 24 6}disturbing everybody, and the fever roused by the question of non-religious education is extraordinary. Russia, with whom we now have diplomatic relations, seems to be a settled matter; there is resentment against the Soviets, who haven't paid their debts; a great dislike of all the refugees in France, who are considered a bore because of their poverty, or who get into trouble with the police; and a sort of enormous lassitude which applies to Reds and Whites equally. For different motives, both the present Government of Russia, (and their victims) and the reactionaries have got on the nerves of public opinion, so to speak. Political interest is of course alive, because the Communist party here is active & threatening from the point of view of election votes, but the social interest is very weak. It seems to have got worn out, & just now, as I have said, our financial bothers overwhelm every other preoccupation. You would, probably, have found more spoken sympathy with your efforts, but I do not think you would have roused any active participation in them. To tell you the truth, I've always found that the legend of France's moral & idealistic "generosity" was tremendously over-rated, but since the war, the new

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generation especially has cast all pretence aside, & is openly and brutally concentrated on its immediate interests — affairs and money in the first place, enjoyment and sport in the second. The intensification of selfishness in this country is quite remarkable: more so, I sometimes believe, than anywhere else.

I glanced through the Trades Union report on Russia, & though I was prepared to find it bad, it has surpassed all my expectations. It's as weak, too, as it is bad: telling the lies alone, it's quite unconvincing réclame and propaganda. The part on Georgia is such a farce that one could laugh, if it were not for the thought that a great part of the working-classes will certainly take it all in. I wonder whether that Committee is made up of particularly imbecile men, or whether they've been bought! It seems incredible that they should have looked at things so superficially.

I'll try again to send the article somewhere, if I get the slightest opening, but I've explained the situation here to make you understand why public interest is so passive. What are you doing now?

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And what are your plans? If you leave
where do you intend to settle? I am
glad you have found some friends at least
in England!

With all my affectionate
wishes & hopes for success, I am, dear
Emma, very cordially yours,

Odette Keun

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[Letter] 1925 March 22, Rochester, N.Y. [to] Emma [Goldman, London] / Saxe [Commins].— 3 p.; 28 x 21 cm.

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FIVE TWENTY NINE MERCANTILE BLDG.
ROCHESTER, N.Y.

March 22, 1925

Darling Emma;

This Sunday will not go by without an answer to your long and beautiful letter of February 20th. These two weeks of delay must be attributed to the fact that I am not up to a response that is adequate to the very marvellous things your letter contained. Surely it was not because of an unwillingness on my part to write, nor even because of a miasmic mood from which it would be better to stay away. It is a task to write you only because there are so few events to detail and only a few old, steadfast emotions to re-iterate. Without my lame words you must know that I love you. Even without frequent letters you must count on it.

From this distance and without any knowledge at all of things British you made very vivid to me the precise situation which you are up against. Even if you hadn't spoken of it the letters which you enclosed showed pretty clearly how aloof and unbending is the reserve that you are trying to break down. Russel, who has always been something of a god to me as the clearest thinker of our time, shattered a long standing illusion by his letter. I see very little merit in his argument which amounts to this; that he doesn't particularly to tie up his name to any movement in which yours is linked. That too is what Laski's stand and that Mrs whatever her name is amounts to. Well, they will have to be ignored until time and whatever happens comes around to vindicating you. Small solace in a moment of disappointment but the only one left to you, besides of course what you get out of the actual preoccupation with the work.

It's good to know at least that Miss West is standing by and that you are not entirely desolate. The more you tell me of her the more immensely am I impressed with her as a human being. Of course the little measure I had of her merit thru her writing was nothing compared to the picture you draw of her. I am so sorry that the single letter which I wrote to her went astray. It was sent to her publishers to an address taken from the jacket of one of her books. Dickworth, if I am not mistaken. It may turn up some day.

I'm awfully sorry I mentioned any of my financial mess to you who are burdened with such immense weights that mine are as a feather in comparison. Please put any worry about my ability to extricate myself far from your mind. And don't ever worry about me. The truth is that I am not such a pauper as I would lead you to believe. I really have money and a plenty for all my needs. The debts of which I spoke were engaged when I bought our home and increased in order to clear a mortgage. For that purpose I borrowed from Peter to pay Paul. When Peter becomes insistent there will be more forthcoming from another Paul. Then too I have involved myself considerably in the matter of moving my office, this also on borrowed money. In a very short time it will be paid and I will be free for a little freedom. I must do whatever I will do in the future by my own hands. There is no freedom under any other terms.

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FIVE TWENTY NINE MERCANTILE BLDG.
ROCHESTER, N.Y.

So please, old dear, stop fretting about me. In six months or a year of plugging my freedom will be so much the sweeter. Think of all the fun I get out of reading a theme of soul's testing in so meagre and unnatural and offensive a situation. One makes one's compensations in some sort of terms everywhere. The debt which I mentioned, and should not have without telling you that there are or will be assets to cover it, represents a small personal loan from the bank (which by some ironical caprice of judgment considers me trustworthy) borrowed when things were not going so well and the rest money borrowed on notes to pay off a burdensome mortgage on the house. Is that involved fiscal statement clear? Is fiscal the right word? I don't know. I've fallen so low that I use the jargon of accountants. Its really quite funny. Won't you please look on it that way and dismiss it from your mind?

For some things I have quite as much energy as you ^{can} carry for your cross. But to what different uses we put it. There is all the answer to your comment on the questionable value of your life force. Consider the devotions to which your energy has led you. Consider the vista of life it has opened to you. Yes, and the anguish too. Whatever there is in me of energy is just so much jerkiness, misapplied to immediate and casual concerns, unilluminated by any great motif, neither passionate or kind or important. Your energy burns with a gem like flame and has been throwing light here and there on some of the most urgent ideas of our time. Mine consumes itself in itself and has produced neither light nor shadow. It struts for its own sake and leads nowhere.

I am really too ashamed to confess what I have been up to recently. Work for what goes by the name of living during the day. At night I play around like a solid provincial, talking lot of nonsense about ideas and never having any. As for actual preoccupation there are none outside of reading. And that capricious and catholic. In such a situation is it any wonder that I moon around with the romantic poets, scorn the boobies from the great eminence of my own futility and dream constantly from minute to minute of an ultimate escape. All cautiously, of course, so that I'll be sure to defeat myself.

Only once in the aeons that these few months since my last trip to New York represents did I get a blood tingle from contact with a personality. That was when the deposed President of Amherst, Meicklejohn, spoke here on Education. He fired me with an ardor that only a disciple can feel. His speech, so wise and immoderate was the best statement for freedom I've heard uttered since the long long ago when we used to talk of freedom in terms of life and expression. There is hope right here when a man like Meicklejohn can make people in Rochester soar.

Yes, I did see Fata Morgana in New York and the boy who played it, Morgan Farley was his name, was marvellous. I thought it a great play too, not passionately sustained in the writing but beautiful and stimulating. The part played by Emily Stevens in

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ROCHESTER, N.Y.

N.Y. production was unconvincing and way short of the heights to which the boy carried it. At the time I thought it would have been a great role for our Teddy. Its the sort of thing that he does exceptionately well.

I suppose Stella wrote you that Ian made his debut on the stage in Michel Auclair. There is no escaping his fate. The stage is where he will spend his life and probably do very well too. He has the instinct for acting and more important the feeling for tonal beauty in words. Once I heard him read a little Scotch ballad years ago, and it was easy to predict that the stage would get him. I dont share O'Neill's complete contempt for actors, his having been a rather disappointing experience with most of them but I'd be much happier if Ian showed an inclination toward an art less transitory. But why worry about that.

Yes, Mother is still in California but will be back either this week or next the very latest. Altogether she has had four months of vacation, and a very happy one it has been from her accounts. Certainly no one in the world earned such a rest before. I shall be very glad to welcome her back and end my nomad existence. Then the house will be more habitable and that will mean more persistent and unuseful reading and perhaps more frequent letters. Will that be good?

The rest of the household thrive, I suppose. Its seldom that I even encounter them, what's left of them. Miriam, however, has not been well this winter. What it is no one seems to know but her undignified illness has dragged her down considerably. I'm the husky guy. My health has been excellent all winter with occasional lapses after a too generous absorption of poisonous gin. But I've climbed back on the wagon after a shaky ride and since the last fall I have been feeling in the pink.

Tell about your regillies. How is this? Will you forgive me for it? You'll have to do that because you told me to write when the spirit moves me. It has...but not the right way. If it were the right way the spirit would move me over the waters to your side for talk and talk and talk.....

All old time devotion

Saxe

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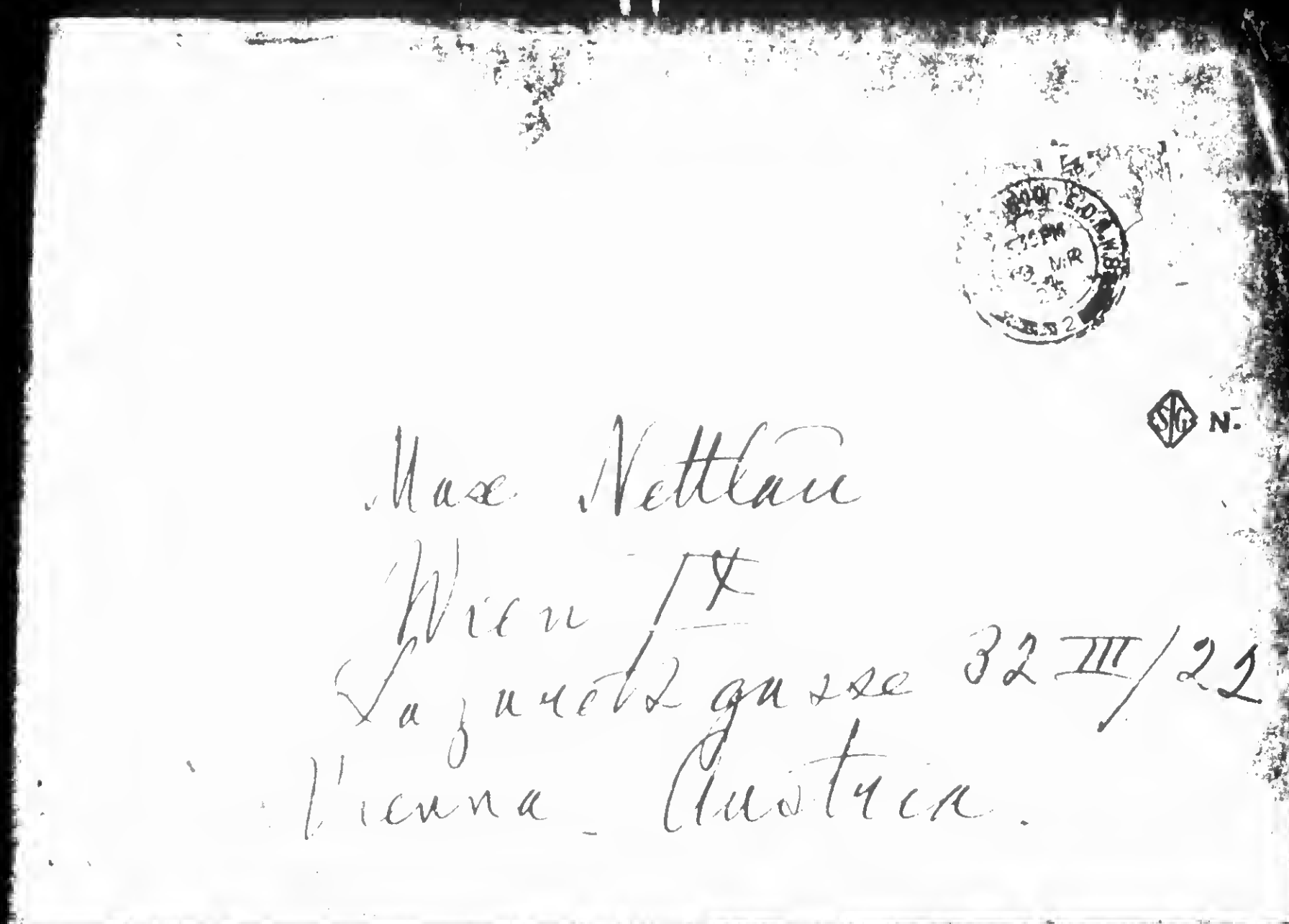
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Organized in the interest of freedom of opinion throughout the world

47 WASHINGTON SQUARE S.

NEW YORK CITY

Phone, Spring 1973

March 20th., 1920.

I noted what you said about [redacted] letter to you. Wrote him at once, thanking him for joining our appeal. His notification to [redacted] and [redacted] will come by [redacted]

Supha has been sent checks to cover the entire expenses of his work. The Hindu calendar moves slowly, but it moves now and then. The Garland people sent him an additional \$180 and I had money sent him twenty-five dollars.

Publication of his material seems probable. Details not
 changed. To tell you the truth, were I sure that Don Levine really
 would do the job right, that is, in a frictionless way to
 get the stuff out, Sasha keeps writing that D.L. will get ahead of
 us on the job. I wonder how he want D.L. to do it or us? ~~He will~~
~~be the one to do it. He will be the one to do it. He will be the one to do it.~~
~~He will be the one to do it. He will be the one to do it. He will be the one to do it.~~
 If he
 really wanted that, we over here would get a lot of work, excitement
 and wrangling. Of course you may or may not know my opinion of the
 possibility of D.L.'s doing a single unselfish or really decent act.
 He is out for number one all the time. You people may be old in
 the movement, but your knowledge of human beings doesn't get you very
 far. I know D.L. like the inside of my pocket. Sasha should never have
 talked to him in the first place, and never had any serious connection
 with D.L.'s projects. ~~But you people are so stupid, you people are so~~
~~stupid, you people are so stupid, you people are so stupid, you people are so~~
~~stupid, you people are so stupid, you people are so stupid, you people are so~~
~~stupid, you people are so stupid, you people are so stupid, you people are so~~
 D.L. will only degrade anything or any body who
 tries to work with him, and will sell him soul for a piece of rocke-
 fort. Yet Sasha keeps on writing about him as if he really were
 someone. Be assured that if he is getting letters from great people
 concerning the material, he does it only on the strength of exploiting

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[Letter] 1925 March 25, New York [to] Emma [Goldman, London] / Henry [G. Alsberg]. — 2 p. ; 22 × 17 cm.
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his connection with Sasha and the other Axis enemies that did the work. He, himself, could not command any attention from Russell and Rolla etc. I have no doubt he used to use his skill when talking to Russell. And he is doing it all merely to be able to induce some publisher to take over the expense of printing. And when he has done that, he will spoil the whole publication by injecting his own ~~other~~ cheap material into it. I do so regret that Sasha ever even spoke to him seriously.

Please don't take above too seriously. But really, now and then ~~XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX~~
~~XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX~~
Don't shoot the pianist; he is doing the best he knows how.
Best love from the old french

66 West 90th. Street
New York City

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810519184

[Letter] 1925 March 27 [New York to] Emma Goldman, London / R[oger] B[aldwin]. — 2 p. ; 28 × 18 cm.

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Mar 1. 1925.

March 27, 1925.

Miss Emma Goldman,
3, Titchfield Terrace,
St. John's Wood,
London, N.W. 8, Eng.

Dear E.G.

I should have long ago answered yours of January 5th, but developments have been coming along at such a pace that I was always waiting for one more before writing you. By this time, you will have seen Ward's article in the Nation on Civil Liberties in Russia, and perhaps some account of the meeting we held here a few weeks ago at Town Hall. I enclose my own speech on that occasion which represents my views better than I can put them in a letter to you. You will see that you and I differ at some essential points, but we are agreed on the main proposition of opposing terrorism and for the same reason.

Bertram's material is excellent, beyond my expectations. Alsberg and I are endeavoring to find the most effective means of handling it, so that it will do the greatest amount of good in shedding light and not arousing controversy which will merely confuse the issue more. We don't want to feed the reactionaries with material and yet we do want to put the facts so fairly that the Russian Government will have to recognize that the case is unanswerable.

Of course the main obstacle that you run into in all this business concerning Russia is the outstanding fact that it is a dictatorship in the interest of workers and the peasants, however much it may be actually deceiving the ultimate interests of workers and peasants. Attacked by all the capitalist governments of the world and all issues in their internal as well as external affairs, it is natural that labor and radicals should on the whole be cautious about attacking that which is also attacked by their bitterest enemies. I presume you have seen Kropotkin's observations on the Russian Revolution, a copy of which Henry Alsberg read at a Kropotkin meeting here the other night.

You refer to contradictory statements in my letter and as I read them over I see that it is due to a lack of completeness in stating what I had in mind. What I was trying

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810519184

[Letter] 1925 March 27 [New York to] Emma Goldman, London / R[oger] B[aldwin].— 2 p. ; 28 × 18 cm.

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-2-

to say is that revolutionary theories cannot solve practical industrial and economic difficulties and that we can only approximate the methods and the objectives we have in mind. That has been the experience at Kuzbas. It is not only true of the anarchist conception of action but of the Communists as well. The Bolshevik Government is finding the centralization of power in the hands of a bureaucracy does not build up industry. The I.W.O. boys who went to Kuzbas found that an autonomous colony could not live in the midst of a state in which industrial relationship had to be fixed through some central authority. Neither theory works in a transition. That is why the scientific test of trial and error alone will yield results. Kuzbas is succeeding insofar as some degree of autonomy, of participation and of cooperation is accorded to the individual units making up its industrial complex. You are wrong about Kuzbas. I have had close and intimate connections with it ever since it started, and I know personally many of the men and women who went there. Most of them are not Communists and have not become Communists. And yet over two-thirds of them have stuck. The Kuzbas enterprise was not used for Communist propaganda in the United States. The committee here was controlled by non-Communists. Up to very recent times, most of the recruits had no particular political convictions. The man in charge of the New York office now is not a Communist but an old I.W.O.

The articles in the Nation on Kuzbas have been accurate and disinterested, written by Ruth Kennell, a librarian from San Francisco, whose husband is one of the engineers. The facts she relates speak for themselves. I think the last article by her was about September.

I haven't met either Rebecca West or Colonel Wedgwood. I should have been both of them when they were here. I am so glad you have met inspiring and kindred spirits like them.

Do let me have a line.

Always with affectionate greetings,

Your friend

RNB/LE
Enc.

P.S. By the way, the suggestion I made about Laeki's booking you for lectures was chiefly on non-political subjects in the sense of present day controversies and rather in the educational work of the trade unions with which he is in contact.

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The Emma Goldman Papers

870820115

[Letter] 1925 March 27, New York [to] Emma Goldman, London / Roger Baldwin. —
2 p. ; 27 x 21 cm.
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Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

International Committee for Political Prisoners

6975

Organized in the interest of freedom of opinion throughout the world

47 WASHINGTON SQUARE S.

NEW YORK CITY

Phone, Spring 9275

March 27, 1925.

*This is the
new info!*

Miss Emma Goldman,
3, Titchfield Terrace,
St. John's Wood,
London, N.W. 6, Eng.

Dear E.G.

I should have long ago answered yours of January 5th, but developments have been coming along at such a pace that I was always waiting for one more before writing you. By this time, you will have seen Ward's article in the Nation on Civil Liberties in Russia, and perhaps some account of the meeting we held here a few weeks ago at Town Hall. I enclose my own speech on that occasion which represents my view better than I can put them in a letter to you. You will see that you and I differ at some essential points, but we are agreed on the main proposition of opposing terrorism and for the same reason.

Berkman's material is excellent, beyond my expectations. Alberg and I are endeavoring to find the most effective means of handling it, so that it will do the greatest amount of good in shedding light and not arousing controversy, which will merely confuse the issue more. We don't want to feed the reactionaries with material and yet we do want to put the facts so fairly that the Russian Government will have to recognize that the case is unanswerable.

Of course the main obstacle that you run into in all this business concerning Russia is the outstanding fact that it is a dictatorship in the interest of workers and the peasants, however much it may be actually defeating the ultimate interests of workers and peasants. Attacked by all the capitalist governments of the world and an issue in their internal as well as external affairs, it is natural that labor and radicals should on the whole be cautious about attacking that which is also attacked by their bitterest enemies. I presume you have seen Kropotkin's observations on the Russian Revolution, copy of which Henry Alberg read at a Kropotkin meeting here the other night.

You refer to contradictory statements in my letter, and as I read them over I see that it is due to a lack of completeness in stating what I had in mind. What I was trying

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6976

to say is that revolutionary theories cannot solve practical industrial and economic difficulties and that we can only approximate the methods and the objectives we have in mind. That has been the experience at Kuzbas. It is not only true of the anarchist conception of action but of the Communists as well. The Bolshevik Government is finding that centralization of power in the hands of a bureaucracy does not build up industry. The I.W.O. boys who went to Kuzbas found that an enormous colony could not live in the midst of a State in which industrial relationships had to be fixed through one central authority. Neither theory works in a transition. That is why the scientific test of trial and error alone will yield results. Kuzbas is succeeding, insofar as some degree of autonomy, of participation and of cooperation is accorded to the individual units making up its industrial complex. You are wrong about Kuzbas. I have had close and intimate connections with it ever since it started, and I know personally very of the men and women who went there. Most of them are not Communists and have not become Communists. And yet over two-thirds of them have stuck. The Kuzbas enterprise was not used for Communist propaganda in the United States. The committee here was controlled by non-Communists. Up to very recent times, most of the recruits had no particular political convictions. The man in charge of the New York office now is not a Communist but an old I.W.O.

The articles in the Nation on Kuzbas have been accurate and disinterested, written by Ruth Kennell, a librarian from San Francisco whose husband is one of the engineers. The facts she relates speak for themselves. I think the last article by her was about September.

I haven't met either Rebecca West or Colonel Wedgwood. I should have seen both of them when they were here. I am so glad you have met inspiring and kindred spirits like them.

Do let me have a line.

Always with affectionate greetings,

Your friend

Roger Baldwin

RWB/IE
Enc.

P.S. By the way, the suggestion I made about Laskin's taking you for lectures was chiefly on non-political subjects (in the sense of present-day controversies) and rather in the educational work of the trade-unions, with which he is in contact.

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The Emma Goldman Papers

870927037

[Letter] 1925 March 27 [Glanamman?] Wales [to Stella Ballantine, New York] / E[mma Goldman]. — 3 p. ; 33 x 21 cm.

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Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

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I can not write much to day, I have a very bad head ache after last nights trip in a bus from Ystalyfera about a ride of an hour and half. It was worse than crossing the Atlantic. Then too, the meetings are so poorly attended they paralyze me. Altogether my work is a repetition of thirty years ago. It is amazing how little progress was made in all this long period for anarchist thought. I keep on thinking all the time whether there is not something the matter with anarchism itself that it can take no root in either England or America. It seems to have no appeal whatever to the Anglosaxon minds. Yet Wales is not English at all. The people are as different as if they lived in France or some other Latin country. They are certainly much warmer and impressionable than the English. Still even they are miles removed from ideas ~~anarchist~~ of a revolutionary nature. Nevertheless I feel certain that there is much more fertile soil here than in England, but it will require more time and patience and much more enthusiasm than I can put into the work to get results. I feel too weary and discouraged to keep on and on, as I did when I was younger.

I have three meetings more in this part of Wales then ~~as~~ I go to what is called the Rhondda Valley, I wonder whether it has anything to do with Lady Rhondda's possessions. I understand she is immensely wealthy. I am told that the conditions of the miners in that Valley is very bad. I confess I ~~did~~ did not find it quite so awful here as I expected. *It is true* that the minimum wage here is 2/9. How they manage on that is *really* beyond me. ~~but they do.~~ In fact if ~~the~~ workers with two Revolutions would have such homes, food, and be so decently dressed as the miners in this locality they would consider themselves very fortunate. The families I have been staying with actually live better than the miners in Pennsylvania thirty years ago. And what is more, they improved their condition without the terrible toll of revolution. Perhaps that accounts for their indifference to ideas other than their immediate needs. I do not know. I only know that I am up against a solid wall and that I have not the kind of recklessness one needs to *make* such difficult obstacles.

I am glad the idiotic Communists did break up the meeting in N. Y. That will teach the Liberals a lesson. Villard and his crew just what they may expect if the Moscow outfit should ever get into power. People must have their own experience after all, before they realize the whole weight of the proofs presented to them. I quite agree with Henry when he writes Sasha that nothing better could have happened to put the American Committee on the map. Perhaps they will be more willing to believe the overwhelming material Sasha sent them and will get it out in book form.

What a miserable spirit the Nation has shown all along in regard to R. And now with the grudging bit of space the Nation has given to the data on persecution of the ~~political~~ political. Really, the Liberal press is more contemptible than the worst Tory papers. About ~~Sachars~~ Sachers attack on ~~and~~ and myself Sasha has written a brilliant reply if only the Nation will publish it. If not I think the New Republic ought to be tried. And if that too does not help, a leaflet ought to be sent out to show up the Nation. If I had the time and the means I would do with the Nation what Lipman did with the N. Y. T. Compile all the lies it wrote in behalf of the Moscow regime.

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The Emma Goldman Papers

870927037

[Letter] 1925 March 27 [Glanamman?] Wales [to Stella Ballantine, New York] / E[mma Goldman]. — 3 p. ; 33 x 21 cm.

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Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

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during the last five years. It would make interesting reading and would expose the Nation as nothing else could. If Sasha's letter is published I may write one though I give a damn about Fischers charges, who is he anyway that we should pay attention to attacks which are so obviously false.

Our meeting in Hampstead was poorly attended, I think I already wrote you about it. But the Committee is not losing courage. With only one pound in the treasury the members want to go on. They wrote me they want a meeting on the 10 of April to expose the miserable whitewash of the 'rad Union Delegation report on Russia. It is one of the most outrageous piece of fake I have seen in a long time. I am preparing a reply to be published in a pamphlet. I had hoped Sasha would help, but he has worked himself to exhaustion on the material for the Baldwin group. You can imagine how he must feel when he wrote me that he can do nothing on the pamphlet now. I am terribly worried about our boy. I wish to Christ he had some money to get away to the South of Germany since he will not be able to get out of the country. He absolutely needs couple of months rest. But he dreads to give up the small job he has which is at least some security of a regular income. I haven't even that. Besides, it would cost considerable to take a rest. I feel very unhappy about S. I have at least my health, he has not even that. I wonder will his book bring something, and what has become of the Syndicate proposition. Write me since F. does not.

I have to give up my plan for Spirdonova, there is no interest. Lady Rhonnda invited a dozen women to meet me. Only two came, and one had to live for A. as a delegate to some Conference. The Labour women are out of the question, they are like sheep in the hands of the I, L, P. In short no one gives a damn about Spirdonova or anything pertaining to R. That is just the terrible situation. Moscow has hypnotized the elements who might have been of help and I can not work with the reactionary, so there.

However, there is another project on foot, not meetings, if that can be carried out it would arouse great interest and be something more vital and lasting than meetings. The only drawback are lack of funds. The Russians in L. have undertaken to raise some and Don hopes to get some. If that will materialize, I will devote the Summer to the new proposition. Now this is not for general knowledge dear. The venture is a compilation of the material on the dreadful condition of children in Russia, there are about seven hundred thousand of them absolutely destitute and diseased. It was suggested to Don that this material should be gotten out in bookform and that I should undertake to do it. It is hoped that the most important women of the world could be approached for their opinion on the matter. In other words it is to be something like the book Don has compiled and which is to appear soon. He already has about twenty endorsements of the most brilliant names, Rosalind Brandes, Lagerlof, Hauptmann, Hamsum, Maetterlinck, Einstein, Wells, Rebecca of course, and many others. I am to try for names and endorsements of women mainly. But before that can be done, eighty or a hundred type written material must be prepared and sent out to different people whose endorsements we will need. Rebecca thinks that such a venture would induce Lady Rhonnda to back it financial. She has never volunteered to contribute anything to the work so far. I am therefore not sure she would to the new venture, still it has to be tried. Now then, if the original expenses can be raised I am expected to take the matter in hand, I may then go somewhere near London for the Summer and do what I can. I will need someone like Doris who can translate and is a very competent secretary to help on the job which is going

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I have not written Barrymore after all. I could not express what I wanted and I did not wish to indulge in the ordinary laudatory bunk. I saw him a second time when I enjoyed him even more. When I was in the second row Stalls, his facial expression reminds me so much of Orleanoff. I really think Barrymore is remarkable as Hamlet. I think his engagement in London for a next week. I wonder will he do the provinces. I think the performances in L were tremendously attended in spite of the rotten reviews. Well, if you or Tedd ever see Barrymore tell him how much I wanted to write him and how much I enjoyed his work.

Dear, what good would it do to write Glen Frank? If he wanted the article he could have made place. The excuse he gave is absurd. I simply can not beg these people to accept my stuff. Don insists my work is too "highbrow" for America. That is what Swope once wrote me. I am not sure that is the reason. I think the American Magazines are not keen on having Sasha's or my name in their columns, unless it is something they can not get from anyone else. I feel sick all over having to knock at the doors of these people like a beggar. I am sure Glen Frank will refuse the Heroic Women as he did the America, he will find some empty excuse. However, I will send it when I get back to London, but I have no faith in any of them. Why would a man like Mencken refuse the article on America? What kind of an excuse is that that he does not agree. Since when must editors agree? I am afraid we are hopeless.

I wonder did my review of the Trade Union report appear in last Sunday's Times. It may have gotten there too late for their last week's issue. I hope they too will not refuse it. I am most anxious to bring the whole fack of the Report before the American public and I need the hundred dollars badly. I suppose you will inform me when it does appear.

Don has left L, for Paris and Nice. He may come back. I hope he does, he said he would show me how to "fix" my article on America to make it acceptable. As I wrote S, if such great spirits like Dostoyevsky and Tchekhov could write potboilers, I ought to be ashamed not to be able to do it.

Dearest, how do you expect to return to Wiser when you will be kept busy with your family visitors who sail May 23rd? I am not going to worry you anymore about the matter but I must say it is a damned shame that you did not come back this year for treatment.

you enjoy the day, I wonder how your birthday went off, did you like our gifts? I think the scarf must look stunning on you. I hope you did not have much duty to pay on the linen.

Goodby darling mine, you can see how eager I am to talk to you when I wrote you a megille after all, though I feel bum. So glad Ian is generous, why should he not be with such generous parents. Love to him and Teddy.

I embrace you

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The Emma Goldman Papers

870920250

[Letter] 1925 March 27 [London to Emma Goldman, London] / David Soskice. —
2 p. ; 17 × 21 cm.

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TELEPHONE NO.
RIVERSIDE 982.

5, GIRDLEERS ROAD,
BROOK GREEN,
W. 14.

March 27-1925

Dear Friend,

Thank you for your letter of
March the 24th with enclosure.

I am still suffering from
flu with complications, and
am still unable to do any
work. Dr. Gerson has not
yet put himself in touch
with me but I shall
ring him up tomorrow
and shall try to see him.

675

The Emma Goldman Papers

870920250

[Letter] 1925 March 27 [London to Emma Goldman, London] / David Soskice. —
2 p. ; 17 x 21 cm.

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and his wife on Sunday
next.

I saw Dr. Lucien last
Saturday and had
an interesting conver-
sation with him. When
you and he come back
to London we shall
see what can be
done.

Baikaloff is very
energetic and willing
but as you say he is
easily carried away
by his wishes. I don't

believe he will get
much money for you.

Also Manchester

I can do nothing at
this moment as my
old friend has left

South of France, but
he did not write where

he is going. He left before
I answered his last

letter, and I do not
know where he is now.

With very much
Yours sincerely

David Soskice

5084

The Emma Goldman Papers

870922137

[Letter, 1925] March 28 [St. Cloud, France to Emma Goldman, London] / [Alexander Berkman]. — 2 p. ; 33 x 20 cm.

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Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

March 28th

Dear, I think this will not reach you in South Wales, so I had better mail it to London, as you said you'd be back there by the 30th.

Your last two letters with inclosures received. I return everything here. Those letters to Villard, New Republic, etc. on yellow paper, must be by Harry Kelly. I did not get any copy from him.

Well, you know my letter to the Nation. I do not think it will be accepted there. But I asked Alsberg to put it into the New Republic or the Leader. Else to give it to Havel and the Freie A. S. Though I'd like to have it in some Engl. magazine that the radicals read.

My letter to the Nation is OK., but rather big. And I did not say half that I could and wanted to say. Therefore it would be very good if you would also write one to the Nation, and if they don't accept it, let Stella give it to New Republic etc. Yes, by all means, mention our telegr. protest in re Alsberg, Bond, and the Irishman, the I.W.W., I forget his name, Pat. Word the letter so that it is the Nation accepts yours, and not mine, your letter should cover both sides. Or simply refer to mine and that space forbid mentioning any other thing, of which you are about to speak.

As to George and the money, I think he had that money in the form of checks. He told me when he came first to Berlin that he was going to return those checks to Harry K. I don't know what to do with them.

As to George and Don, I think George did get \$100 deposit from Don on that land. But Don thought that George is too sharp in the matter and said he preferred to deal with Kelly when he sees him in N.Y. I think Don means to go to N.Y. after awhile.

Don did not go to W. H. H. on the freight from London -- says caught bad cold there.

As to the children's book, research and it is a big job. I would not do that Baldwin job again for \$5,000. It is too much work and worry, especially one must depend on others to some extent in work of this kind, and depending on others (for collection, material, etc.) is a bad thing generally.

Yes, Don really wants you to do the job, for he had enough on the other one. It is the same, almost, as writing a book. Only this is a compilation, and easier, of course. But as much work and responsibility. If there were a fund, it could be done. But the people there who want to put up 100 pounds surely do not mean that money for compiling the book. Do they? They probably mean that money for PUBLISHING the book. I hope you will have no misapprehension with any groups in this matter.

One will need at least 3 months on that book, cooperating with others, of course. So that if you take this work on, you will have to figure 3-4 months work on it. Then also similar time for the one with whom you will work, say Doris or Shapiro. Shapiro is a very good translator, though sometimes he is too literal in his translations, but that is OK. Then you must figure expenses for the necessary papers, Pravda, Izvestia, and Econom. Zhurnal for 1925. It would also be good to get the Kharkov Communist, -- the officilla paper -- but that is hard to get. You have also to figure expenses for paper (which will be considerable), carbon, etc. No typing, for the one who translates should do it in typing, unless there are extra items, as for instance I had to have some typing done in Russian first (to get copies of originals, where the latter could not be taken from the archives).

Counting a minimum of \$75. per person per month, 3 months for two persons working is already \$450. With paper and other incidentals, including the newspapers, it is \$500 minimum to do the job, not counting in multigraph work, for you will have to have it multigraphed in about 150 copies to send around the first 75 or 100 pages of the work.

In previous letters you said you would return on the first of April. The letter of the 24th says you will be back on the 30th.

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The Emma Goldman Papers

870922137

[Letter, 1925] March 28 [St. Cloud, France to Emma Goldman, London] / [Alexander Berkman]. — 2 p. ; 33 x 20 cm.

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Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

When you get the pamphlet re Commission Report compiled and typed, perhaps you would send it over to me to take a look at, before it goes to the printer.

Let me know about our Bulletin. Will you need more of it, and approximately how much.

You suggested that my letter to the Nation should be made into a leaflet if the Nation refuses to take it. But for a leaflet it is entirely too small, though for the Nation it is big enough, too big. Perhaps your letter together with mine would make enough for a leaflet. I doubt even that. And for a leaflet it would have to include also some reply to the other lies of the Fischer article. And then, who would pay for the leaflet? Neither you nor I have money for it. Though it might sell later.

By the way, I am really rich, for Baldwin (that is, Mrs. Anna Davis, of the Personal Service Fund) sent me check for the deficit, \$280. So that I had saved the salary on the Baldwin job, for I lived only on what I made otherwise. Now, dear girl, if you need any money, here is the banker.

The idea of exposing the Nation and arranging parallel columns of their editorials etc. on Russia, is all OK. But it is another big job and an expensive one, and it would have more interest for New York than for other people. Because who reads the Nation, after all? New York liberals. Otherwise the Nation really cuts no ice.

I sent up to Rocker flowers in your vase, on his birthday. Though he will come back tomorrow only, or a couple of days later. But it is OK.

Therese and child are doing OK. I was there yesterday again, with Mrs. Don L. I took her over because I thought Therese does not know how to treat and feed the child. That was the impression I received before, but now it seems to be all right. Mrs. Don even offered to lend her nurse to Therese, but it is not necessary. I had to laugh. The Dons weighed the child after each meal and made a big fuss about every ounce. Therese NEVER weighed the child yet. Scales cost money, you know. Besides, the Dr. told her it is not important. She would only worry if she saw the child did not gain as fast as she thought he should. He said his own child was also not weighed. Old fashioned, but perhaps best so with a nervous mother like Therese.

Yes, I think it was rather out of the way to have Heroic Women in that place. But our people in America, in the smaller cities especially, were also like that. They did not want to hear of their labor troubles. Something of outside interest they wanted. Same everywhere. But it was a good thing for the miners to have you there anyhow. It will be an event in those small places, and they will think about what you said. Literature is what is needed to leave in such places. But we have none.

As to Minna, well, it is not so terrible about her selling the pamphlet. That last chapter can be read without the book. But of course she must not do it among the English speaking people.

Yes, that breaking up of the Civil Liberties meeting is splendid. Just what was needed for that weak crowd. Hope it may help them.

Yes, I will see what I can do with those statistics. In a few days.

For Steinberg, only a few lines about each meeting.

Well, I guess I will send this letter to you in Wales, after all. But the clippings, Minna's etc. I am sending to London, about the time you will return there.

Nothing new here. My eyes are tired, that is about all. But nothing serious. Am trying to rest them up. Love. S.

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The Emma Goldman Papers

870925261

[Letter, 19]25 March 28, London [to] Emma Goldman, [London] / Havelock Ellis. —
2 p.; 20 × 16 cm.

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Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

15761

28 March/25.

14, DOVER MANSIONS,
CANTERBURY ROAD,
BRIXTON, LONDON, S.W.2

Dear Emma Goldman,

I have delayed
responding to your last letter until
I could find time to read the
volume of essays. Since leaving to
London my time has been more
than fully taken up, so that
it is only lately I have been
able to read the book, with
admiration & sympathy. Though I
differed with, of course, accept
all its conclusions. I am
pleased to find all means
all the women you quote
as those of people to whom I

The Emma Goldman Papers

870925261

[Letter, 19]25 March 28, London [to] Emma Goldman, [London] / Havelock Ellis. —
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look up. I certainly understand
your attitude as toward to Russia
today, though my own feeling is that
Russia must work out things her
own way. Every social condition is in
some degree, affected by the social
condition that preceded it, & if that
was not what follows could be
entirely good. Apart from that, every
social edifice can only be built up
out of human nature, & as human
nature is a mass of contradictions
these contradictions must be mirrored
in the practical operation of the social
system. I am sure that under any
social system you would feel
bound to protest, & that in so doing
you would be performing a valuable
service for humanity.
Will you be able to call here as you
kindly suggested? If so, perhaps
you would give me a choice of two

When time next week likely to be convenient
for you. Sincerely yours
Havelock Ellis.

The Emma Goldman Papers

880615001

[Letter, 1925] March 31, Trehebert [Wales to Gabriel Javicas, London] / Emma Goldman. — 1 p. ; 18 × 15 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the United States Library of Congress.
Institutional Location: Paul Avrich Papers.

Rebened. March 31/25

Man lieber, guter Jünger.
Dieses soll nicht als
Entwurf auf einen neuen Brief
geben. Dagegen brauch ich mehr
Zeit als ich jetzt zur Verfügung
steht. Aber ich brauche jetzt
bedingte ein neues Band für
meine Maschine. In dem
dass ich nicht ein ~~entwurf~~
example mitgenommen habe
wollen Sie mein Leben
retten und ein Schreiben von
mir bekommen das Sie ent-
ziffern können, das senden
Sie mir, sofort ein neues
Band. Ich habe wenig viele
Briefe zu beantworten
in der Zeit das typewriter
also bitte retten Sie mich
meinen mehr
Herzliche Grusse
Emma Goldman
Was ist Osteren?

The Emma Goldman Papers

870923107

[Letter, 1925 between April and June, London? to Alexander Berkman, Berlin (fragment)] / [Emma Goldman]. — 1 p. ; 30 x 21 cm.

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Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

2.

8714

depend on when Ben R. comes, I have promised him to try to be here when he arrives and I really want to see him. Of course, if I go to Paris in June, I will postpone my visit to Bristol for August since I can do nothing here during the summer. Anyway, I am excited about F's coming. I wish to goodness you would get the Nansen passport, you could then get a visa to France and we would be able to meet in Paris. Gee, wouldn't that be marvelous. Is there no way? I wish you would try. I am sure Clayton would give you credentials as correspondent which would help tremendously with the French visa. Let me know what you think.

My own precious Sash, indeed you are my comrade in battle, my friend in all the vicissitudes of our life. Our friendship to me has been and will be to my last breath the true miracle, the one positive achievement, the proudest possession I have rescued from the pain and travail since I met you in Saché's restaurant 36 years ago this August, for it was in August 1889. that I came to New York and that very day I met you. I do not remember the date, but I know it was a Sunday.

When you wrote me the other day in re your young lady friend that her's was the most "unusual devotion" I smiled. I knew that you really did not mean it. Because our life together and my devotion to you have stood the test of time and fire. And no one can call love or friendship the most "unusual" until they have gone through the crucible and have stood the test. I do not mean to imply that hers would not. But ours has you see, we therefore know that friendship like ours can never die. I am proud of that. I can truthfully say that your being in my life has been the strongest sustaining factor. In the greatest danger, in the most difficult moments, in times of utter despair the thought of you and how my actions would effect your life sustained and decided my course more than once. You see then dearest Sash what our friendship really means to me. And I am so happy on this day to know that you do feel that our friendship "grows deeper and inseparable with the passing day" May it go on that way until the end. I embrace you.

I am taking Doris, her daughter whom I am not very fond of, she is such a little selfish beast, but for Doris sake, who is a very fine character, then the sweeter of the girl and a woman who lives in the house and has repeatedly done some typing for me without pay, to dinner in an Italian Restaurant. There I will drink a glass in silence to you my own Sashuk, our past and our future which may yet be nearer than it is now. At lunch today I had the "wedding" party. I am glad of the money sent me by Stella, Moe and Saxe. 45 dollars, forty of that will be about the cost of to days pleasure. I hope it will prove worth while.

Some more news, Doris just brought me more mail, letter from Ben R. that he sails on the Muritania July 15th. But there is a rub, he has not his English visa yet, the British Council is holding it up knowing I suppose of Ben's past, though why he should not give him a visa now is beyond me, God knows, he holds a respectable position. Well, if he does not get Engl visa he is sure to get a French. If so there will be

The Emma Goldman Papers

881024167

[Letter, 1925 April? Bristol, England to Alexander Berkman, Berlin (fragment)] / [Emma Goldman]. — 4 p. ; 10 × 19 cm.

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Institutional Location: Alexander Berkman Archive.

18/1/28
Dear Alex,
I am sorry I can't send you more money, but I don't remember any more how many pennies, I can not send them anyway, so add a mark or so to make it up. Inclosed I am sending you 17.10 and \$1. which make it a little over 14 shillings.

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[Letter, 1925 April? Bristol, England to Alexander Berkman, Berlin (fragment)] / [Emma Goldman]. — 4 p. ; 10 × 19 cm.

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To come back to Bristol, Edith is preparing the account of all the collections we have made for the political. Just as soon as I get it I will send you all the moneys for Norwich, Leeds, Manchester and Bristol. In M the collection was Lbs.4,3,8. I wrote you that something was to come out of it for expences. Well, I got a letter from the two women that the dificit outside of my expences were Lbs.3,10. which they are paying. They urged me to take my expences which were two pounds out of the collection, but I am not going to do it. I simply can not take anything from funds so needed. If the women had not paid the dificit, I would have had to reimburse them, but I will not take any thing for myself. I am therefore going to send you the Lbs.4,3,8. together with the other, so far the sums are, Norwich, Lbs.4,12,6. Leeds, Lbs.1,16. Manchester, Lbs.4,3,8 together Lbs.10,12,2. That is without Bristol. I will send everything and the names to whom receipts go just as soon as I have an accounting from Bristol.

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4-12-10
1-6-6
I am glad you sent us the explanation about the moneys, that will stuff the dirty mouths of some of the Communists if that is at all possible. I gave the original to our Sec, and I am taking the copy along. By the way, I collected four pounds, 12 shillings and ten pence in Norwich, one pound, six shillings and six pence in Leeds for the politicals. Tomorrow I speak before a trade union when I will make an appeal. I may send the money from Manchester, or Bristol, or I will wait until I am all through and send the whole amount. If you must have money for the political way, write me to Bristol. I will be there Thursday. It is no use writing to Manchester as you could not reach me in time. But Bristol will be alright. And Sash dear, no need sending copies to London because Doris then forwards them to me. You see she has to forward all my mail and I forgot to tell her not to forward yours. It is too confusing. It is alright to write me c/o Mrs Edith Ballard, 56 Kingsdown Parade, Bristol, I will be there until Tuesday May fifth. After that back to London.

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10-12-2 10-12-12
1-10-2 2 2 3
1- 8 12 14 15
2- 2 12-15-2
5- 2 17

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The Emma Goldman Papers

861114065

[Letter, 1925 April? London to] E[mma] G[oldman, London] / [Charles Wright] T[h]om[as]. — 1 p. ; 26 x 20 cm.

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Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

5222

33 Royal Crescent,
W 11,
Tuesday.

Dear E. G. :

I found that Switz did leave Berkman's book in his room. I opened it to glance at it last night about eight; this morning at two I finished it and told myself to go to bed. Of course, I didn't read every page, but I got over the story until after the trial, and then read the last half of the book entire. It was an abominable thing for a student to do, but I couldn't leave it! The whole thing is fascinating - exciting - and the latter part of his imprisonment lifted me off my feet. Surely it was a wonderful spirit that grew to such large beauty in those eleven years of torture. I have never had anything catch me in quite the same way as did those last days of that cramped life that so expanded his heart and mind. I must have a copy of this book when I go back to America, and if anyone shows a gleam of intelligence or understanding of the radical spirit and of our system of punishment, he is going to have this book thrust down his throat, if need be. But I think he will only need to start it in order to finish it, and to read it to feel something a bit bigger creep into his conception of a human being.

A card from Switz this morning said his stay in Rome was so plentiful, but that Naples had offered the bad weather; they go to Florence on Thursday. I'm writing to him about "The Colonnade." The Morning Post, which one of our substantial boarders has every morning, gave a not unfair but rather inadequate criticism of it, I think. Have you seen any?

I know you are busy, and I'll not expect to hear from you for a few days. But when you want to ease up a bit on the strain, let me know.

Yours,

Sammy

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The Emma Goldman Papers

861114035

[Letter, 1925 April? Oxford, England to Emma] Goldman, [London] / [Charles] Wright Thomas. — 2 p. ; 17 x 22 cm.
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Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

5156

arrange a meeting after
the meeting; if I can
help more of the
Conservatives, please let
me. I shall make a
error in London about
five that afternoon, and
will stay well away.
With my friends will
be in the building
by that time, but on
this may be in London
and will come to the
meeting.

Wednesday

Dear Mrs. Goldman:

I have time only
for a hurried note in
answer to your letter of
yesterday. I have
changed my plans, so that
I'll have time to
return on Thursday, the 19th,
from Birmingham, where I
shall be visiting a friend.
I do hope you will

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[Letter, 1925 April? Oxford, England to Emma] Goldman, [London] / [Charles] Wright Thomas. — 2 p. ; 17 x 22 cm.

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I wrote Miss Lunt a
note yesterday, asking her
to come yesterday or
on May 2. I hope you
can come too, but I suppose
will be too busy. I hope
I can meet you both
in London. I am with
her as I know that
Mr. Popen was elected
President of the American
which I don't think the
forces are unified — they
did say that they
could, but not at all,

to elect someone else. 5187
But some of us are
such a "Boalagion"!
It was a straight fight,
not so much of personalities
as of principles, and the
liberal-radical ideas won.

This last week of Term
is very busy for me —
must end this week
so some necessary work.
The note will be sent on
to Birmingham, so you can
have it with fifty

Yours truly,

Charles Thomas,

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The Emma Goldman Papers

880615083

[Letter, 1925] April 1 [London to] Gabriel [Javicas, London] / E[mma] G[oldman]. —
1 p. ; 16 x 28 cm.
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April 1st

Dear Edith,

I am at the League
looking up something so I am
writing you many love.
Don't forget for Uncle
Davy will be with me
but only for Friday. I have
an idea that you said you
have some kind of an
invitation for that evening
so you'll have to look
me engagement if you wish
to see Uncle Davy with me
I will also have tickets

for 2 "Magg Sisters". But
I must take Du Woodcock
to see it. I want to
do something to show
my appreciation for their
hospitality. My Woodcock
has spent the play, so I
will take the D.L.

Inclosed is a money
order for 2 pounds. Please
cash it for me. Can you
come over to the Woodcock
tomorrow evening after
dinner? You needn't wait
to find the doctor and
you can have a walk
after you have seen him
come about 8.30. Please
bring the money along.
Affectionately
E.G.

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The Emma Goldman Papers

881010436

[Letter, 19]25 April 1 [Berlin to] Emma [Goldman, London] / Rudolf [Rocker]. —
6 p. ; 28 × 22 cm.
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Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

Liebste Emma,

wie Du siehst, bin ich wieder in Berlin. Die holländische Regierung hat natürlich, wie ich vorausgesehen habe, meine Tour nicht genehmigt. Kaum dass man uns ein Visum für acht Tage gab, gerade genug Zeit, den Kongress abhalten zu können. Der Kongress als solcher war nicht schlecht und hat sogar meine Erwartungen um einiges übertroffen. Auch die Beschickung war durchaus in der Ordnung. Allerdings fehlten England, Frankreich und Nordamerika, was an und für sich schon ein Verlust ist. Sonst waren alle bedeutenden Länder vertreten und nicht bloss pro forma. Ueber die Verhandlungen wird Dir ja der offizielle Bericht durch Bouchy zugehen, der jetzt erst zusammengestellt wird, so dass ich darüber hinweg gehen kann. Man hat den Eindruck, dass die Syndikalistische Internationale heute eine Tatsache ist, in die man nicht mehr heranzucken kann. Alles läuft heute besser als in der ersten Zeit ihres Bestehens und die Berichte und Beiträge gehen regelmässiger ein. Hatten wir nicht die scheussliche Reaktion in Italien und Spanien, so wäre uns vieles erspart geblieben. Aber wir müssen die Zeiten eben nehmen wie sie sind. Die bedauerlichste Erscheinung bleibt allerdings nach wie vor, dass Frankreich, das Mutterland des revolutionären Syndikalismus, vorläufig von der Internationale ganz abseits steht, weil dieselbe als eine Vereinigung der

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Mutterland des revolutionären Syndikalismus, vorläufig von der Inter-
nationale ganz abseits steht, weil dieselbe als eine Vereinigung der
Anarchisten gilt und man sich um keinen Preis kompromittieren will.
Wenn man bedenkt, dass die syndikalistische Bewegung Frankreichs
hauptsächlich von Anarchisten ins Leben gerufen wurde und man vergleicht
damit die lächerliche Furcht unserer eigenen Leute vor dem Wort Anar-
chismus, das ihnen von den Moskowitern in den Rücken geschossen
wird, so fasst einem der Menschheit ganzer Jammer an. Besnard und
seine Freunde sind sicher ganz liebe Menschen, aber ihre Diplomatie
hat die besten Gelegenheiten ungenutzt vorbeigehen lassen, so dass
die Junger Sinowjews immer mehr Oberwasser bekamen. Man opponierte
auf Kongressen gegen Moskau, hatte aber nicht einmal den Mut, den
Namen der Internationale auszusprechen. Was war da zu erwarten?

Immerhin darf man die Hoffnung nicht verlieren, denn auch für
Frankreich wird schliesslich wieder unsere Stunde kommen. Dass sie
bisher nicht gekommen ist, ist bedauerlich und meiner Meinung nach
in erster Linie auf die schwankende Haltung unserer eigenen Leute
in Paris zurückzuführen. Schapiro und Borghi stehen fest, aber sie
sind eben Ausländer, und mit Besnard lässt sich schlechterdings nichts

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anhangen. Es ist immer schlecht, wenn Revolutionäre die Rolle von
Diplomaten spielen wollen, dabei ist noch nie etwas Gutes herausge-
kommen. Die Franzosen sind heute die Opfer ihrer eigenen Tradition,
der Einheit zu jeden Preis, wie die Pelloutier verkundet hat. Sie
vergessen bloss, dass sich seit Pelloutiers Zeit manches geändert
hat und dass es Perioden gibt, wo die Einheit zu jeden Preis einer
Bewegung nicht mehr dienlich kann. Weil die Moskauer mit dem Schlagwort
der Einheit operieren, hat man Angst, sich gegen diesen erbarmlichen
Einheitskult zu wenden. Ich würde man sich noch, wenn man der
Meinung ist, es ist einfach zu kotzen.

Ich danke dir für diesen Brief. Herzlichen Dank für deinen
Brief, der mir sehr gefallen hat. Es ist eine allerding's grosse Ursache
dies, dass ich mich nicht in dieser besten aller Welten noch
sondern zu finden, ist wirklich eine andere Frage. Du nennst mich
auch einen Idealisten, wie er in einem Romantiker vor dem Herrn, liebe
Lust; das sein, das kann etwas ist. Aber ich kann Dir nur versichern,
dass ich doch bei mir beharren will, wo ich trotz aller Romantik die
Welt so wie sie ist unerblicklich aussieht--

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881010436

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Emma; mag sein, dass daran etwas ist. Aber ich kann Dir nur versichern, dass es auch bei mir Stunden gibt, wo ich trotz aller Romantik die Welt very much beschissen finde. So wie sie augenblicklich aussieht-- very, very, very much. Aber was ist da zu tun? Soll man sich etwas auf seinen Altenteil setzen, Trubsal blassen oder tiefe Weisheitsprüche vom Stapel lassen? Nicht zu machen. Das fehlte gerade noch, den lieben Zeitgenossen vom Stamme der Trampeltiere und Kangurus kampflos das Feld zu räumen, ohne ihnen nicht, sobald sich eine Gelegenheit dazu bietet, von Zeit zu Zeit recht kraftig in die magere Suppe zu spucken. Schon das Bewusstsein, dass man sich brav geschlagen hat gegen eine Welt des Unverständes und der Unfreiheit, ist etwas wert, obzwar mir das Urteil der lieben Nachwelt ziemlich schnuppe ist.

Nun zu der Kanadareise. Ungefähr eine Woche vor meiner Abreise nach Holland erhielt ich von Dr. Conn einen Brief mit Dokumenten, in dem mir angezeigt wurde, dass durch die Vermittlung der "International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union" mir die Erlaubnis erteilt wurde, für die betreffende Organisation auch in den States Vorträge zu halten. Diese Erlaubnis wurde erteilt auf Grund meiner Einreisebereitschaft nach Kanada, die auf Anfrage von der Kanadischen Regierung noch einmal bestätigt wurde. Unter diesen Umständen musste ich wohl oder übel dem Drängen der Freunde nachgeben und habe den Kameraden in Kanada bereits geschrieben, dass ich Vorbereitungen treffe, um kommenden Herbst die Reise zu unternehmen. Ich rechnete so Ende September von Deutschland abzureisen, bis Weihnachten in Kanada zu

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bleiben und dann bis Ende März die States zu bereisen. Wenn Du ~~schon~~ bereits ebenfalls einen Plan ins Auge gefasst hast und der Ueberzeugung sein solltest, dass durch meine Reise Dein Plan in irgendeiner Weise gefährdet werden konnte, so bin ich selbstverständlich gerne bereit zurückzutreten und meine Reise auf ein Jahr später zu verschieben. Es ist wohl nicht nötig, liebe Emma, Dir erst noch einmal zu sagen, dass Du mit mir ganz offen sprechen kannst. Die Sache ~~mir~~ bedeutet für mich keineswegs ein Opfer, so dass Du Dir keinerlei Rücksichten aufzulegen brauchst. Oder vielleicht könntest Du die Reise ein paar Monate später oder früher wie ich machen. Da Du ja hauptsächlich in Englisch sprichst wurde sich das schon arrangieren lassen und wir hätten vielleicht das Vergnügen uns ~~draußen~~ auf die eine oder die andere Art einmal sehen zu können. Du kennst ja die Verhältnisse besser wie ich. Deshalb teile mir ruhig Deine Ansicht mit, ich bin mit allem einverstanden.

Dein Misserfolg, in England mit mir aufrichtig leid, allein es scheint mir, dass deine ganze Welt in allen Ländern dieselben Spuren hinterlassen hat. Es ist heute ungemein schwer für freieitliche Ideen in unserem Sinne zu wirken, und es scheint, als wenn die Periode des Staates noch lange nicht vorüber ist. Das Autoritätsprinzip ist eben viel tiefer in der Psyche der Menschen verankert, als die meisten von uns sich träumen liessen. Umso notwendiger aber wird der Kampf

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eben viel tiefer in der Psyche der Menschen verankert, als die meisten
von uns sich träumen liessen. Umso notwendiger aber wird der Kampf
gegen jede geistige Bevormundung, welche das Persönlichkeitsgefühl
erstickt und immer mehr zu einer geistlosen Uniformität aus aller
Lebensausserungen drängt. Jedenfalls musst Du alle Mittel anwenden,
damit Dir der Weg nach England nicht versperrt wird, falls Du einmal
das Land verlassen wirst, denn man kann nie wissen, was die Zukunft
für uns bereit hat.

Deine Reise durch Wales ruft mir alte Erinnerungen zurück.
Schade, dass Du keine Zeit hattest, den Weg den Klippen entlang bei
Swansea zu gehen. Er ist entzuckend. Auch die Umgegend von Cardiff
ist sehr schön. Noch schöner ist allerdings North Wales.

Milly's Augen scheinen nun endlich wieder in Ordnung zu sein. Sie ~~ist~~
gezwungen, einen Spezialisten zu besuchen, der für die Untersuchung
20 Mark nahm, aber ihr wenigstens geholfen hat. Sie wird Dir selber
ein paar Zeilen schreiben, um Dir zu zeigen, dass sie wieder all right
ist.

Und nun sei aufs herzlichste gegrüsst und umarmt von uns allen

Rudolf

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the distance between the country and the people there and here is so great as to be insurmountable. There are separated by just two miles. The Mountain Valley is beautiful in mountain scenery, and fertile, rich and fertile soil everywhere. The valleys seem more than here, and live better. There are hardly any unemployed fresh out on the other hand is the worst slum I have yet seen, the drabness of the place, the blackness of the houses and the barren hills are all too much to contemplate. The whole Valley is closed in by these black hills, the soil is hard and unyielding, nowhere a bit of green to relieve the deadening monotony. The pits are of soft coal, the work more difficult, the pay less and there are three thousand unemployed in this part. You can imagine how dismal the situation is.

By the way, did you know old Sam Mainwaring? William who was arranged for my coming here is his son. He's another ~~brother~~ and the only sister they have live together and I am living with them. They have all remained anar-
chists, and so is William who is the most active. He has kept up the fight for his father most faithfull. In this City he has been for some unemployed and is working in the trade unions, always as an anarchist. I marvel at his courage to go on in this hard soil and get back up his ~~zazzzzzz~~ enthusiasm. I met a few more comrades here, but none so staunch as William Mainwaring. He asked about you dear com-
rade, and was tremendously interested in everything I could tell him. I hope that you are remembered by those who knew

I enjoyed my stay in the Ammerfort Valley tremendously. Our meetings were not big, but they were worth while because they brought out a wide awake interested lot of people, some trade unionists, some of the militant members of the Independent Labour Party thoroughly disgusted with the growing compromise there. I feel certain that if we could only hold out long enough in England, Wales would prove fertile soil for our ideas. The Welsh people impress me as being altogether of a different breed. They are most sincere in their ideas, they are warm hearted, they are of a direct simplicity, uncorrupted as I have not seen elsewhere. And this is the land of the Welsh people.

The Emma Goldman Papers

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[Letter] 1925 April 2, London [to Max Nettlau, Vienna] / E[mma] G[oldman].—
4 p. ; 30 x 19 cm.

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take and give gladly to those who come to them as if they had known him all their lives. It seems only ungrateful, but people who are still close to the soil are the only ones who still have the art and generosity of hospitality. One note little of it in large cities. Another very striking feature to me is the utter lack of British bombast and brag which one meets so much with in England. In fact the Welsh are rather a silent people and somewhat reserved. Altogether, it was quite a treat for me to be with these four people after my six months in London.

The group of comrades I met, only about eight are like a most serious lot and so hungry for activities. One who has settled in Wales but is himself of Irish and Scotch mixture is Jim Colton and old comrades I first met in Glasgow in 1895. It is amazing to see his fire and enthusiasm. I am sure you he has much more than I. One of the few of the old guard, perfectly unswerving and sincere. I am sure much could be done in Wales if I could only remain in England. It would require a number of years to gather the forces, it would require no end of patience, perseverance and no end of energy I could have all that, but, but. There is one important factor missing here, it is the lack of opportunity to make ones living and thus retain ones independence. I have thought and thought how I might meet this issue which to me is of utmost importance. I see no way out. Even if the conditions in England were not as bad as they are, I mean if people were not so used to deal in pennies, I could take no money for my subsistence from the movement. It was different in A. money is more plentiful, people earn and spend more. 25 cents to an American worker is like a penny to the English. And the movement would have to absorb all the pennies it could get. How then could I expect to draw on it? I simply could not. On the other hand there is no opening here for articles. Formerly after I have been in England for a number of years and have established a footing in the literary world. But what about them?

I have tried America with articles, I have failed. I cannot write the stuff wanted, and what I write is not being accepted. Here then is the rub. Added to this is my legal insecurity. So far I have been left alone. It may well be that even if I begin general anarchist propaganda I will also be left alone. But it is certain that at the first serious moment, a strike, or some other national issue which I would not feel could not avoid, out I would go. It is all very well, when one is young, one can face difficulties and dangers such as these. But I am not young, and what is more Russia has crushed much of my old enthusiasm. Things do not come so easy as they did in the past. Yet I must decide soon what to do. In June my passport expires, I will have to apply for a renewal. I will have to know then whether I stay or go. The trouble is I do not know where to go, except some quiet spot in France where I might write my autobiography. That is all I could do if I go to France or anywhere outside of England. I am at a loss. I only know I ought to try hard to remain here and help our little band to put some life into our movement. England needs it badly. But enough of myself.

What you write about the miserable men who went as interpreters and translators with the Labour Delegation is only too true. Everyone of the three is trained in spying and lying and covering up the crimes of their governments and others to whom they happen to be friendly. One has but to see Young for instance to know that he could be bought by any government. He is a repulsive sort one hates to meet anyone. The others are probably not better. And these are the men the Labour Delegation depended upon. It is a sad comment on the position of Labour, their readiness to sell

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890126162

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...has decided to have another meeting in March... for us to speak on the Report. It is to take place the 10th of this month. There is something to do, but we have neither people nor means. Moscow has everything, why should it not blind the world?

Approach of the influence of Moscow. On Monday the Conference opens between Moscow's Trade Union Delegation Tomsky and the rest, and Delegates of the British Trade Union. Ostensibly the Conference is for the purpose of how Moscow might crawl back to Rome, to Amsterdam which it has fought for seven years with the vilest weapons. In reality Moscow is desperately trying to get under the skin of the British Trade Union organizations. It will be a sad day for the Labour movement here if Moscow should succeed. It is trying hard enough and is being assisted perhaps unwittingly by men like John Turner, Smille and some others perfectly sincere people. John Turner's position especially is too absurd for words. After signing the Report, he went on denouncing the political conditions in Paris to our Berlin and Paris Committee, he spoke of himself as I did at the South Place Institute and in Northampton, and on top of it all he declared in public meeting that he would work for a United Front with Moscow. I simply cannot understand such conduct. The crucial point is that I told him that if I am not careful I will find myself in the position of Burke who mediated the French Revolution. I replied no such danger, that if anyone is in that position it is he John Turner who whitewashed the British Government which crushed the Russian Revolution. While I am at the Revolution and with the Russian people. Well, I do not think that all polemics are use less when one is trying to sit on two stools. They must keep on balancing for their own protection. And yet I can not get myself to suspect John Turner except in his inability to stand out against the Russian Government. He has been a Trade Unionist all his life and the chance of his Anarchism. Now he must say the word.

To come back to the Conference of the Delegates, I have already bombard them with letters of protest and resolutions. I have written Berkman and Shapiro to get to their Committees to write to the delegates, and my Committee will do the same. Then copies of the Resolutions at all my Wales meetings will be sent. We will at least call the attention of Messrs Smille, and the rest to the appalling conditions of the political in Russia and ask them how they who insist upon their political rights so much can keep silent in the face of the continued political persecution in Russia. They may not induce them to act, but it will give us a chance to meet at them in their proper light if they do nothing.

You can see...

to do it. I have written...

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I really don't know how much
I can say about this.

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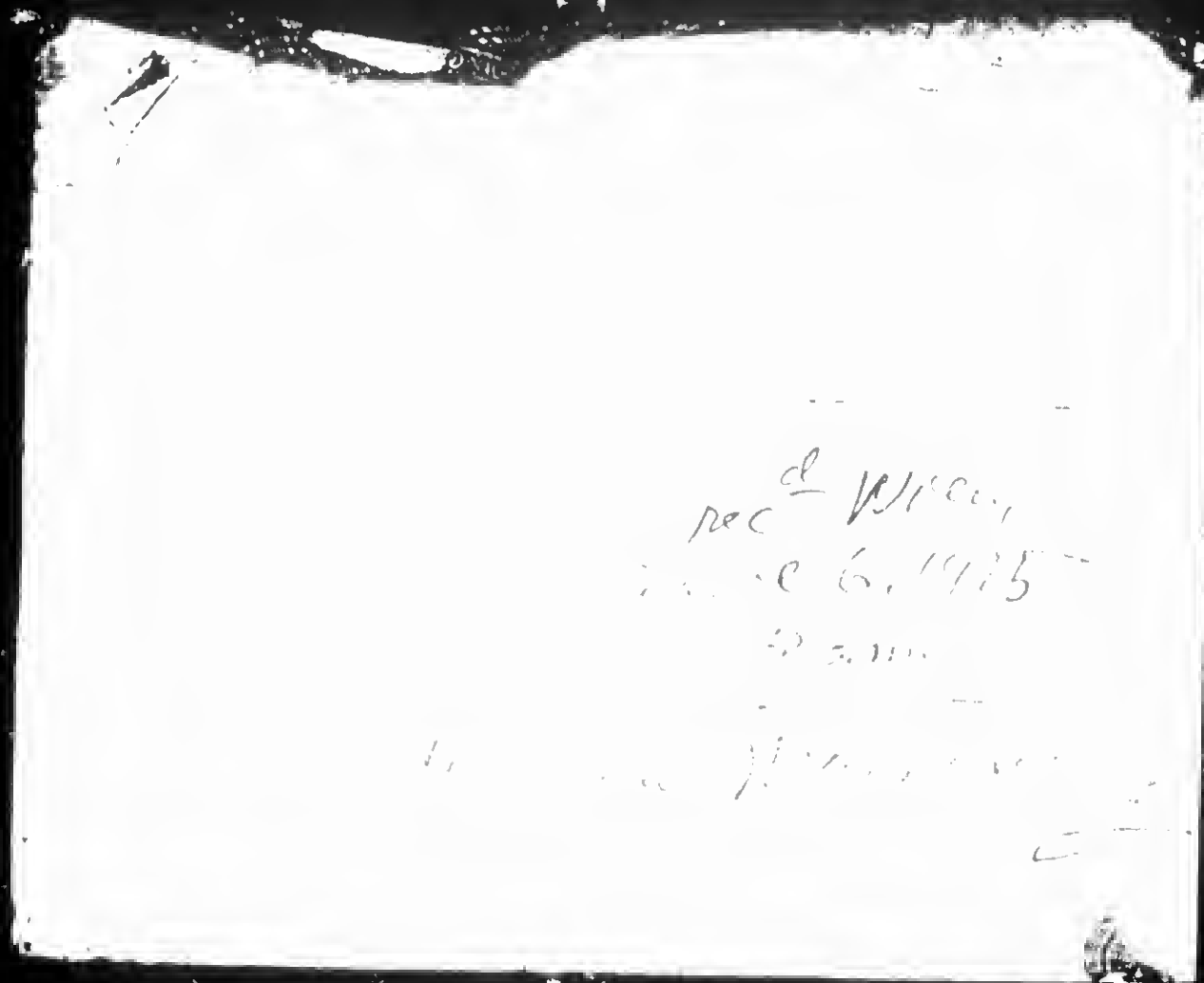
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3 Titchfield Terrace,
St. John's Wood Road,
London N. W. 8.

Treherbert, April 2, 1925.

Dear Comrade:

I am in a mining town in South Wales where I spoke on Monday and, where I have three more meetings, to-morrow, Saturday and Sunday, then I return to London. Last week I was in what is called the Ammenfort Valley Anthracite Coal Region. The difference between the country and the conditions of the people there and here, is so great that it is impossible to believe they are separated by just two hours travel.

The Ammenfort Valley is beautiful in mountainous scenery and meadows, with rich and fertile soil everywhere. The miners earn more there than here, and they live better. There are hardly any unemployed.

Treherbert, on the other hand, is the worst dump I have yet seen, the drabness of the place, the blackness of the houses and the barren hills are all too awful to contemplate. The whole Valley is closed in by these bleak hills, the soil is hard and unyielding. No where a bit of green to relieve the deadening monotony. The pits are of soft coal, the work more difficult, the pay is less and there are three thousand of unemployed at this time. You can imagine how dismal the situation is.

My first meeting on Monday was under the auspices of some Labour Club, which has its own hall and, unfortunately, also its own bar. The audience was half under the influence of bad whiskey and worse beer and certainly was in no mood for a serious lecture on Russia. It was some task to hold the attention of these people. Frankly, I did not know whether to laugh or be angry with the crowd. But realizing the drabness of this town, I came to the conclusion that men can do nothing else except get drunk, or go mad here. I dread to think what our other meetings will be. I have not it in my heart to show dissatisfaction or disappointment, because Comrade, Mainwaring who has worked hard for the meetings and is keeping up the lonely struggle for our ideas, is himself unhappy over the outcome of our first meeting. I do not feel justified in making him feel worse.

By the way, did you know old Sam Mainwaring? William, who has arranged for my coming here, is his Son. He, another brother and the only Sister they have, live together and I am staying with them. They have all remained Anarchists,

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- 2 -

but it is William who is the most active. He has kept up the banner of his father most faithfully. In this city he has organized the unemployed and is working in the Trade Unions, always as an Anarchist. I marvel at his courage to go on in this barren soil and yet keep up his enthusiasm. There are a few more Comrades here, but none so staunch as William Mainwaring. He asked about you, dear Comrade, and was tremendously interested in every thing I could tell him. You see that you are remembered by those who know you in England.

I enjoyed my stay in the Ammenfort Valley tremendously. Our meetings were not big, but they were worth while because they brought out a wide awake and interested lot of miners, some great Unionists, some of the Militant members of the Independent Labour party who are thoroughly disgusted with the growing compromising attitude of the I. L. P. I feel certain that if one could only hold out long enough in England, Wales would prove fertile soil for our ideas. The Welch people impress me as being altogether of a different sort. They are most responsive to ideas. They are warm hearted and of a touching simplicity and so uncorrupted as I have not seen for a long time. And what took my fancy most is their truly beautiful hospitality. They, as miners, barely make enough to live on, yet they are so generous and will spread their table and gladly give to those who come to them as if they had known their guest all their lives.

It seems only that those unsophisticated people who are still close to the soil, retain the art of generosity and hospitality. One meets little of it in the large cities. Another very striking feature to me, is the utter lack of British bombast and braggadocio one meets so much in England. In fact, the Welch are rather a silent people and remarkably non-invasive. Altogether, it was quite a treat for me to be with these dear people after my six months in London.

The group of Comrades I met numbered only about eight, but they are the most serious lot and so hungry for activities. One who has settled in Wales, but who is himself of Irish and Scotch mixture, is Jim Colton, an old Comrade I first met in Glasgow in 1895. It is amazing to see his fire and enthusiasm. I assure you he has much more than I. One of the few of the old guard - perfectly unspoiled and absolutely sincere. I am sure much more could be done in Wales if I could only remain in England. It will require a number of years to gather the forces. It would require no end of patience, perseverance and energy. I could have all that but - there is one important factor missing - the absence of an opportunity to make one's living and thus retain one's independence. I have thought and thought how I might meet this issue which, to me, is of utmost importance.

I see no way out. Even if the conditions in England were not as bad as they are; if people were not so accustomed to dealing in pennies that would be some relief, but it is not so. Of course, I could take no money for my subsistence from the movement.

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- 3 -

It was different in America. Money is more plentiful there, people earn more and spend more. To an American worker, 25¢ is about as a penny to the English worker, and the movement would have to absorb all the pennies it could obtain. How then, could I expect to draw upon it? I simply could not. On the other hand, there is no opening here for articles. Perhaps after I have been in England for a number of years and succeed in establishing a footing in the literary world, things would be different - but what until then?

I have tried America with articles and I have failed. I cannot write the stuff they want and what I do write is not acceptable. Here, then, is the rub. Added to this, is my legal insecurity. So far, I have been left alone. It may well be that even if I begin general Anarchist propaganda, I will still be left alone. It is quite certain that at the first serious moment, the advent of a strike or some other national issue which I would not and could not avoid, out I would go. It is all very well when one is young. One can face difficulties and dangers much easier. But I am not young, and what is more, Russia has crushed much of my old enthusiasm. Things don't come so easy as they did in the past. Yet, I must decide soon what to do. In June my Passport expires. I will have to apply for a renewal. I will have to know then whether I should stay or go. And if I am to go, the trouble is I don't know where it shall be unless, possibly, to some quiet little place in France where I might sit down to the task of writing my autobiography. That is all I could do if I go to France or any other place outside of England. I am quite at sea. I know only that I ought to try hard to remain here and help our little band put some life into the movement. England needs it badly. But enough of myself.

What you write about the miserable men who went as interpreters and translators with the Labour Delegation is only too true. Every one of the three is trained in saying and lying, drilled in covering up the crimes of their Governments and others to whom they happen to be friendly. One has but to see Young, for instance, to know that he could be bought by any Government. He is a repulsive sort one hates to meet anywhere. The others are probably no better. And these are the men the Delegation depended upon. It is a sad commentary upon the corruption of labour: its readiness to avail itself to all sorts of shady elements. The Independent Labour party, since it was the Government, seems to be honeycombed with just such people, adventurers who have their eyes on the House of Commons. Well, they are welcome to it. As to the report it has done a lot of harm and is doing more. If only we were not so poor and could get out an exhaustive reply. At least sixty four pages would be needed. There is enough material from Soviet papers alone, to fill as many pages in refutation of the lies contained in the report. But we have no means to prepare such a reply. In fact, the Committee I have organized and which has helped in the work, is now the proud possessor of one pound in his treasury. Still, we are going to have some kind of a reply. At the request of the

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Committee, I am compiling a pamphlet of sixteen or twenty four pages which will soon be published, then the Committee has decided to have another meeting in South Place Institute for me to speak on the report. It is to take place on the 16th of this month. There are mountains to be moved and we have neither means nor the people to move them. Moscoow has everything, why should it not blind the world! Apropos of the influence of Moscow: on Monday the conference opens between Moscow Trade Union Delegation, Tomskey and the rest with the Delegates of the British Trade Union. Ostensibly the conference is for the purpose of determining how Moscoow might crawl back to Rome - to Amsterdam, which it has fought for seven years with the vilest of weapons. In reality Moscoow is desperately trying to get under the skin of the British Trade Union organizations. It will be a sad day for the labour movement here if Moscow should succeed. It is trying hard enough and is being assisted, perhaps unwittingly, but it is being assisted nevertheless, by men like John Turner, Smille and other perfectly sincere people. John Turner's position especially is too absurd for words. After signing the report, he sent one announcing the political conditions in Russia to our Berlin and Paris Committee. He spoke as unreservedly as I did at the South Place Institute and in Northampton, and on top of it all he declared in public meeting that he would work for a united front with Moscoow. I simply can't understand such complexities. The amusing part is that John wrote me that if I am not careful, I will find myself in the position of Bourke, who repudiated the French Revolution. I replied that there could be no such danger and that if any one was likely to be in such a position, that person is John Turner who white-washed the Ruling Class of Russia, which crushed the Russian Revolution, while I am with the Revolution and with the Russian people. Well, I have come to think that all polemics are useless with people who try to sit on two stools. They must keep on balancing for their own protection. And yet I cannot get myself to suspect John Turner except in his inability to stand out against his Trade Union gang. He has been a Trade Unionist all his life at the expense of his Anarohism - and now he must pay the price.

To come back to the Conference of the Delegation, we mean to bombard them with letters of protest and resolutions. I have written Berkman and Shapiro to get their Committees to write the Delegates, and my Committee will also send protesting letters. Then, copies of the Resolutions at all my Wales meetings will be sent. We will at least call the attention of Messrs. Smille and the rest to the appalling oonditions of the politicals in Russia and ask them how they, who insist upon their own political rights so much, can keep silent in the face of the continued political perseoution in Russia. It may not induoe them to act, but it will give us a ohanoe to present them in their proper light, even though they do nothing at all.

You can see, dear Comrade, there is no end of work to do and soarcely any one to do it. I used to have a typewritress to help me a few days a week. I cannot even have her any more because my Committee cannot afford the expense. There will therefore

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- 5 -

be fewer long letters. I am using my time here because we have no meetings and I want to get out as much as I can before I get to London. This time other friends will have to content themselves with carbon copies of this letter and you will get the original.

Yes, there is much to do, a n important and vital work would be a compilation of the truly tragio conditions of the destitute children in Russia of whom there are over half a million. Such a book would have a universal appeal. It was suggested that I do it. Indeed, I'd love to. I would have to give the whole Summer to it and would need the cooperation of Shapiro and others, it is a great task. But so far, there is no fund for the initial expenses which would amount to a fortune. A friend of ours has compiled a book about the politicals and has obtained letters from twenty of the foremost people, such as Brandes, Einstein, Hauptmann, Maeterlinok, Rolland, Wells, Lagerlof, Rebecca West and ever so many others to go with the book. It is soon to be published in England, Germany and France. It will be a bomb shell!

Then, Berkman and Shapiro have compiled overwhelming material about the politicals which Berkman prepared for the American Civil Liberties League, sworn affidavits of political prisoners, who have escaped the clutches of the Tcheka, letters, photographs and other data, in fact, a perfect mint. That too, will not doubt be published in book form. Meanwhile, it has already succeeded in breaking the silence of the Nation. The path towards the light in Russia is thorny and the difficulties in the way almost insurmountable, but it must be done. A lie does perpetuate itself for a long time, but the truth asserts itself in the end. In another few years Dictatorship will stand before the world in all its nakedness. It is up to us to do the pioneer work as we have done against their social and political falsehood.

It is quite all right about your humorous vein. I need it more than you can imagine. But for my own sense of humor I could not survive the situation. So keep it up, dear Comrade. I know I will fall into a hornet's nest if I touch your beloved British museum. I did not think you would take it so literally. Needless to say, what I said was not my final opinion in the matter. I was disgusted with the difficulties I had in my first attempt, but I realize that it is not enough to judge such an institution which is unique in the world.

I know how narrow Turgenev was in his social ideas. But that does not detract from his greatness as an artist, nor yet from his deep understanding of the youth of his time. I think his "Fathers and Sons" not only a great work of art, but a very necessary mirror of the spirit of the Youth and Movement of the eighties. I do not believe that Turgenev caricatured that spirit. I rather think he felt deeply with it, but he saw closer than other Russian writers and he was brave enough to say so. Funny, I read Rudin, but I never considered it miserable nor do I see Bakunin in it. What makes you think that he had Bakunin in mind? Well, there is no use arguing literary values, they are

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- 6 -

they are the most individualistic and personal entities in the world. To me, Turgenev is among the greatest of Russian writers and the most humane - above all, he has the clearest mind and is the freest from slav mysticism.

I must really close, the light is bad and I have written so much to-day that I am quite tired. More anon.

Sincerely,

E. G.

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870919196

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11762

3, Titchfield Terrace.
St John's Wood Road.
London, N, W.8.

Treherbert, April 2.
1925.

Dear Comrade. I am in a mining town in South Wales where I spoke on Monday, and where I have three more meetings, tomorrow, Saturday and Sunday. Then I return to London. Last week I was in what is called the Ammenfort Velly Anthracite coal region. The difference between the country and the conditions of the people there and here is so great it is impossible to believe they are separated by just two hours travel. The Ammenfort Valley is beautiful in mountainous scenery, and meadows, rich and fertile soil everywhere. The miners earn more than here, and live better. There are hardly any unemployed. Treherbert on the other hand is the worse dump I have yet seen, the drabness of the place, the bleakness of the houses and the barren hills are all too awful to contemplate. The whole Valley is closed in by these bleak hills, the soil is hard and unyielding, nowhere a bit of green to relieve the deadening monotony. The pits are of soft coal, the work more difficult, the pay less and there are three thousand unemployed in this part. You can imagine how dismal the situation is.

My first meeting on Monday was under the auspices of some Labour Club which has its own hall, and unfortunately also its own bar. The audience was half under the influence of bad whiskey and beer, and certainly in no mood for a serious lecture on Russia. It was some task to keep the attention of these people. Frankly, I did not know whether to laugh or to be angry with the crowd. But realizing the drabness of this town I came to the conclusion that the men can do nothing else except get drunk, or go mad here. I dread to think what our other meetings will be. I haven't it in my heart to show dissatisfaction or disappointment because comrade Mainwaring who has worked hard for the meetings and is keeping up the lonely struggle for our ideas is himself unhappy over the outcome of our first meeting. I do not feel justified in making him feel worse.

By the way, did you know old Sam Mainwaring? William who has arranged for my coming here is his son. He is another brother and the only sister they have live together and I am staying with them. They have all remained anarchists, but it is William who is the most active. He has kept up the banner of his father most faithfully. In this City he has organized the unemployed and is working in the trade unions, always as an anarchist. I marvel at his courage to go on in this barren soil and yet keep up his ~~enthusiasm~~ enthusiasm. There are a few more comrades here, but none so staunch as William Mainwaring. He asked about you dear comrade and was tremendously interested in everything I could tell him. You see that you are remembered by those who knew you in England.

I enjoyed my stay in the Ammenfort Valley tremendously. Our meetings were not big, but they were worth while because they brought out a wide awake interested lot of miners, some trade unionists, some of the militant members of the Independent Labour Party thoroughly disgusted with the growing compromise there. I feel certain that if one could only hold out long enough in England, Wales would prove fertile soil for our ideas. The Welsh people impress me as being altogether of a different breed. They are most responsive to ideas, they are warm hearted, they are of a touching simplicity, so uncorrupted as I have not seen for a long time. And what took my fancy most is their truly beautiful hospitality. They as miners barely make enough to live on, yet they are so generous and will spread their

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table and give gladly to those who come to them as if they had known him all their lives. It seems only unsophisticated people who are still close to the soil are the only ones who still have the art and generosity of hospitality. One meets little of it in large cities. Another very striking feature to me is the utter lack of British bombast and brag which one meets so much with in England. In fact the Welsh are rather a silent people and remarkably noninvasive. Altogether, it was quite a treat for us to be with these dear people after my six months in London.

The group of comrades I met, only about eight are also a most serious lot and so hungry for activities. Joe who has settled in Wales but is himself of Irish and Scotch mixture is Jim Colton and old comrade I first met in Glasgow in 1905. It is amazing to see his fire and enthusiasm. I never suppose you had much more than I. One of the few of the old guard, perfectly unspoiled and sincere. I am sure much could be done in Wales if I could only remain in England. It would require a number of years to gather the forces, it would require no end of patience, perseverance and no end of energy I could have all that, but, but. There is one important factor missing here, it is the lack of opportunity to make ones living and thus retain ones independence. I have thought and thought how I might meet this issue which to me is of utmost importance. I do not see any way out. Even if the conditions in England were not as bad as they are, I mean if people were not so used to deal in pennies, I could take no money for my subsistence from the movement. It was different in A. money is more plentiful, people earn and spend more. 25 cents to an America worker is like a penny to the English. And the movement would have to absorb all the pennies it could get. How then could I expect to draw on it? I simply could not. On the other hand there is no coping here for articles. Perhaps after I have been in England for a number of years and have established a footing in the literary world. But what until then?

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themselves of all sorts of shady elements. The Independent Labour Party since it was the Government seems to be honey combed with just such people, adventurers who have their eyes on the House of Commons. Well, they are welcome to it. As to the Report it has done a lot of harm and is doing more. If only we were not so poor and could get out an exhaustive reply. At least 64 pages would be needed. There is enough material from Soviet papers alone to fill so many pages in refutation of the lies contained in the Report. But we have no means for that. In fact the Committee I have organized and which has helped in the work is now the proud possessor of one pound in its treasury. Still, we are going to have some reply. At the request of the Committee I am compiling a pamphlet of 16, or 24 pages which will be published soon. Then the Committee has decided to have another meeting in South Place Institute for me to speak on the Report. It is to take place the 16th of this month. There is mountains to do, but we have neither people nor means, Moscow has everything, why should it not blind the world.

Appropos of the influence of Moscow. On Monday the Conference opens between Moscow's Trade Union Delegation Tomsky and the rest, and Delegates of the British Trade Unions. Ostensibly the Conference is for the purpose of how Moscow might crawl back to Rome, to Amsterdam which it has fought for seven years with the vilest weapons. In reality Moscow is desperately trying to get under the skin of the British Trade Union organizations. It will be a sad day for the Labour movement here if Moscow should succeed. It is trying hard enough and is being assisted perhaps unwittingly by men like John Turner, Smille and some others perfectly sincere people. John Turner's position especially is too absurd for words. After signing the Report, he sent one denouncing the political conditions in Russia to our Berlin, and Paris Committee, he spoke as unreservedly as I did at the South Place Institute and in Northampton, and on top of it all he declared in public meeting that he would work for a United Front with Moscow. I simply can not understand such combinations. The amusing part is that John wrote me that if I am not careful I will find myself in the position of Bourke who repudiated the French Revolution. I replied no such danger, that if anyone is in that position now it is he John Turner who whitewashed the Ruling Class of Russia which crushed the Russian Revolution. While I am with the Revolution and with the Russian people. Well, I have come to think that all polemics are useless with people who try to sit on two stools. They must keep on balancing for their own protection. And yet I can not get myself to suspect John Turner except in his inability to stand out against his Trade Union gang. He has been a Trade Unionist all his life at the expense of his Anarchism. Now he must pay the price.

To come back to the Conference of the Delegation, we mean to bombard them with letters of protests and resolutions. I have written Berkman and Shapiro to get their Committees to write to the delegates, and my Committee will do the same. Then copies of the Resolutions at all my Wales meetings will be sent. We will at least call the attention of Messrs Smille, and the rest to the appalling conditions of the political in Russia and ask them, how they who insist upon their political rights so much can keep silent in the face of the continued political persecution in Russia. It may not induce them to act, but it will give us a chance to present them in their proper light if they do nothing.

You can see dear comrade there is no end of work to do and hardly any one to do it. I used to have a typewritress to help me a few days a week. I can not even now.

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711

The Emma Goldman Papers

870919196

[Letter] 1925 April 2, Treherbert [Wales to W.S. Van Valkenburgh, New York] / [Emma Goldman]. — 4 p. ; 33 x 21 cm.

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Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

11765

have her anymore because my Committee can not afford the expense. There will therefore be fewer long letters. I am using my time here because we have no meetings and I want to get out as much as I can before I get to London. This time other friends will have to content themselves with carbon copies of ~~you~~ this letter and you will get the original.

Yes, there is much to do, an important and vital work would be a compilation of the truly tragic conditions of the destitute children in Russia of whom there are over an half million. Such a book would have a universal appeal. It was suggested that I do it. Indeed, I'd love to, I would have to give the whole summer to it and would need the coöperation of Shapiro and others, it is a great task. But so far there is no fund for the initial expenses which would require a fortune. A friend of ours has compiled a book about the politicals and has obtained letters from 20 foremost people, Brandes, Einstein, Hauptmann, Masterlinck, Romain Rolland, Wells, Rebecca West, Lagerloff and ever so many others to go with the book. It is to be published soon in England, Germany and France. It will be some bombshell.

Then Berkman and Shapiro have compiled over whelming material about the politicals which Berkman prepared for the American Civil Liberties League, sworn affidavits of political prisoners who had escaped the clutches of the Tcheka, letters, photographs, in short a perfect mine. That too will no doubt be published in bookform. Meanwhile it has already succeeded in breaking the silence of the N. Y. Nation. In short the path towards light on R. is thorny and the difficulties in the way almost insurmountable, but it must be done. A lie does perpetuate itself for a long time, but the truth does assert itself in the end. Another few years and the Dictatorship will stand before the world in all its nakedness. It is up to us to do the pioneer work as we have done against every social and political lie.

It is quite alright about your humorous ~~my~~ vein. I need it more than you can imagine. But for my own sense of humor I could not survive the situation. So keep it up dear comrade. I knew I will fall into a hornets nest if I will touch your beloved British Museum, I did not think you would take it so literally. Needless to say what I said was not my final opinion on the matter. I was disgusted with the difficulties I had in my first attempt, but I realize that it is not enough to judge such an institution which is unique in the world.

I know how narrow Turgenev was in social ideas, but that does not detract from his greatness as an artist, nor yet from his deep understanding of the Youth of his time. I think his Fathers and Sons not only a great work of art, but a very necessary mirror of the spirit of the Youth and movement of the ~~the~~ eighties. I do not believe that Turgenev caricatured that spirit. I rather think he felt deeply with it, but he saw clearer than other Russian writers and he was brave enough to say so. Funny, ~~I have never considered it miserable~~ I read Rudin, I never considered it miserable nor did I see Bakunin in it. What makes you think that he had Bakunin in mind? Well, there is no use arguing literary values, they are the most individualistic and personal in the world. To me Turgenev is among the greatest Russian writers and the most humane, above all the clearest minds and the freest from the slav mysticism.

I really must close, the light is bad and I have written so much to day, I am quite stiff in my joints.

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712

The Emma Goldman Papers

861114071

[Letter] 1925 April 2, London [to Emma] Goldman, [London] / [Charles Wright] T[h]om[as]. — 1 p. ; 26 x 20 cm.

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Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

5231

33 Royal Crescent,
London W. 11,
April 2, 1925.

Dear Miss Goldman :

I was so glad to have your letter this evening late. Of course I want to meet you, and we'll have tea together if you won't have to go out to your place at once. I'll take a bit of a vacation Monday afternoon - I'm never slow to take the opportunity for one. It's good that the Welsh have warmed you up, and perhaps London won't seem so dreary when you come back and the trees have begun to bud out and the sky to lift a bit more above the ground; this must be an ugly hole in the gloom of winter. I'll be anxious to hear of your experiences - this will be your first real work among the "people" in this island, won't it?

Mrs. Zhou called on the 'phone yesterday; someone had wanted to speak to you and she thought perhaps it was I. She was good enough to send me out to tea for this Saturday, and said she had news of you to tell me. I've a couple of "Nations" for you; I started to send them, but decided to wait until you came back.

I've had only a note from Ted, giving me his address for forwarding mail. They will be in Florence for a couple of weeks, beginning on April 6. Before he left we had several good times together - a Sunday tramp in the hills of Surrey; an evening with Mrs. Stan Harding, which was a rare treat. Ted has a subscription ticket to the Stage Society's production of Stark Young's "The Colonade", and by using his name I've got two seats for Sunday night, and have asked Mrs. Harding to go with me. The only other performance will be on Monday at two-thirty; I imagine you'd like to see it, and it's a shame you'll arrive too late. Ted and I saw "Hamlet" before he left: it was by far the best Shakespearean thing I've seen. I'm going again before it closes to study the details. Otherwise I've been having a quiet time, with two afternoons in the National Gallery, and a day off for the Oxford-Cambridge Boat Race, which was a fiasco on our part: our boat actually sank half way in the course! My friend Sine, from Shrewsbury, was down for that week-end and stayed with me. I'm busy with my work and have got it well started now. But I'm a bit lonesome at times, and I'm glad you are coming back; as much as I love books, they are, in a sense, dead - and you always stir me up with life. So expect to see me at Paddington Monday at four-ten.

Yours,

Norman

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The Emma Goldman Papers

870919194

[Letter] 1925 April 3, Treherbert, Wales [to] Michael [A. Cohn, New York] / E[mma] G[oldman]. — 2 p. ; 33 x 21 cm.

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Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

11760

J. Titchfield Terrace.
St John's Wood Road.
London, N, W.6.

Treherbert South Wales. April. 3.
1925.

Dear Michael. Your letter of March 11th. was forwarded to me here. Needless to say I was glad to hear from you again after such prolonged silence. Yes, indeed, I think it is better to be busy than idle. I know how it feels to be both and I prefer being busy to idleness any time. My idleness in Germany quite drove me to despair. There is however, this much to say about keeping busy, 1) whether by doing so one really accomplishes something. 2) whether one can find satisfaction in a mere infinitesimal achievement when one sees so much to be done. This is my present position as you will see from my letter to comrade Nettlau, copy of which I enclose. To this I would like to add the following; if ever there was an anarchist movement in England, it is now dead as a door nail. The activities of forty years have left hardly any trace except perhaps in the minds of very few. It is true that the war and even more so the complete bankruptcy of the Marxian State have given our ideas considerable moral support. The soil was never ripe for anarchist thought than now. But we have not the people to utilize the fertile soil, and we lack the means for the work needed to bring about the right kind of a harvest.

Let me explain what I mean, if it were possible to get A. and Shapiro here, or even A. alone and if we could be materially secured for a month to start a weekly anarchist-syndicalist paper, I am convinced a big movement would rise up. I have seen enough since I am in England to know that there are revolutionary elements in the trade union and socialist movement here thoroughly disgusted with their parties, thoroughly disillusioned in political methods who would rally to the support of a live cause and movement. I have also seen since I am in Wales that there is splendid material in the rank and file of the miners who would furnish a great asset to our work. But, there are so many ifs and buts that nothing will come of the idea I have outlined above. For one thing, there is not a shadow of a chance for A. to come here with the Tories in power, besides he is not very keen on England. Secondly and that is even more important, there are no means to be raised in England and I do not see where else they can be raised. The people here are frightfully poor, all their lives they have figured in pennies, it is useless to expect that they should secure a publication. I am certain they would sustain it to the best of their ability, but that would not be sufficient.

Another thing, before I came to England I hoped against hope that I might be able to raise funds and thus help support a paper from lectures. I now see that is utterly impossible. The English have never been trained to paying admission, they are used to free meetings and simply do not attend if they have to pay. The expenses are made up through collections and that very rarely. It means then that lectures not only would yield nothing for the support of a publication, but one's absolute needs, but still less would they support a publication. One must face facts, there is no use deceiving oneself. From this you will see that the issue which looms high before me is what I have stated in my letter to Nettlau, the question of a livelihood. I am terribly bothered by that. Nor do I see a way in meeting this issue. If it were a question of a few months, I should not mind being helped by my American friends, but I can not do it indefinitely.

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The Emma Goldman Papers

870919194

[Letter] 1925 April 3, Treherbert, Wales [to] Michael [A. Cohn, New York] / E[mma] G[oldman]. — 2 p. ; 33 x 21 cm.

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Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

11761

Dear Michael, it is all very well to say one must not worry about the future when one is somewhat secured. I never used to worry in the past because I knew that as long as I have my health I can remain independent, but I was in my own soil then. I am alien now and I see no way whatever of earning my living here. And of course I could not take anything for the work on Russia.

About a publisher, together with your letter I received one from my literary agent who has tried hard to get me a publisher for my book. He has tried about a dozen, all refused but two, Brentano and Daniels. Brentano wanted me to guarantee him five hundred copies at seven shillings each the retail price to be 10.6, almost as much as the American edition which I am ~~struggling~~ trying to sell at 10.6. But even 10.6 is a price out of reach of those who would buy my book on Russia. Now Daniels wants even more, he wants a security in cash of 150 pounds, £750. Ridiculous. He will get out a cheap edition at five shill. But that is out of the question. And I am sure no other publisher will do better.

There is one thing which holds out some hope of success but even for that an initial fund of at least £1000 is needed. It is for a work on Children in Russia of which I have written Nettlay. Such a work would not only be a tremendous help to our work in exposing the colossal fake of Moscow but it would also be of deep human value and probably would arouse world wide interest in the cruel fate of the destitute in Russia. It happens that Doris Weiss who until this week has been employed in the Ukrainian Trade Mission has now been dismissed without reasons. I think it is due to my staying in her house which the Moscow Tscheka in London must have discovered. Doris is just the person I would need in the work above mentioned. She knows Russian and English well and she is a first class stenographer. If I had a fund I would devote the summer to the work, would take Doris to some quiet place and have her work with me. I already have part of the material, all from Soviet sources, more can be gotten. I also have photographs of the appalling state of the children. The idea is to prepare preliminary copies in multigraphed form to be sent out to women and men of international fame for their indorsement. Don Levine succeeded in getting so much money for his compiled work about the political, I am sure more can be gotten for a work on the children. And also publishers because of the universal appeal of the subject. The question is the initial fund. It cost £200 dollar to compile the material Sasha has so ably prepared for the Civil Liberties League by Sasha. And about as much one would need to prepare a work on the children. You see dear Michael whatever one wants to do, one finds oneself handicapped by lack of funds. Yet you think I ought not to worry. It is easier said than done, old man.

I am very glad the Red Fascists have shown their true nature at the meeting in the Town Hall. That will effect Messrs Villard, Norman Thomas and the rest much more than anything we can say about the crushing effect of the Diet stenograph. Perhaps Villard will be less prone to silence the facts about Russia. I see that Abramowitch is having a desperate time with the savage gang. I suppose you read that his meeting in Chicago was broken up. What a rotten lot they are.

I return to London on Monday where a lot of work is awaiting me. Please write a little oftener. Tell me how the proposition of a work on the children appeals to you and if anything can be done for that in A. Faithfully.

any of the book that I have at present of my work has been returned to me

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The Emma Goldman Papers

870920248

[Letter] 1925 April 3 [London to Emma Goldman, London?] / David Soskice. —
1 p. ; 19 × 12 cm.

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Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

April 3-1925

50561

Dear Friend,

Thank you for your letter. I saw
today Mrs Saurousky and Mr Weikoff.
We arranged that they all and
you and I would meet at
my house on Monday next, Apr 6,
at 8.30 pm. We will consider what
steps to take. Inform Don Levine
Mrs Saurousky has collected about
£30. Weikoff hopes to have also
some money next Monday. We
shall have probably in all
about £50 next week.

I am still very unwell, though
today I feel better, the weather
being good.

Best wishes from us all

Yours very sincerely,
David Soskice

The Emma Goldman Papers

870924093

[Letter] 1925 April 4, Berlin [to] E[mma] G[oldman], London / [Isaac] Don [Levine]. — 1 p. ; 28 x 21 cm.

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Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

Prinz Regenten Str. 93, Berlin,
April 4, 1925.

16037

Dear E.G. -

This belated reply should reach you the day of your arrival in London. You probably know from S. what happened. You will ~~probably~~ recall that I had a cold when you left London. The following day, Sunday, not ~~desiring~~ to offend Doris, I moved from 3 Titchfield Terrace (without telling her) to a Hotel with steam-heat. On Monday, after a sleepless night, I awoke with a temperature, a cough, a head-ache and pains in the back. Nevertheless I kept the appointment with Lansbury. We talked for about an hour. He was willing to write an article about the book for his paper, in defence of the political prisoners, but refused to ally himself (by writing a preface) with the Letters of the Prisoners, regarding this book as an indictment of conditions only in one country and insisting that there should be a movement of protest against political prisoners in all countries. I told him I was interested in the same phases of the problem, but I inquired why no such international movement had been organized. He intimated he would more than support such an organization.

In view of my physical condition and my utter loneliness, I decided that consulting a physician would land me in a hospital and therefore took the first train Monday afternoon for... Berlin. It turned out to be a severe attack of the grippe, from which I have practically recovered, although my back-ache is still here.

As regards your very first suggestion, I am anxious to repeat here more concretely what I said at Dr. Gavronsky's. I can make (and will do so next week) a contribution of Five Pounds for the present. I need not enter into explanations why it is difficult for me to give more now. The question is: Shall that amount be applied, as I prefer, for starting that work about the children, or shall it go towards covering the expense of organizing a meeting at Manchester? Well, I will send you the check or money order as soon as possible, and you will dispose of it according to your judgment, remembering that I am personally very interested in that book on the conditions of the children.

Now as to Prince Hopkins. I had a talk with him, and went away with a very sinking feeling. I specifically appealed to him in the direction of the children's conditions in Russia, informing him that you were preparing to gather material for a book, that a fund was being organized by ex-Russians, and inquiring of him if he would assist in this labour. He replied that he was ~~exactly~~ "too wrapped up" in other matters. And then I left him, giving him up as a hopeless job.

I went out to the Soskices, with whom I spent a couple of pleasant hours, talking about the Fund, etc. Mr. Soskice is of course intensely interested in the idea of publishing a series of documentary works on existing conditions, and agreed that a work dealing with the children would be of great importance. He suggested that the next book might deal with conditions of labour in Soviet Russia, an excellent suggestion. He is willing to cooperate with the Gavronsky committee.

Rebecca West sent a fine letter of appeal on behalf of the prisoners, for publication in my collection. Arnold Bennett signed the appeal prepared by Russell. No word yet from Shaw, although I sent him a strong letter. Prof. Leski sent a very good letter, too. At present I am waiting anxiously for word from Curtis Brown, who should have some news for me with regard to a publisher.

As regard "Salome", I heard so many conflicting opinions that I have practically dropped the matter. My return to London is therefore doubtful, although I may be back in London very soon on the way to the United States, but my going to the U.S. is still hanging fire.

Mary was hugely tickled with the gift you sent her. Sasha was very pleased too with the two small boxes. He liked the tie very much. I see him every now and then, although he is rather occupied these last couple of days. He had quite a talk with Fisher at my place here a few days ago.

How was your trip? And how is the weather in London at present? For my system the climate is a curse. I even developed neuralgia in the muscles of my face! Well, I have whined enough. Love from Mary and myself.

Yours Don

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Treherbert, South Wales.
April 5, 1927.

I am glad that you have discovered that I have not changed. You even find that I "fall into feminine ways" Well, did you think I have ceased to be feminine? Really dear Van, since I saw what your circles and of Russia, of the whole world for that matter, I have been feminine than ever. Did you think that my life has been your not having anything to do with anything to do with feminine things. I was a little more I know it all for journalism. But I have suffered much alone and a great deal of my own life design that I have a certain bit of criticism to my continuing relation with them. It was not that I was not able to refuse my life on Russia "because E. G. is a carbon copy of her former self, hence does not interest me" and begins to lose faith in friendship. It was not the fact that you have not written, it was the thought that you, like Hudson and many others of my erstwhile friends have gone the way of all flesh. That your friendship like others could not stand the test of disagreement on my part with your position on Russia. I am glad this is not the reason of your "shameful" neglect of me all these years.

[illegible][illegible]

718

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The Emma Goldman Papers

870930025

[Letter, 19]25 April 6, Vienna [to] E[mma] G[oldman, London] / M[ax] Nettlau. —
2 p.; 21 × 16 cm.
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Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

Vienna, IX/2, Lazarethgasse, 32, III/22 C
Vienna, Austria. ¹⁴⁸²⁹
April 6, 1925

Dear Comrade S. G.,
will you kindly post the enclosed letter
to William Mainwaring, please. If you
want to know whether I knew old Sam
Mainwaring, you need but look over the
letter; I might say — if I did not know him,
who did? — I am glad his sons continue
his work; he was one of the very best men
I ever knew, perhaps the very best besides
my father who also appreciated him (1888),
though they could not converse.

I ~~am~~ am the last to discourage autobiographies,
but you might write some other books before.
The movement you carry on is developing and
this will lead to much work as you go along.

But I am not in the mind of letter writing
to-day nor in a vein of humour. I saw these
last three months my landlady here where I live
nearly 14 years, suffering progressively of a
deadly disease, cancer of the ovaries, and all I
can do is either to help or to become absorbed
by work so as not to think of it. She may
have quantities of reactionary qualities, but she
has also quantities of good qualities and now
that there is no longer a quarrel on cleaning and
dusting with me, there is no quarrel at all,
there is ordinary courteous co-existence and it is

The Emma Goldman Papers

870930025

[Letter, 19]25 April 6, Vienna [to] E[mma] G[oldman, London] / M[ax] Nettlau. — 2 p.; 21 × 16 cm.

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2) difficult not to be struck by the infinite 14830
suffering of this progressive chance. The
still ignores the hopeless character. He is
in the hospital now these ten days and was
to be operated to-day. I am going to inquire
when I post this letter and cannot
hope that she lives. This is a tragedy which
need not touch me at all, as we are strangers,
but yet it does, it is hard not to respect such
terrible suffering. So I go there, expecting
the worst which may be this, that she
will not be operated at all, but left to
die — unable to rest already for 8 days —
probably the operation was held out as a
consolation — still if they began, she will
not have recovered conscience and give up
in that way. Or must die of feelliness
in a few days. — I do not know whether
you as a nurse are exempt from being
personally affected by such suffering — to me
it is difficult to bear and I must become
quite absorbed in work, — mental travel
and absence. — Yours faithfully M. Nettlau

This quite greatly recognized that Pudin
was meant to be Bekunin; Targanov, incomparable
artist as he is, has been blamed by all to present thus
his friend Bekunin who was then in Yelk-nalkey.

The Emma Goldman Papers

870924094

[Letter] 1925 April 7, Berlin [to] E[mma] G[oldman], London / [Isaac] Don [Levine]. — 1 p. ; 22 x 14 cm.

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Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

10038
Prinz Regenten Str 93,
Berlin, April 7, 1925.

Dear E.G.:

Regarding the material for the book on the children, the situation is as follows:

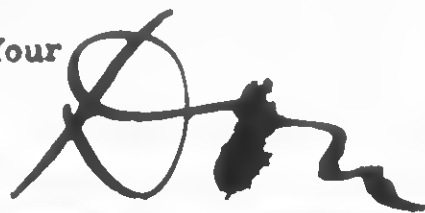
1. There are the files of Soviet newspapers and the official bulletins of the Commissariat of Education and other commissariats, containing stenographic reports of various congresses, available for examination in Berlin. I brought you some of the data thus collected by Volodin. He is willing to devote regularly four or five hours daily to the making of a short selection of these sources, and in two months he would supply you (in weekly instalments) hundreds of items from official publications. Of course, in order to do the work systematically he must have some financial remuneration. I suggested tentatively One Hundred Marks (about 25 Dollars) a month for a period of 3 months. He is willing to start at once, if you and the Committee approve of this expenditure, and will mail you a batch of material within a week. I strongly urge that this plan be adopted, for Volodin is an excellent archivist. Should you and the Committee consent, I could turn over my contribution of Five Pounds to Volodin as payment for the first month - and forward his receipt to you. I can see no better investment than collecting documentary evidence - the most elementary need in any such campaign.

2. There is a man in Moscow who promised to collect material on the subject and to establish contact with persons having such data. I have not heard from him, but will write him a note as soon as possible, so that by next week there should be an answer. Although I have confidence in the man and in the ultimate arrival of a load of material, you understand yourself that one cannot be sure of anything due from Moscow. Therefore, the urgency of Volodin's job.

Am waiting here for the arrival of S. Fischer, of the Fischer Verlag, who is due today or tomorrow, to discuss the publication in Germany of the book. As soon as an opportunity presents itself, I will re-visit London.

Mary sends her love.

Your



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The Emma Goldman Papers

850702138

[Letter] 1925 April 7 [New York to] E[mma] G[oldman], London / H[arry] W[einberger].— 1 p. ; 28 × 22 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the Yale University Library. Institutional Location: Harry Weinberger Papers, Department of Manuscripts and Archives.

April 7, 1925.

H. G. Kerschner,
3, Pitchfield Terrace,
St. John's Wood, Road,
London, N. W. 8,
England.

My dear H. G.

Wouldn't the above make a wonderful heading on the front page of any newspaper if it only meant you? Maybe its a prophecy.

Anyway, I hope things are well with you. I see you have an article in the Sunday Times which I have not read yet. A. B.'s book is going to be out shortly and has had a good deal of advertising by Boni & Liveright, more in fact, than your book ever had. With all the present larer about France and Russia etc. it may help.

Nothing else new of any sort around here. I'm practicing law fairly wildly. I don't know whether or not the D. A. will disbar my idiotic ent because he has been away sick. I am trying to determine whether to move my office if I can find a suitable place.

Otherwise all quiet along the Potomac. This letter really is caused by the newspaper clipping.

I understand Stella has gone up to Woodstock while Teddy is playing in Congreve's "Love for Love" which has made a hit.

Sincerely,

HW:AD

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The Emma Goldman Papers

880817031

[Letter] 1925 April 8, London [to Isaac] Don [Levine, Berlin] / E[mma] G[oldman]. — 3 p. ; 36 × 22 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the United States Library of Congress.
Institutional Location: Levine Collection.

3, Fitchfield Terrace.
St John's Wood Road.
London, N, W.8. April 8th. 1925.

Dear Don. I am writing Mary that she has spoiled you terribly if you have to rush back to mother because of a cold. Well, I have always insited that wives make men impossible for life and Mary seems to make no exception. I am glad though that you have overcome your cold. But I am angry with you for not letting me know that you had gone home instead of Nice where your cold would have improve without Mary.

Lansbury is a fraud, this insistance of a movement for all political prisoners is only an excuse to shield the Moscow gang. Supposing such an organization is formed, the Communists will do here what they are doing in America, insinuate that the movement is to hurt Russia and instigate by Germany. You will know what I mean when you read the Nation of March 18, and 25th. The fact is Lansbury stands committed to Moscow, hence can not allay himself with your book. But after all he is not so important not even for England except the Labour element and they are not likely to read your book unless you can get it out in a cheap edition.

Dear, I wish you had not made the statement at Gavronsky's that you will make a contribution. They took it that it will be a substantial sum and not five pounds. After all what would five pounds mean towards a work which would require at the very least \$1200? You forget that the reason you could do ~~it without much~~ your work without much preliminary cost is that you earn money and that part of the Solovetsky stuff was already translated when you got to it. To do the work on the children means from three to four months ~~work~~ concentration on the part of two people if not more, and that these people must live during that time. Anyway, from a thousand to \$1200 would be needed. So whether your five pounds goes, or does not go to this fund would make no difference whatever. Understand me, I am not finding fault that you want to contribute only five pounds, but it seemed funny to me to say you want it for the work on the children. But of course, it shall go to that. My meetings must either pay for themselves, or not take place at all.

Mrs Gavronsky has raised thrity pounds, part of it will have to go for the pamphlete refuting the Report. This is of the utmost importance just now because the Report has done a terrible lot of harm and is being used against the work we are doing. Moscise therefore suggested that the thrity pounds should be given to me to be used for the pamphlete which I am preparing. I had to get Doris to do the translations for me as I could not possibly do them while lecturing. Of course Doris will have to be paid especially now when she has lost her job. I suppose S. has told you that she was dismissed from the Ukrainian Trade Mission without one word of explanation. It is only too obvious that it was done because I live in her house and all the work of the Committee goes out from here. Poor Doris, I do not know what she will do. I wish to goodness I were sure of raising the fund for the book about the children, I would engage Doris at once, she is just the person I need, she can translate and she is a first class secreatary, knows stenography and is a thorough typist.

Well, I have written to some friends of mine in A, to see whether they would not help. Nothing would please me most than if my own friends would raise the fund neees

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The Emma Goldman Papers

880817031

[Letter] 1925 April 8, London [to Isaac] Don [Levine, Berlin] / E[mma] G[oldman]. —
3 p. ; 36 x 22 cm.

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Institutional Location: Levine Collection.

very sessary, it would leave me much freer than if the R, raise part of the money. But if all will not come from A. I believe the Russians will raise hundred pounds besides the amount Trs, G, has raised. As to Hopkins, I told you he is hopeless. The only thing he might be induced to do is to extend a loan in case one part of the sum needed were raised. I will see.

However, more important than the money is the material. I must know absolutely whether you will at least be able to furnish that. If I understood you right you said that you are sure of getting the stuff. Now will you let me know at once how soon you expect it and whether I can have it. If I had any idea how much material there is I would be able to say how long it would take to get it translated and in shape. Another thing, what about photographs and illustrations? I have some, about ten photos of destitute children. Will you be able to get more? Anyway, I must know soon. Now, old man, since you say you are interested in the venture will you get busy with the same energy as if it were your own work, and let me have the material. On the other hand will try to raise some money though I have no idea with what success.

My trip was excruciating. I mean the conditions in one part of Wales, what is called the Rhondda Valley, are so awful, I do not see for the life of me how human beings can go on living under them. About seven thousand miners out of work and those who do work earn not enough to subsist on. No wonder the Communists are strong there. You can well imagine the time I had and how rotten I felt that I had to take away the last ray of hope from the unfortunate Welch slaves in regard to the "Heaven" in Russia. There is no doubt, we who have taken a stand against the Dictatorship are in a rotten position since we are compelled to tell the same tale reiterated by the reactionary press. But what is one to do about it except to keep silent altogether? And silence in the face of all that is going on in R. would be worse than criminal. Well, the Welch Communists were frantic and charged me with every despicable offense imaginable, among others that I am being paid by the Mensheviks and the Rother mere interests. Poor fools, if they only knew how I live and my constant anxiety because of the insecurity of my life. But they know nothing, not even about R. they just repeat what they read in the Workers weekly which is as rotten as the rest of the Communist press outside of R. Really, I do believe that the Russian papers are not quite so awful.

The situation in Wales is this, it is a splendid field and could be worked with great results if one had means, the people there for the present at any rate can not even stand the expense of having speakers, not even the rail road expense and the board of a speaker. I felt sick to have to ask for that when I saw how the unfortunate people live. And as I have no means of my own, or an income it will be quite impossible to go back to Wales very soon. I am hoping that the conditions in the industrial cities I am about to visit will be a little bit more cheerful. I felt as if I had a stone on my heart while I was in Wales, especially in the Rhondda district, the drabness, the stark monotony was so oppressive.

I leave the eighteenth for Norwich and Leeds. I will be about the 27th, the 28th, I speak for a Jewish Trade Union in London, the 29th in Manchester. May First I am going to Bristol for several meetings. By that time I may have words from A. whether there will be any money forth

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Institutional Location: Levine Collection.

coming for the proposed work. But before that I want to know what about the material that you have promised. Write me please.

I still hope that you will return to London before you go to A. I am sure much more could be done with the R. Will you try, and will you arrange to be here when I am here? I promise to see to it that you are not "lonely" and do not have to rush back to mother. Remember you promised to show me the trick of your trade. It is mostly trick isn't it? I am so ashamed that I have not aquired it. Greater writers than I had to in order to live, why not I? As a good friend you should come back just to give me a few lessons, do you not think? By the way, I heard from Stella that the Pictorial Magazine has also refused my article on A. Can you suggest what might be done about it? My review of the Report is supposed to have gone in the Sunday Times of last Sunday, the copy sent by their London man for some reason did not get there on time. But Stella sent them the copy I mailed her. Then, I am told that the Westminster Gazette has published my article yesterday. I have not yet seen it. Lastly my agent called me up to say that "Time and Tide" a weekly which Rebecca is connected with is willing to take my "Heroic Women of the Russian Revolution" but that they insist upon cutting it. I have consented. But all these things are so piffling. I wish I could find some thing regular to do, to feel relieved of the uncertainty of existence. What about the possibility of being sent to Palastene? Nonsense isn't it?

It is warmer here now but far from cheerful, the sun is as miserably as the English make up. Perhaps it is the other way around. People are very much influenced by climate and the English climate is not conducive to generous giving either in sympathies or support of any kind, unless it is royalty which starts something going. Talk about class distinctions, I saw such an amount of it in Wales I was paralyzed by it.

Well, old man you must write soon.

Faithfully.

Y. G.

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The Emma Goldman Papers

880615003

[Letter] 1925 April 9 [London to Gabriel Javicas, London] / E[mma] G[oldman].—
1 p. ; 18 x 14 cm.

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Institutional Location: Paul Avrich Papers.

3. Titchfield Terrace,
St John's Wood Road.
N. W. 8. April 9th. 1925.

Mein junger Freund,

Wie geht es Ihnen und Ihren lieben
Schwesternchen. Sie kommen mir - in Wirklichkeit vor in Vergleich
zu mir. Sie hat so viel Feuer, Interesse und Lebenslust,
es ist mir angenehm mit dem Fräulein zu sehen, aber
ich auch Sie, aber Sie so "kriegerisch" sind und ich
muss, um meine von Sie verlangte Aufmerksamkeit zu bekommen
beständig kämpfen.

Ich möchte gerne mit Ihrer Schwester und
Ihnen Sonabend ins Theatre wenn Ihr beide mich haben wollt.
Das Stück ist von Pinero und heisst "Iris" das Theatre ist
Adelphi, Strand. Wollen Sie die Karten besorgen? Ich habe
das Stück vor Jahren in America gesehen, möchte es aber noch
einmal sehen. Also wenn Sie und Ihre Schwester sehen nichts
Besseres zu tun haben als mit mir zusammen zu sein, dann
stehe ich Euch beiden zur Verfügung.

Dann möchte ich Euch beide zum Tee am Sonntag.
dann kommen auch meine Amerikanische Freunde. Ich glaube
Sie haben die Absicht ein Konzert zu besuchen. Können Sie
dann schnur strack zu mir. Nächste Woche habe ich etwas
mehr Zeit dann kommen wir zusammen.

Noch einmal Sie müssen absolute "Rivals" sehen,
das Stück ist von Sheridan, also klassisch, eine wunderbare
Komödie und ausserordentlich gut gespielt. Im Lyric
Theatre, Hammermith. Ich glaube 27 Bus führt Sie hin, be-
stimmt weiss ich es nicht.

Rufen Sie mich morgen an damit ich weiss ob
Sie Sonabend mit mir kommen wollen. Wir müssen uns dann
in Theatre treffen da ich während des Tages furchtbar be-
schäftigt bin. Nach dem Theatre können wir ja irgendwo hin
damit Ihre Schwester tanzen kann, schade das sie nicht
einen bessern Tänzer hat als Sie, aber in der Not frisst
der Teufel Fliegen. Nicht wahr.

Herzliche Grüsse auch Euch Beide.

EG

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870920252

[Letter] 1925 April 9 [London to Emma Goldman, London] / David Soskice.—
2 p. ; 18 × 20 cm.

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Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

encl
cheque £40-2-0

F. Sidler, Road. W. 14.
April 9-1925.

Dear friend,

Your letter just came in. I return herewith
the protest of the French Committee. It is
badly written and will have no effect.
The protest of the English Committee
is much more dignified and to the
point.

I am enclosing herewith a cheque
for £40-2-0, being subscriptions to your
work of the Russian Committee. Not
all the money has come in as yet, and
I hope to send ^{some} more in a few days.
I feel still very weak, but we are both
going away in a fortnight to get a good rest.

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On account of Easter holidays it will be
difficult for ^{me to} get Stewart. I will try
however, but do not expect to find more
than 3 or 4.

With kindest regards from
both of us Yours sincerely

David Soskice

Please acknowledge receipt of the
money.

The Emma Goldman Papers

880817032

[Letter] 1925 April 9, London [to Isaac] Don [Levine, Berlin] / E[mma] G[oldman]. —
2 p.; 28 x 22 cm.
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Institutional Location: Levine Collection.

3, Titchfield Terrace,
St John's Wood Road,
London, N, W.8. April 9th. 1925.

Dear Don. I wrote you a long letter yesterday so I will only take up the point contained in your letter of the 7th which reached me this morning. You speak of the Committee consenting to Volodin work in re material. Just what Committee do you mean? The British Committee has not a sent to its name, is in fact eight pounds in debts and maybe more after the meeting on the 16th. The Russian Committee like all Russians has not come together since we were at Gavronsky's. Mrs G, as I already wrote you raised thirty pounds, the largest part of which I will have to use for the pamphlet which for the present is the most important matter before us. We can do nothing else if we do not show up the rotten whitewash of the report.

There is another thing, I do not intend to undertake the job of the book on children with committees, one is only handicapped. I will do the work if some money will be forthcoming from America. I do not mean that I am not going to press the Russians to help raise some money for the work, but they are not likely to raise much and in order that I should feel free to use money for my own existence while I do the work, I must have it come from personal friends. I simply can not be under obligations of committees. I never have and never shall, I hope.

However, since nothing can be done without material and since you say Volodin can ~~amass~~ get a lot of material from the Soviet sources it is necessary that he should. Will you therefore give him the five pounds you are contributing and let him go ahead. In a few weeks I ought to have a reply from the people I have written to in America, if they will send money we will have Volodin go ahead, if not there will be no loss in the stuff he will have furnished. I rather think something will be forthcoming though I have no idea how much.

In a way it is going to be a double expence to let Volodin do the collecting since some one else will have to translate the material. If it were possible I should have liked to get Shapiro and Doris to help on the job, but that would mean an extra big expence for all the Soviet publication. And since you say the files are in Berlin it is just as well that Volodin should be put on the job. Asking him to write a little plainer and to send me every week as much as he has copied. Certainly the documentary evidence is the most important.

About your man in Moscow that is there speculation, we will depend upon what he can do when he is

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Institutional Location: Levine Collection.

out of Russia and has the stuff with him. We can not depend on that, the Soviet publications are another matter. Anyway, let Volodin get busy.

I do hope Courtiss Brown will send you encouraging news soon and that Fischer may take your work for Germany, the book can not come out too soon.

Faithfully.



Love to Mary and the Naslednik to the throne.

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The Emma Goldman Papers

881003000

[Letter] 1925 April 10 [London to] Minna [Lowensohn, New York?] / E[mma] G[oldman].— 2 p. ; 34 x 24 cm.

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April 10th. 1925.

My Dear Minna. I was more than ever rushed with work because I was in South Wales and had to lecture nearly every night in different mining places. I came back Monday and have been busy ever since preparing the Mss. of a pamphlet which is a reply to the miserable trade union whitewash of the conditions in Russia. I have enough material from Soviet papers to show up the fake contained in the report. I am anxious to have the pamphlet ready for my meetings in Norwich, Leeds, Manchester and Bristol for the reason I must rush the Mss. We are getting out five thousand copies though my Committee has not a cent to its name, in fact is now faced with a deficit of eight pounds. But the pamphlet is of utmost importance for the work here so we must get it out and gradually pay back the cost to the Arbeiter Freund group that is doing the pamphlet.

We are sure that the Trade Union report will also be circulated in America and will do the same mischief there as it is doing here. Already the Nation has published excerpts from the report without comment, making it appear that the reports is based on facts. For this reason it occurred to us that our reply should go to A. And you dear are the one to take charge of the sale and circulation. The idea is not only to sell the pamphlet in A, but to send out copies to Labour papers for review in order to show up the whole dastardly whitewash. I therefore want you to see Harry and together you maybe able to decide how many copies of the pamphlet we are to send you and whether you will be able to help us with the cost. The pamphlet will come to about thirty pounds. Are there not a few comrades who would be willing to contribute toward the expence, we would then be able to let you have the brochure at cost price. Please dear see about it right away. Meanwhile I will see that sample copies are to be sent as soon as the brochure is off the press which will be in about a week.

I am going to write a report for the Road to Freedom and the Freie Arb. Stimme about my visit to Wales so I will not now take the time to go into to the matter. I expect Doris up right away so we can put the Mss together she is helping me with typewriting. You will be able to read all about the appalling conditions of the Welch miners in my report.

Speaking of Doris, the miserable gang at the Ukrainian Trade Mission has dismissed her without reason. I am sure it is because they have learned that I am living here and all the work in re Russia goes out from here. You can about imagine how I feel about the matter. If I had thought such a thing likely to happen I should never have moved into Doris place. I do not know what is to become of her if she does not get a job soon. If only I had money I would engage Doris for the summer to help me in a work we are contemplating dealing with R. It is something like what Sasha did for the Baldwin group but dealing with an other subject, one of much greater human appeal, the terrible conditions of destitute children in R. Now listen dear Minna this is to be kept quiet for the present. You might talk to Harry about it and ask him whether some money could be raised for the initial expences. It would require three people and at least three months to do the job, and thousand dollars would be needed. I have written Gohn about it, he may raise some money. The work itself would be the greatest indictment

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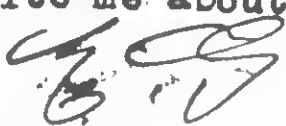
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against Moscow ever written. The idea is to prepare fifty or seventy five preliminary copies to be sent out to the leading women of the world to get their indorsement and financial support for a popular edition. I am sure there would be a great response. The main thing is to get the necessary funds for the preliminary work. I wish you'd take that up with Harry and Stewart and see what they have to say. ~~But please do not make the project generally known.~~

Now if I succeed in raising the money I would have Doris work with me all summer, it would also be some thing to take my mind off the terrible anxiety about my own existence. I have come to the definite conclusion that I need not hope to make my living by lectures and as I am not successful in disposing of many articles I must find something to bring me at least part of my livelihood and at the same time keep me engaged at work while work. The book I have in mind would do that if I can get some help. There are a few Russians who would contribute if the rest could be raised in the States. Let me hear from you dear girl as soon as possible. I am inclosing a copy of the letter I wrote Dr Gohn, you will know what it is all about. Am also inclosing copy of a paper from Northampton where I spoke the 16th of last month.

See about the pamphlet, I am sure it will not be difficult to raise some money for that, say for 2000 copies at 2d which would be about forty dollars, or even less, I can not take the time to figure it out. It could be sold in A, at ten cents. But the main thing would be that copies are sent out to Unions with a letter from you and Harry to show up the fake report. You might even get some contributions from Union and thus help us in the work we are doing to counteract the vicious work of the Communists. Anyway, I am expecting to hear from you soon.

I hope the Kropotkin dinner was successful and interesting. Write me about it. Love to Harry, Stewart and yourself.



I am also going to write a letter to the Nation in reply to Fischer who is a fool, S. met him in Berlin now. He wrote me F does not know Russian and very little about Russia and what he writes is just what he is being told by the Moscow gang, hence the lies he is writing. Sasha wrote a very fine letter I hope the Nation will print it.

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The Emma Goldman Papers

830720006

[Letter] 1925 April 13, London [to] Powers Hapgood, [London?] / E[mma] G[oldman]. — 2 p. ; 29 x 22 cm.

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Telephone, Hampstead. 60, 62.

3. Titchfield Terrace.
St John's Wood Road.
London, N, W.8.

April 13th, 1925.

Dear Powers Hapgood.

I was glad to hear from you after such a prolonged silence. I want very much to see you and your dear people, but unless you all can come to my lecture the 16th, I really do not know how we will manage. I leave for Norwich and Leeds the 18th and I still have an awful lot to do. If you could attend the meeting I will arrange to be with you and your parents after the lecture. If not, perhaps I can arrange to see you all Friday for luncheon. I certainly do not want father and mother to go back to A. without my seeing them. Perhaps you had better call me up Thursday, I will not be in the 15th, am going out with some American students to Hanton Court.

I have much to tell you about my experience in Wales, your friends in Ammenford who made a very poor showing. One of them went so far as to drag in some personal matter which he must have picked up in some daily paper. Not one, not even Bassett knew anything about the actual situation in Russia and merely repeated the stuff that appears in the Daily Herald or Workers Weekly. It is all so sad.

I am glad to know that you are going back to work, it speaks of your sincerity and fine spirit. Well, I hope we will meet before I go away and you return to France.

Faithfully. *EG*

Remember me kindly to your people. Please tell father that I had dinner with Rebecca West last night and she told me how much she was impressed with father whom she had met in Indianapolis, I am sure she would want to meet your father and mother again and you. Perhaps we can ask her to join us after the meeting, or at luncheon Friday that would be better because I do not know whether she will attend the meeting. Anyway, let me know soon after your arrival. Oh yes, I will be home Wed, evening, could you not call me up then?

Hapgood Mrs.
Manuscripts Department, Lilly Library
Indiana University, Bloomington, Indiana

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Hapgood Mss.
Manuscripts Department, Lilly Library
Indiana University, Bloomington, Indiana

S tern

5 O'clock
Mar 16 Arch
S. tern
Oxford
Park

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The Emma Goldman Papers

870927042

[Letter] 1925 April 14, London [to Stella Ballantine, Rochester, N.Y.] / E[mma Goldman]. — 4 p. ; 33 x 20 cm.

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3, Titchfield Terrace,
St John's Wood Road.
London, N, W.8. April 14th, 1925.

Dearest. Last Friday I wrote Teddy while in Treherbert South Wales. I also sent copies of my letters to Nettlau and Cohn intended for you. Since then nothing of importance has happened to write about. Still I do not want tomorrows sailing to go without a few lines to you my darling. I got all your letters dear. I can not understand why the article for the Times should have been so delayed unless the man here mixed up the date of sailing. I am glad I sent you a copy. I suppose it went into the Sunday edition of April fifth. Naturally I could not possibly have received copies until now. I suppose I will. I can imagine how the Communist dogs will bark when they see the article in the Times. They are already suffering from antrophobia in regard to me, what will it be now. What a miserable lot they are everywhere. Think, a man like J Fox who has known me and my work for years, has been in my house, enjoyed my hospitality. Now he joined the unscrupelous gang. As to this country, you have no idea the rot they spread. The latest is that I am paid by the Mensheviks and the Rothermere press. They certainly do consider me important do they not.

The vilest of them all is Aldred, his paper is full about E, G, the traitor and ex Anarchist, etc. Imagine, he advertises his dirty sheet in the Daily Herald and features it with his attack on me. But then, the Daily Herald is not better. A resolution of protest against the conspiracy of silence in re Russia and my work on the part of the Labour press was sent to the Daily Herald. The resolution was forged and published without one word about R. Some gang one has to buck up against. If only there were some people of worth to work with. There are none. At least I have failed to arouse them or find anybody worth while.

Dearest, I wish you would see the man of the Times about the article on ~~the Russian women~~ the "Heroic Women." The Times may take it. Please do. Here "Time and Tide" has taken it but in abridged form. It is Lady Rhonnda's paper and largely done by women. I will send you the copy which will contain my article. It may go in this week, anyway. I will see that you get it. I have no idea how much "Time and Tide" pays, not much I think. But it is better than not having the article appear at all. I am so anxious to bring the terrible lot of the Russian women before the women of England.

The Westminster Gazette had a column of my article I wrote for the Times. Here too, I do not know how much I will get, but whatever it is some percent will have to go to Dakers who placed both article in the Westminster and "Time and Tide" I have used part of the material in re the report in my pamphlet I have prepared for my Committee. The Mass is in the hands of the printers and will be ready by Saturday. I will send you a few copies. You will see how overwhelming is the material I got from Soviet sources and how it shatters the report. I only wish we could have made it 64, instead of 24 pages.

I got the five copies of Sasha's book, it does look beautiful, but it makes me sick that the concluding chapter is missing. Dear, I want 12 copies, I will try to sell them here. It is no use writing Fizzie as I might have to wait a year for a reply. Please see her and ask her to send me a dozen copies and to let me know what discount I can give to the trade. I will start with a dozen and see

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what I can do. I should like to have them soon. I am letting Dakers try for a publisher. But I have no hope he will succeed. He has tried his best for my book, nobody would undertake to get out an edition. Daniels is willing but he wants me to secure him 150 pounds. Crazy idea. If I had as much I could get out an edition myself. It will be the same with S,s book. And the present price is prohibitive for Engl.

Speaking of books, do the Rand people still have some copies of my Essays? They sent sixteen in the shipment ~~xxxxxx~~. Do they have the sheets? I would like to know. I want have the sheets sent over now as I have no idea what will become of me this Summer. Lectures are out of the question and would bring absolutely nothing even if I could go about. The next thing is the new proposition I mentioned in Cohns letter. But I see no way of raising the initial expenses and without it one can not do the job. If then that too will not materialize there is nothing I can do in this cold and hard country. I may therefore have to go elsewhere, at least, where it is cheap and where people do not freeze one so. Anyway, I am very uncertain about my movements therefore it would be useless to send the sheets of my Essays. No use giving them to Keell, one never sees a cent from Freedom. For the life of me I do not see why the paper is kept up since no one supports it. It is just that Keell clings to it against all odds.

I hope Henry will succeed in raising the fund for the publication of the material S, compiled. Such work helps to destroy the spook of Bolshevism more than anything else. I am sure, Sasha's material, the stuff compiled by Don L, and if I could compile a work about the children would do more to break the backbone of the fake gang in Moscow and its satraps in England and A. than anything else we might do. It is for this reason that I am so eager Henry should succeed.

I am glad S,s letter will go into the Nation even if it will not be in its entirety. S, wants me to also write to the Nation, especially as he left out some very important cases we protested against while we were in R. But I hate the damned Liberal gang so much, I am not keen on writing the Nation. Besides, I really have no time now. I lecture again Thursday, Saturday I go to Norwich and Leeds, then I have to rush back to meet a date here the 27th and the 28th I must go to Manchester. Again the 30th I must go to Bristol. In between I have to do nearly all the work of the Committee, everybody else being busy during the day time and unable to do much. The pamphlet took all of last week. And so it goes. If there are going to be more replies to Sasha's letters by the Communist gang, I will take time to write a letter to the Nation. I see Mich. Gould has spread himself. I like his cheap ~~speaking of his~~ *of Regis friends* ~~has joined the Communist Part.~~ *friends* ~~All the other Anarchists are in prison. It is unbelievable that an idea can so corrupt people in so short a time. Well, it means a fight of years. If only one had ones Youth and ones faith as in the past.~~

Our dear old Sash is in Dresden this week. He went with Rudolf to the Syndicalist Congress. Not so much because of the latter as to get a little rest. He must be worn out from what Levine told me. Sash went only for a few days. I hope he will go to the Sachsische Schweiz. How stupid always to postpone one's chances. I postponed seeing that part of Saxen and after that never got to it and probably never will. It was the same with going back to Stuttgart to see that interesting school presided over by Steiner, who according to his books must have been a very interesting man. I never got to it and now I read Steiner died. So stupid of us to think that

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The Emma Goldman Papers

870927042

[Letter] 1925 April 14, London [to Stella Ballantine, Rochester, N.Y.] / E[mma Goldman]. — 4 p. ; 33 x 20 cm.

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Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

13758

What we do can not be postponed and is so terribly important. Meanwhile life runs by and we lose the ~~most~~ richest moments.

Dear old Sash got some money from Baldwin which was ~~sent~~ due him ~~as~~ he wrote me that he wants to send me some, so I can rig myself out for Easter. I would not think of using any of that money for clothes. S, absolutely needs a vacation, he will have to take it in Germany since he can not get out. What he has will hardly be enough, but if he could get couple of hundred dollars from his book he could go to the South of Germany, the Harz, or Thuringen and really enjoy a few months. I will be after him until he does it.

As to myself, I really need no money for the present. I am having my old German dresses renovated, my old cape, the best friend I have here, lined, my old lid blocked, and that will do me. I do not go out much now and probably will go still less in the Summer if I remain here at all. Why then spend money on clothes. For living expences I also have enough, Harry still owes me fifteen pounds, the hundred from the Times ~~and~~ and I am sure to get ten pounds or more from the Westminster Gazette and "Time and Tied" that will secure me for a few months. It is not that which worries me, it is the outlook for this Summer and after. Thank you just the same darling mine, and do thank Saxe and Mo for wanting to send me their share. I will let you know if I should get ~~any~~ broke.

Young Rees from Rochester finally looked me up. He is certainly a radiant creature. He is here for his Easter holiday. I had him, another American chap who will look you up when he returns to A. and two young German Jewish people, a brother and sister to tea Sunday. And tomorrow we are all going out to Hampton Court. I have been so busy here I have seen little of the City or the environ. Rees goes back to Scotland next week. The other ~~is~~ A, student is a young Texan. One of the finest chaps I have met. Wright Thomas is his name. He graduates in August and returns home. I told him he must go out to Woodstock to see you, Teddy and Ian. Whatever cheer I had in London came from the American boys Wright Thomas among them. So you must be kind to him when he does look you up.

Sunday I dined with dear Rebecca. I met her son at last, he is a lanky chap and looks strikingly like Dr Fairfield, Rebecca's sister. He is an affectionate and very unspoiled chap, is a great reader though R, told me he is not good at school. I think the boy has adnoids, his voice is bad nasal ~~and~~ his speech is hardly ~~and~~ audable. I said nothing to R, to have his noze examined, but I will when I see her again. R, continues to be my joy, I always feel ~~that~~ rested when I am with her. You will shriek at the latest story she told me. I laughed until I almost had hysterics. She ran into Selwyn the theatre manager. Must be some beauty from her discription. He said he would give her a lift in his car. On the way, he informed her he must stop of at his dentist to get his teeth, that was funny enough. When he returned to the car he asked what she was doing that evening. R, said she is giving a dinner party. "When would that be over?" asked Mr Selwyn. R, said about midnight. "Can I then come up so we can do what Papa and Mama are doing?" said the beast. R, told me this was so bluntly put that she nearly passed away with laughter, she said "I almost fell out of the car I laughed so much" The joke of it is that the vulgarity did not even understand why she was laughing. Really, I admire the good sense of R, to laugh him out of countenance. But can you beat such a blunt proposition? It seems he had no idea who R, is. ~~Imagine~~ Imagine what the women who are under his management must put up with. Really some men are the limit. And A. upstart Jew

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The Emma Goldman Papers

870927042

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13761

of course.

Rebecca lectures in Oxford May 23rd, Thomas and the other chaps have invited me as their guest so I am going with Rebecca. It will be a rest and a treat I would not miss for anything.

Dearie, Cohn sent \$ money for Machno not for himself. Every cent is gone because the man had to be brought to Germany to escape the wrath of the Whites as well as the Moscow outfit. This is entres nous, dear. But C, has sent no money to S. I guess he got interested but because H, W, wrote him that he should send me the amount returned to him by Doubleday, Page. Cohn is alright but his wife seems to be the limit. So far I have not heard from him. And I really would not like him to send me money for myself, if he would help on the proposed work about the children that would be another matter. I will see what he writes.

Poor Doris lost her job. I am sure it is due to her being in her house, it was a Soviet Trade Mission she worked for, now she is without a job. You may imagine that I feel rotten about it. She is just the woman I would need if I were to do the work I have already referred to, we will see.

I wrote Louise to day. I am glad for her sake that she has her own home at last. She slaved so much in her life. I hope the man is a decent sort and will treat Ervin decently.

Yes, my tour in Wales was interesting, and I enjoyed my first week in the Ammenfort Valley. But in the Rhondda it is too awful for words. Such terrible deadening drabness, such poverty.

Dearest I can not write Barrymore. I should have done so right after I saw him, now the spirit is gone and I just can not write the ordinary laudatory letter. He was laid up with a cold. When he returns to A and you should happen to see him, tell him how I wanted to write my impressions of his Hamlet, and how I really wanted to meet him. But he must be pestered by all sorts of idle empty people, I should dread to be considered one of them.

I hope you have enjoyed your Easter holiday at your place. Write me how you found it.

Love to Teddy and Ian. Devoted love to you
I am so glad you liked our birthday gifts.

EG.

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The Emma Goldman Papers

861029357

[Letter] 1925 April 14, London [to Albert] Bonnier, Stockholm / [Emma Goldman].— 1 p.; 28 × 20 cm.

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Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

3. Titchfield Terrace,
Regent's Park, LONDON, N.W.8.

14th April, 1925.

Messrs.

Bonniers, Publishers,
Stockholm,
Sveavägen 56.

Dear Mr. Bonniers,

I have been so much occupied since your letter of Jan. 28 reached me that I have not been able to write sooner. I want to thank you not ~~for~~ for the copies of my book you sent me and the clippings.

I am very glad indeed to learn that at the time of your writing me 400-500 copies of my book had already been sold. I am hoping that with the appearance of the favourable reviews, the sale has increased.

I see by your letter that you will be in a better position by May 1st to ~~ask~~ tell me exactly how many copies have actually been sold. May I also ask you to send me whatever will be due in royalties from the sale. I am rather hard pressed and would like to receive whatever amount may be due to me.

Sincerely yours,

The Emma Goldman Papers

870924095

[Letter] 1925 April 15, Berlin [to] E[mma] G[oldman, London] / [Isaac] Don [Levine]. — 1 p. ; 28 × 21 cm.

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Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

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Prinz Regenten Str., 23,
Berlin, Germany,
April 15, 1925.

Dear S.G.:

Your two replies came the same day. The propaganda note to Mary did not fail to do its damage. Or is it the other way round? Did she gain the impression that I was a cripple without her? In any event, she read your letter with the deepest interest...and obvious enjoyment. However, I think Mary will write her own story to you one of these days.

I put Volodin on the job last week, and the enclosed batch represents the first installment of his stuff. He will keep on digging into the periodicals, and there will be enough material in your hands in a very short time. I am hurrying to send this installment to you so that it would arrive in London before your departure on the 18th, and perhaps enable you to turn it over to Dorie to attend to the translation. What you told me of Dorie was news to me, and was really a shock. And yet it was to be expected from the G.P.U. whose agents undoubtedly discovered that you were connected with her and lived in her house. It would seem to me that the money collected by Mme Gavronsky should be spent, in the first instance, on translating this material about the children. Once it is translated, you can make a selection, multiply it, and send it out to a number of people who would be likely to make contributions to a larger work. In about a week I shall send you a second batch of similar material.

As regards my own small contribution, there is but one answer. I spent so much in the last months that for the present I can make no large contributions. But as soon as it will be possible, I shall not ~~xxx~~ forget. Meanwhile I am trying to secure for you a supply of documentary material. And I can but hope that your American friends will come across with the cash to finance the preparation of a large book.

S. went to Dresden for the holidays, and has not yet returned.

My own plans still uncertain. I have handed over the manuscript here to the S. Fischer Verlag, but no answer is to be expected before next week. If I should decide to proceed to London, I will let you know beforehand of my arrival. Meanwhile I am going to the ear doctor who is treating ~~my~~ me for an inflammation of the intran ear (a left-over from the grippe). Best wishes for that trip of yours! Love from Mary.

Cordially
Don

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The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 19]25 April 16 [London to] Emma [Goldman, London] / Rebecca West. — 2 p. ; 10 × 16 cm.

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Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

FROM REBECCA WEST, 36, QUEENS GATE TERRACE, S.W. 7. Kensington 7285.

16/4/25

16478

Dearest Emma

I am so sorry that both the hours you have given me for meeting the Hapgoods are quite impossible for me — I am so disappointed about this — to tell them how sorry I am. Secondly I do not know anybody in Norwich, Manchester, Bristol but I know a Town Councillor of great influence at Leeds.

You have not told me the date you are speaking at Leeds or the place? If you will tell me that I will write to Councillor Leigh who will be sure to interest a great many.

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The Emma Goldman Papers

870924404

[Letter, 19]25 April 16 [London to] Emma [Goldman, London] / Rebecca West. —
2 p. ; 10 × 16 cm.

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Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

of the women belonging to the "Reds" movement. 16478A
What I meant about getting lectures through Time & Tide is that this
paper is very widely read by women's organizations & that your
articles would want to make them read your lecture.
There is nothing more direct.
I am afraid the work is out of translation & untranslatable — I hope your
friends too some luck.
Do please use my name — you wish to on the Pamphlet
— yours ever
Pheue.

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The Emma Goldman Papers

840305050

[Letter, 19]25 April 16 [London to] Emma [Goldman, London] / Rebecca West. —
2 p. ; 28 x 40 cm.
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FROM REBECCA WEST, 36, QUEENS GATE TERRACE, S.W.7. Kensington 7285.

16/4/25

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2 p.; 28 x 40 cm.
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of the women belonging to the Peers Luncheon Club.

What I meant about getting lectures through "Tonic & Tide" is that paper is very widely read by women's organisations & that Articles would want to make them hear you lecture.

There is nothing more direct.

I am afraid the world is full of translators at present - I hope your friend has some luck.

Do please use my name if you wish to on the Pamphlet-

Yours ever

Rebecca.

The Emma Goldman Papers

880817033

[Letter] 1925 April 17, London [to Isaac] Don [Levine, Berlin] / E[mma] G[oldman]. - 1 p. ; 36 x 22 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the United States Library of Congress.
Institutional Location: Levine Collection.

3, Titchfield Terrace,
St John's Wood Road.
London, N, W.8.

April 17th, 1925.

Dear Don.

Thanks for letter and material. Please tell Volodin there is no use in doublicating things, some of the excepts from the Isvesia he had copied from the Pravda and you brought the quotations with you. It were ~~all~~ if he would make a list of every item he copy's, that would prevent repetitions.

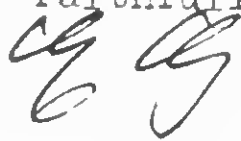
Dor~~is~~ is willing enough to begin with the translation, in fact I had arranged with her to do some of it while I will be away. Even if nothing should come of the book I will be able to use what she will traslate for some articles. Perhaps I will hear from Cohn the first week in May. I ought to. The money collected by the Russians simply must go for the pamphlet which by the way has grown to 32 pages and which we must have in our work here. We had a small exsample of the effect of figures on the Engl~~ish~~ish mind. I spoke last night about the Trade Union report and quoted from the Soviet papers, you should have seen the consternation of the Communists. They could not deny the figures so they clung to the part dealing with political percecution because that did not come from the Soviet papers. The wife of Col, Malone actually had the brazeness to deny that Spirdonova and Ismailowitch were exiled. But this had little effect on the audiences because the people could see that the quotations from the Russian papers were too convincing. Anyway, we must have the ~~max~~ pamphlet and since we have no other money, we are compelled to use what the Russians sent me.

The money for the book will have to be specially collected. When I know what America will do I will see the Russians here. I wish I could get enough for the first copies we intend to make. What illustrations would you suggest except the photographs of the destitute children I have? And should one make cuts of them and have them printed for the preliminary material? Let me know. Another thing, can you let me have one copy of your compiled stuff? I should think I am entitled to one don't you think? Do send it soon. I want to see your arrangement.

Your reference to my propaganda letter to Mary reminds me of the idea of all people in ~~per~~ that "but for the agitators who come along to arouse people everything would be lovely in the world." It never occurs to them that the agitators would have no success whatever if the soil were not so fertile. See my point, dear male tyrant? Sure you are a cripple without "mother" Don't you guies love to make woman believe how indispencible she is to you? By such methods you enslave your wives. The joke of it is that the foolish women actually believe you frauds. They actually flatter themselves that their men would be lost without them. But I know better, I know that man can get along infinitely better without us than we can get along without them. Well, far be it from me to break up the happy family life.

Do write again soon, send me your copy and make any suggestions you can think of.

Faithfully.



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The Emma Goldman Papers

861029356

[Letter] 1925 April 18, Stockholm [to] Emma Goldman, London / Albert Bonnier. —
1 p. ; 29 × 22 cm.
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Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.



ALBERT BONNIER

KONTOR: SVEAVÄGEN 56.
POSTADRESS: BOX 402, STOCKHOLM C.
TELEGRAMADRESS: BONNIERS, STOCKHOLM.
TELEFON: NAMNARROT "BONNIERS".
A.B./Kbg.

Stockholm den
April 18th 1925.

Miss Emma Goldman,

3, Titchfield Terrace, Regent's Park, London, N.W.8

Dear Miss Goldman,

I thank you for your letter of April 14th.

In our country there does not exist any lecture bureau which could organize a lecture tour for you. I beg to advise you to write to the Swedish-English Society, Mr. E. W. Peyron, Djursholm /Sweden/ who perhaps would be willing to arrange the matter.

Yours sincerely

Albert Bonnier

The Emma Goldman Papers

810519185

[Letter] 1925 April 20, London [to] Roger Baldwin, [New York] / E[mma] G[oldman].— 6 p.; 28 x 18 cm.

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21 Northfield Terrace,
St John's Wood Road,
London, N. W. 1. Northch, April 19th.
1925.

Dear Roger Baldwin. It was good to hear from you again after such prolonged silence. I myself am no longer so punctual in my correspondence so I must not be dissatisfied when some of my friends are tardy. I know that you are my friend whatever our differences of opinions may be. And that is some comfort.

First about your speech which I read with interest and then sent on to Berkman. He has not yet returned it so I can not take up some of the points you made and which certainly need some reply. On the whole your speech impressed me as exceedingly mild. Naturally so since you are always ready to credit your opponents with far more than they deserve. The amusing part is that even so mild a speech as yours should have enraged the Communists. But then, they are only too ready to quote everybody who in the least disagrees with them. I must say I am "vindictive" enough to rejoice over the actions of the Communists which broke up the meeting. This will prove to you and your liberal friends what the Communists would do if they had power. In deed, you and the rest would be the first to bring, or rather to be shot since that is their favorite method of punishment. I assure you that people were shot in R. for less than you have said which is going some.

You are terribly naïve Roger dear if you think that any authentic material you might present will make the Russian Government recognize that the case is "unbearable" if you had a thousand facts sworn to by people of sterling character, the Russian Government would still deny their fact and condemn these people as "traitors, counter-revolutionists and as having being bought by the enemies of the people." That is the only argument the Russian Government and its satellites abroad have been using.

Yes, I have seen Ward's artifice and it is exactly what I have expected, a weak, pale attempt to exonerate the Russian Government. I tell you dear Roger that people who go to Russia for several weeks either as official guests or somewhat under the protection of the Government have and not and will not see the actual conditions. Ward quotes Peshkova. What an idea to expect that Peshkova can speak out while remaining in Russia. If she told Ward anything she told him what under the circumstances she chose to tell. By that I do not mean to imply that Peshkova was concerned so much in her own safety, but she is concerned in the work she is doing for the prisoners and to be able to keep on that work Peshkova had to gloss over many of the facts known to every child in Russia. Anyway, Ward's account is colorless and wanting in every respect. Yet you wrote me that his was the most dependable so far received in America. Well, if you think his is more dependable than the material collected by Berkman and his coworkers you are welcome. I do not think that it is. In fact I insist that reports as like Ward's do more harm than good because they contain so many self-litigations.

Dear anyhow can we even be agreed in "condemning terrorism" when we do not agree with the causes of the latter. I insist that the terror used by the Bolshevik Government has not been imposed upon them by any outside circumstances but is inherent in the Dictatorship. It is that which compelled Lenin and the rest to eliminate every

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one who could or would not bow to the Dictatorship. I do not deny that counter-revolution within and intervention from without may not in a measure have been a contributory factor. But they also helped to strengthen the arm of the Dictatorship because they furnished it with ever so many excuses for the terror employed. But over and above that is the idea of the Dictatorship, the obsession that the transitional period must be directed by an iron hand which at the exclusion of all other methods will impose itself upon the whole country. There is no difference whatever between the old belief of Divine rights of the King whom God hath put on the throne, and the Divine right of the Bolshevik whom Marx hath put on the throne and the Tsar continued to keep there. In other words, once you admit that the Dictatorship, even if it really were of the workers and peasants, is inevitable you must also admit of the use of terror and political suppression. The Dictatorship without the latter is unthinkable. You seem to think that "Russia is a dictatorship in the interest of the workers and the peasants" therefore your opposition to terror is much more inconsistent than that of the Communists, since you can not exercise the one without the other.

Dear Roger, I don't know you very well, but I did not believe that you were so naive that you would go on rehearsing the fable that "Russia continues to be a dictatorship in the interest of workers and the peasants" I can imagine people outside of Russia clinging to that fable until this. Before it was possible to get at the actual facts and before the New Economic policy reintroduced Capitalism, exploitation and the expropriation of private property. But to say that "Russia is not a dictatorship in the interest of workers and the peasants" is really childish. The fact is that to say the dictatorship is in the all governments in the interest of a privileged class and that class is the Communist Party with those who are working with the Communist Party for material reasons and not out of conviction, and the ultimate aim of that privileged class is State Capitalism with all the resultant evils that Capitalism contains. The difference between the privileged class in Russia and that of any other country is more pretence, a mere fiction foisted upon the world. In the name of this ever shifting Dictatorship even as the Christian Church uses fire and sword to maintain to all the time have any independent opinion. To be sure "it is for the ultimate good of the workers and peasants" so too it is for the "ultimate good of man's soul" to be sent to the torture chamber or to be burned at heretic and witches and discontents. The means are identical and the pretence is identical. Proof for that are the large numbers of workers and peasants in Russian prisons. Proof for that is the heart breeding conditions of the peasants as even admitted in the Soviet press which is not intended for European propaganda.

Another error on your part is that "Russia continues to be attacked by all the Capitalist Governments" but in the Capitalist Governments while still pretending opposition look to it with greedy eyes since they have realised that Russia is being paroled up and is fast becoming a Mexico of Europe. Russia with her unlimited resources has become the focus for International Capitalism. And the tragic part is that the Russian Socialist Republic is putting International Capitalism on its feet and giving it a new lease on life. Without Russia International Capitalism would indeed have gone smash and the peoples of the world would have been driven to International solidarity. Not so since the introduction of the New Economic policy. That infused new blood and new life into the withering body

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of criticism. A sorry finale for a great beginning.

The tragedy of tragedies, however is, that men like you and many other earnest revolutionists will not see the tragedy that is being enacted in Russia and in which the Russian people are being slain.

I understand the position of Labour outside of Russia. I understand that the I. L. P. for instance, can not take a stand against Russia. But it is not for the reasons that you give namely that "Russia is being attacked" etc. It is because the Labour Party like all political parties strive for power, make desperate efforts to get into the Government and in this respect they are very much akin to the Bolsheviks. And it is certain to me that if they will ever be in the position of the Russian rulers they will set up a dictatorship as surely as Russia has. For this reason and for no other must they now keep silent on the political persecution going on in R. or if they protest it must be done in a most discreet "delicate" manner. Above all it must not be in opposition with one who is so out and out a monarchist and who is a black and white dictatorship in its fundamental tendencies and not in its abuses merely. Political parties as such have always been clamoring for power by every means fair or foul, openly and though. Whatever objection they were at one time to the Bolsheviks and due to the fact that the Bolsheviks had now that Russia had become a stable government" subsided in the persons of the British Trade Union Delegation which with their own Government for investments in Russia. Why not Russia is now respectable. And if political terror continues, what of that. There is more important than justice, and liberty. Did not some members of the I. L. P. tell me that my trouble is that I am still like the old Christians who believed in truth and justice, who insisted on speaking out, when what was needed in modern times was trade with Russia.

Certainly "radicals" should be cautious in attacking that which is attacked by their bitterest enemies" But that can only apply if what you call that has retained its character and quality, if it has remained true to its revolutionary intention. If that has become exactly like the enemies and if it continues to use the same vile, cruel methods the thing we are not to attack must be exposed to the last degree. The trouble is that you and your friends, or in America and the same people in England hate to face the fact that what we are attacking is not the revolution, is not the Russian people, but the regime which has been set up on the bleeding body of the Russian Revolution. You people refuse to see the myth that the Bolsheviks are no longer expressive of the revolution, if they ever were at all. There is the deep gap between us Roger dear, and no amount of arguing can bridge it. Besides, you contention that "radicals should on the whole be cautious of attacking what is being attacked by their bitterest enemies" somewhat reminds me of the argument used by hundred percenters about ~~the~~ the evils of war. You and I and thousands of other were thrown into prison because we dared to show up these evils when the good patriots insisted that we must keep quiet when the country is at war. Believe me it is the same thing here which now makes many good radicals resent our stand on Russia. We must keep silent because our enemies attack R. Well, supporting our enemies criticism rests on facts? Are we to keep silent? If it is imperative that we are big enough to admit our error if error there be even if pointed out by our enemies" The most important aspect of the whole situation is the angle from which the criticism is directed. And our angle is the Russian Revolution. While the attacks of the enemies of Labour is not directed so much against Bolshevism as it is the revolution as such.

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The Emma Goldman Papers

810519185

[Letter] 1925 April 20, London [to] Roger Baldwin, [New York] / E[mma] G[oldman]. — 6 p. ; 28 x 18 cm.

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Henry Alberg must have read Kropotkin's letter written for the Russian Mission in 1920. I know of no other. Naturally Kropotkin would urge caution then. In the first place the Dictatorship made some progress then in Communist experiments. Secondly Russia was then engaged on an half dozen fronts. For this reason Kropotkin urged caution. But do you believe that Kropotkin would urge caution now? Indeed, he would have been the first to cry out against the New Economic Policy and all the evils reintroduced into Russia. Much more outspoken would he have been against the continued terror. Kropotkin was irrevocably opposed to the Dictatorship even in 1920, he saw its devastating and ruinous effect upon Russia and protested against it over and over again. Still, he hoped against hope that when the fronts will be liquidated that might be a lot of the terror, the use of hostages, the terrible crushing of thought and speech. I can well imagine how he would have thundered now against all that is happening since 1920.

"The Bolshevik Government is claiming that centralization of power in the hands of a bureaucracy does not build up industry" since when does the Bolshevik Government find this? And where did you get that idea? Really, old man, you are repeating the unfounded stuff Communists use for American and European propaganda. There is no such thing in Russia. Zinoviev still speaks for the Dictatorship and his recent speech before the Party points out that the Party is above the State and must rule the State and all else. He adds, "as long as the Communist Party exists and as long as Leninism exists the Party must rule the State" what is somewhat different than what you ascribe to the Bolshevik Government. But you are right when you say that "the U. S. is a huge found that autonomous colony could not exist" live in the midst of a State in which industrial relations had to be fixed through some central authority" precisely. But what gives your case away dear Roger, and it strengthens our contention that the whole Soviet bureaucracy made an enormous mistake in Russia and to this day it is their inefficiency and incompetent to build up Russia. That is the core of the whole situation.

I shall be very glad if the picture is really succeeding, but until I could see it I should certainly have my facts about it. I do not want to imply that you are not absolutely dependable, or even your friends. I am too fast to credit people who disagree with me with such of veracity. But I know the daily demerit of the Dictatorship and I know that nothing of an official nature can come out which contains facts. Therefore I am rather dubious about the success of Russia. No, you and your friends certainly did not use Russia for Communist propaganda, but the Communists did in America and in Russia, as they use everything for propaganda. In that they excel us all, they are marvelous propagandists. They use the Red Relief, the United Front, the Relief for Russian scientists, the famine, in short everything for their propaganda. That is how they manage to get under the skin of people. Doubtless all over again every one of the Communists. Yes, I dare say the articles in the Nation on Russia were accurate and fair disinterested, like Sinclair's articles, like everything that has appeared in the Nation about Russia. Yes, Roger dear, the Nation was as false in its report of Russia as the N. Y. Times was and usually is false about Russia. Both have played a shameful part in misrepresenting the actual situation and in misleading the A. S. people. And I can prove that by merely taking the Soviet press and show by its own account of things in Russia how the Nation has covered up those. I wish I had the time and money to do it, it would make a fine picture.

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We have a recent example of how people can mis-
represent people and how it can make them gloss over the most
glaring facts in the report of the British Trade Union Dele-
gation. They were there five weeks and brought out enough
material for an encyclopedia. Yet not one word in the report
is actually true. At least if we are to believe Lunacharsky
Borshko, Rykov, or other leading Communists who in their
articles in the Pravda and Izvestia completely refute most
of the Trade Union report. I have compiled a pamphlet entirely
from Soviet sources. It is now being published by my Committee.
I will send you a copy. Compare the quotations from the var-
ious papers with the Report on the same subject and you will
see why I have no faith in anything that appeared in the
edition. I know how things are prepared for the European and
American press. Not enough of this.

I started to write this letter in Norwich and I
am finishing it in Leeds. My stay in Norwich was very pleasant
the meeting and our comrades one of the finest not
I have met since I am in England. In Leeds the meeting was
small and spilt, perhaps due to the fact that there
was an ad in "The Citizen" a Labour paper several days be-
fore I arrived that E. G. is the agent of British imperialism
and a traitor to the workers. So now you know why your friend
is. I had the same accusations while in South Wales, that I
am paid by the Government, that I am working for the
Borshko's press. In short I am considered as valuable every-
where that I am being mighty paid. Oh, yes, I forgot the
ad I referred to also stated that the Communist cause in A
is dying and I had to knock anti-Communism in the A.
schools. Did you see anything about that in the A. press?
It did appear in the A. Communist press and was written by
Bogdan. The miserable creature who inserted the ad is merely
using English staff to make it appear that I am wanted back
to teach anti-Communism. Poor visionaries, brainless people
who will write such stuff. But of course, there are fools
who will be influenced by such things, hence the war meet-
ing but that is all in a day's work.

Two weeks ago I was in South Wales. I must say
I like the Welsh people better than the English I have met.
They are more genuine, more hospitable and have a fine spirit
of hospitality. The condition of the mines especially in
the Rhondda Valley is appalling. Seven thousand out of work
and those who work make barely enough to subsist on. The
whole Valley is a dreadful mess with miles and miles of drab
barracks where the miners live. It is a heart-breaking pic-
ture. The Ammanford Valley produces incredible coal which seems
to be better paid. Then too, the hill is not alone in so
crushingly, there are fine valleys and some expanse of country.
And the miners have their own patch of land, at least most
of them have. Much could be done in South Wales, no doubt
everywhere in England, but it would require years and some in-
itiative to awaken a movement away from the political parties.
I have not so many years at my disposal and though I am
"being paid" by every so many people, I have not the income
to be relieved of material worry. And of course, I could not
possibly accept a penny for lecture work, the poverty is al-
together too great to charge fees. Well, the lecture season
is over and as I am not an outdoor speaker and have
no faith in its effect, I will not lecture during the summer.
And I can make no plans for the autumn, my position is alto-
gether too uncertain to make plans too long in advance. The
Communists are trying hard enough to make the Foreign Office
take steps in my case. My hope is pointing out that others
have been deported while E. G. is allowed to remain. Some of
these days the Foreign Office may take the Communist sugges-
tion and send me home. But I am not worried about that.

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The last eight years have taught me "to build my world on nothing" and to be ready for every emergency.

There is however one thing I want to do and for which I would like you help. It is this: The Bolsheviks boast particularly of their achievements for the child and education. I want to compile a book entirely from Bolshevik sources to show up the truly terrible conditions of children in Russia to say, the huge number of destitute children. I am sure such a work would meet with an universal appeal and would be a greater indictment against the Dictatorship than even the material compiled by Ben Levine and Berkman. The important thing is to get out multigraphed copies of part of the material and send them out to leading women all over the world for their endorsement and material support to get out a popular edition. Unfortunately the initial expenses will be high, probably as much as Berkman had to use for his book and that of his colleagues. But it will be necessary to do a lot of translations from various Soviet papers. Still I am very anxious to do the work because I think it is the best proof against the Moscow regime and will speak for itself. I have written some friends of mine in America to write some money. Could you do anything in the matter? I do not mean personally? I mean do you know a few people sufficiently interested in such an undertaking to contribute? I do not want the project made public until it is carried out. But it will be alright for you to speak to a few people who are interested in the tragic plight of masses of children now forsaken by all and who would like to know the facts. If I can get part of the expenses raised in N. Y. a few hundred dollars I could get some of the Russian revolutionists in London to help some, between the two I ought to be better together. You may help by re- turn mail if the venture appeals to you and if you will help. But I must know that it is possible. I can not start though I already have enough material from the Pravda and Izvestia to begin, but I must know if I can count on your material to start to enable me to get a book out. It is entirely too much for one person to do. These dear words do not delay or you always do in writing, so, write me by return mail.

I was now, I am living in the house of an old revolutionist, Doris Wern. When she is a fine revolutionist. Until two weeks ago she worked as such in the Soviet to do Mission. Evidently the Russian Tolstoy in London discovered that I was living there and that the work of the British Committee is done there. Anyway, Doris was dismissed from her post without reason of any sort. I feel quite guilty to having been the cause and would like to enable Doris to work with me on the renewed book about the condition of children in R. I could start her at once. But I must wait until I hear from the friends I have written to and from you.

Why should you have been surprised at the work B. has done. Did you not know that he was always very thorough and dependable. I hope the material will soon appear in book form.

I must close, as Fisher has gone to bits and I can get no other. I am always glad to hear from you dear Roger. Over all if we do not agree, our friendship consists in being able to disagree with our friends and to have faith in their sincerity and integrity.

Affectionately.

gcs

But they not mean that they are not a great party no
at that they will not do much in a way up the justice

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3 Titchfield Terrace/
St John's Wood Road
London, N, W.9. Norwich.
20th April 1925.

Dear Roger Baldwin:

It was good to hear from you again after such a prolonged silence. I, myself, am no longer so punctual in my correspondence, so I must be generous when some of my friends are tardy. I know that you are my friend, whatever our differences of opinions may be. And this is some comfort!

First, about your speech, which I read with interest and then sent to Berkman. He has not yet returned it so I cannot now take up some of the points you made and which certainly need some reply. On the whole, your speech impressed me as being exceedingly mild. Naturally so, since you are always so ready to credit your opponents with far more glory than they deserve. The amusing part is that enrage so mild a speech caused the Communists. But then, they are only too ready to crush everybody who in the least, disagrees with them. I must say that I am 'vindictive' enough to rejoice over the actions of the Communists which broke up the meeting. This should prove to you and your liberal friends what the Communists would do if they had the power. Indeed, you well know that you and others of the same persuasion would be the first to swing, or rather, to be shot, since that is their favourite method of punishment. I assure you that people have been shot in Russia for much less than you have said.

You are terribly naive, Roger dear, if you think that any authentic material you might present will make the 'Russian Government recognize that the case is answerable'. If you had a thousand facts vouched for by people of sterling character, the Russian Government would still deny those facts and denounce those people as 'traitors, counter-revolutionists, and as having been bought by the enemies of the people'. That is the only argument the Russian Government and its satellites abroad are using.

Yes, I have seen Ward's article and it is exactly what I expected it would be — a weak, pale attempt to exonerate the Russian Government. I tell you, dear Roger, people who go to Russia for several weeks, either as official guests, or otherwise under the protection of the government, have not, and will not see the actual conditions. Ward quotes Peshkova. What an idea to expect that Peshkova can speak out while remaining in Russia. If she told Ward anything, she told him what, under the circumstances, she chose to tell. By this, I do not mean to imply that Peshkova was concerned so much in her own safety as in the work she is doing for the prisoners. To be able to keep up that work she had to gloss over many facts known to every child in Russia. Anyway, Ward's account is colourless and wanting in every respect. Yet you wrote me that his was the most dependable so far received in America. Well, if you think his more dependable than the material collected by Berkman and his co-workers, you are welcome to think so. I do not think that it is. In fact, I insist that reports like Ward's do more harm than good, because they contain so many half truths.

My dear man, how can we even be agreed in 'opposing terrorism' when we do agree as to the cause of terrorism? I insist that the terror used by the Bolsheviki has not been imposed upon them by outside cir-

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RB#2

circumstances, but is inherent in the Dictatorship. It is that which compelled Lenin and the rest to eliminate every one who could not or would not bow to the Dictatorship. I do not deny that counter-revolution within, and intervention from without may not, in a measure, have been a contributory factor. But they also helped to strengthen the arm of the Dictatorship because they furnished it with ever so many excuses for the terror they employed. But over and above that, is the idea of the Dictatorship — the obsession that the transition period must be directed by an iron hand which, at the exclusion of all other methods, will impose itself upon the whole country. There is no difference whatever between the old belief in the Divine Right of the King, whom God hath put upon the throne and the Divine Right of the Bolsheviks, whom Marx hath put upon the throne and whom the Toka continue to keep there. In other words, once you admit that the Dictatorship, even if it really were of the workers and peasants, is inevitable, you must also admit of the use of political terror and oppression. The Dictatorship without tyranny is unthinkable. You seem to think that "Russia is a Dictatorship in the interests of the workers and peasants" and therefore, your opposition to terror is much more inconsistent than that of the Communists since you cannot exercise the one without the other.

Dear Roger, I always knew of your naiveté, but I did not believe it would extend to the point of making you rehearse the fable that 'Russia continues to be a Dictatorship in the interests of the workers and peasants'. I can imagine people outside of Russia clinging to that fond idea prior to 1921. Before that it was impossible to get at the actual facts, but now that the New Economic Policy has reintroduced Capitalism, exploitation and the sanctity of private property, to say such a thing is really quite childish. The fact is that the Dictatorship is like all other governments, operating in the interests of a privileged class which happens in Russia to be the Communists and others who are working for the Communist Party for sheer material reasons and not at all because of conviction. The ultimate aim of that privileged class is State Capitalism, with all the resultant evils that Capitalism contains. The difference between the privileged class in Russia and that of any other country is mere pretence, a superstition foisted upon the world in the name of the Dictatorship even as the Christian Church uses the torch and sword to exterminate all who dare to have an independent opinion. To be sure, it is for 'the ultimate good of the workers and peasants'. So too, was it for 'ultimate good of men's souls' that the heretics and dissenters were sent to the fire and torture chambers. The means and pretensions are identical. Proof of this point is the continued incarceration of large numbers of workers and peasants in Russian prisons. Proof of this is the inhuman conditions prevailing among the peasants, as even admitted in the Soviet press, which, of course, is not intended for European propaganda.

Another error of yours is the idea that 'Russia continues to be attacked by all the Capitalist Governments'. The fact is that while these governments pretend opposition, they are in reality looking with eyes of envy at Russia in its process of being parceled up and becoming the Mexico of Europe. Her unlimited resources is making Russia the fleshpot of International Capitalism. The most tragic part is that the Russian Socialist Republic is putting International Capitalism on its feet and giving it a new lease of life.

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RB#3

Without Russia, International Capitalism would indeed have gone to smash and the people would have been forced into International solidarity. Not so however, since the introduction of the N.E.P. That infused new blood and new life into the withering body of Capitalism — a sad finis for a great beginning.

The tragedy of tragedies however, is that men like you and many other earnest revolutionists will not see the tragedy that is being enacted in Russia and in which the Russian people are being slain.

I understand the position of labour outside of Russia. I understand that the I.L.P. for instance, cannot take a stand against Russia. But it is not for the reasons that you give, namely; 'that Russia is being attacked...' It is because the Labour Party, like all political parties striving for power must make desperate efforts to get into the government and in this respect they are very much akin to the Bolsheviks. And it is clear to me that if they will ever be in the position of the Russian rulers they will set up a dictatorship as surely as Russia has. For this reason, and for no other, must they now keep silent on the political persecution going on in Russia. Or, if they protest, it must be done in a faint hearted 'delicate' manner. Above all, it must not be in cooperation with one who an out and out Anarchist and who is attacking the Dictatorship in its fundamental tendencies and not merely in its abuses. Political Parties are, as they always have been, clamouring for power by every means, fair or foul — mostly foul. Whatever objection they have expressed toward Bolshevism was due, more to a pose than to sincerity. But now that 'Russia has become a stable Government' Socialists, in the persons of the British Trade Union Delegation plead with their own Government for investments in Russia. Why not? Russia is now respectable. And if political terror continues, what of that! Trade is more important than justice or liberty. Did not some members of the I.L.P. tell me that my trouble is that I am still like the old Christians who believed in truth and justice, who insisted in speaking out when what is needed in modern times is Trade with Russia.

Certainly 'radicals should be cautious in attacking that which is attacked by their bitterest enemies'. But this can only apply if what you call 'that' has retained its character and quality, if it has remained true to its revolutionary inception. If 'that' has become exactly like the enemies' and if it continues to use the same vile, cruel methods, the 'thing' we are not to attack must be exposed to the last degree. The trouble is that you and your friends in America and the same people in England hate to face the fact that what we are attacking is not the Revolution, is not the Russian people, but the régime which has been set up on the bleeding body of the Russian Revolution. You people refuse to see the myth that the Bolsheviks are no longer expressive of the Revolution, if indeed, they ever were at all. Here is the deep gap between us, Roger dear, and no amount of arguing can bridge it. Besides your contention that 'radicals should, on the whole, be cautious of attacking what is being attacked by their bitterest enemies' somewhat reminds me of the argument used by hundred percenters about the evils of war. You and I and thousands of others were thrown into prison because we dared to show up these evils when the good patriots insisted that we must keep quiet when a country is at war. Believe me, it is the same principle which now makes many good radicals resent our stand on Russia. We must keep silent because our enemies attack Russia. Well,

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RB#4

supposing our enemies criticism rests on facts? Are we to keep silent? Is it not imperative that we should be big enough to admit an error if error there be, even if pointed out by our enemies? The most important aspect of the whole situation is the angle from which the criticism is directed. And our angle is the Russian Revolution, while the attacks of the enemies of Labour are not directed so much against Bolshevism as against Revolution, as such.

Henry Alsberg must have read of Kropotkin's letter written for the British Mission in 1920. I know of no other. Naturally, Kropotkin would urge caution then. In the first place, the Dictatorship made some pretence then, in the Communist experiment, secondly, Russia was then engaged on half a dozen fronts. For this reason Kropotkin urged caution. But do you believe that Kropotkin would urge caution now? Indeed, he would be the first to cry out against the N.E.P. and all the evils re-introduced in Russia. Much more outspoken would he have been against the continued terror. Kropotkin was irrevocably opposed to the Dictatorship even in 1920. He saw its devastating and ruinous effect upon Russia. He protested against it over and over again. Still, he hoped against hope that when the fronts will be liquidated that there might be a letup of the terror, the usage of hostages, the terrible crushing of thought and speech. I can well imagine how he would have thundered now against all that has happened since 1921.

"The Bolshevik Government is finding that centralization of power in the hands of a bureaucracy does not build up industry". Since when does the Bolshevik Government find this and where did you get that idea? Really, old man, you are repeating the unfounded stuff the Communists use for American and European propaganda. There is no such thing in Russia. Zinoviev still speaks for the Dictatorship and his recent speech before the Party points out that the 'Party is above the State and must rule the State and all else'. He adds, 'as long as the Communist Party exists and as long as Leninism exists, the Party must rule the State.' That is somewhat different than what you ascribe to the Bolshevik Government. But you are right when you say that 'the I.W.O. boys found that an autonomous colony could not live in the midst of a state in which industrial relationship had to be fixed through some central authority'. Precisely. But that gives your case away, Roger dear, and it strengthens our case that the centralized bureaucracy made all endeavours impossible in Russia and to this day it is itself inefficient and incompetent to build up Russia. That is the crux of the whole situation.

I shall be very glad if the Kuzbas venture is really succeeding. But until I really see it I shall certainly have my doubts about it. I do not mean to imply that you are not absolutely dependable, or even your friends. I am the last the credit people who disagree with me with lack of veracity. But I know the deadly censorship of the Dictatorship and I know that nothing of an official nature can come out of Russia which contains facts. Therefore, I am rather dubious about the success of Kuzbas. No, you and your friends certainly did not use Kuzbas for Communist propaganda, but the Communists did, both in America and in

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RB#5

Russia, as they use everything for propaganda. In that, they excell us all. They are marvelous propagandists. They use the Red Relief, the United Front, the Relief for Russian Scientists, the Famine, in short, every possible thing for propaganda. That is how they manage to get under the skin of the people. Jesuites all over again, every one of the Communists. Yes, I daresay, the articles in the Nation on the Kuzbas were accurate and disinterested, like Fischer's articles, like everything that has appeared in the Nation about Russia. Why, Roger dear, the Nation was as false in behalf of Russia as the New York Times was, and usually is, false against Russia. Both have played a shameful part in misrepresenting the actual situation and in misleading the American people. And I can prove that by merely taking the Soviet press and show by its own account of things in Russia how the Nation has covered up the facts. I wish I had the time and means to do it, for it would make a fine picture.

We have a recent example of how moscow can mesmerize people and how it can make them gloss over the most glaring facts, in the report of the British Trade Union Delegation. They were there five weeks and brought out enough material for an encyclopaedia. Yet not one word in the whole Report is actually true. At least, if we are to believe Imacharsky, Semashko, Rykov and other leading Communists who, in their articles in the Pravda and Ivestia completely refute most of the Trade Union Report, there isn't a single line in it worthy of belief. I have compiled a pamphlet entirely from Soviet sources. It is now being published by the committee. I will send you a copy. Compare the quotations from the various papers with the Report on the same subject and you will see why I have no faith in anything that appears in the Nation. I know how things are prepared for the European and American palate. But enough of this!

I began this letter in Norwich and I am finishing it in Leeds. My stay in Norwich was very pleasant, the meetings splendid and the men who helped our comrades one of the finest set I have met I have been in England. In Leeds, the meeting was small and spiritless. Perhaps this was, in some measure, due to the fact that there was an ad. in "The Citizen", a local labour paper several days before I arrived stating that E.G. is an agent of British Imperialism and a traitor to the workers. So now you know what I am. I met the accusations while in South Wales except they had it that I am paid by the Mensheviks and work for the Rothermore press. In short, I am considered so extremely valuable that my services are in great demand and of course I am highly paid. Oh, yes, I forgot to add "The Citizen" also stated that the Capitalist press in America is calling E.G. back to teach anti-Communism in the American schools. Have you seen anything about that in the American papers? It did appear in "The Weekly Worker" a Communist paper printed in Chicago and the article was written by J.H. Engdahl. The miserable creature who inserted the ad. in the Leeds paper was merely using Engdahl's stuff to make it appear that I am wanted back in the U.S. as a renegade to teach anti-Communism. Poor visionless, brainless fools -- but of course, there are other fools who believe such slander, hence the poor meeting in Leeds, but that is all in a day's work.

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RB#6

Two weeks ago I was in South Wales. I must say that I like the Welch people better than the English I have met. They are more genuine, more responsive and have a finer spirit of hospitality. The condition of the miners, especially Rhonda Valley is appalling. Seven thousand were out of work when I was there and those who do work are paid barely enough to live on. The whole valley is a dreadful dump with miles and miles of drab barracks where the miners live. It is a heart-breaking picture. The Ammanfort Valley district produces anthracite coal and the miners there seem to be better paid. Then, too, the hills do not close in so crushingly. There are fine meadows and some expanse of country so the miners have some chance to have a little patch of land. Much could be done in South Wales, no doubt much could be done everywhere in England, but it would require years of labour and some considerable funds to awaken a movement away from the political parties. I have not so many years at my disposal even though I am being 'highly paid' by ever so many wealthy people. Truth to tell, I have not enough income to even leave my mind free from material worry. Of course, I could not accept a penny for lecture work. The poverty is altogether too great to charge a fee. Well, now the lecture season is over, at least indoors, and as I am not an outdoor speaker and have no faith in the effect of outdoor speaking, I will probably not lecture at all during the summer. And I can make no plans for the Autumn. My position is altogether too uncertain to make plans too long in advance. The Communists are trying hard enough to make the Foreign Office take some definite steps in my case. They keep on pointing out that others have been deported while E.G. is permitted to remain. Some of these days the Foreign Office may take the Communists suggestion and send me hither. But I am not worried about that. The last eight years have taught me 'to build my world on nothing' and to be ready for every emergency.

However, there is one thing I do want to do and for which I would like your help. It is this: the Bolshevik beast of their achievements for the child and education. I want to compile a book entirely from Bolshevik sources to show up the truly terrible conditions of children in Russia to-day. I am sure such a work would meet with a universal appeal and would be a greater indictment against the Dictatorship than even the material compiled by Don Levine and Berkman. The important thing, just now, is to get out multigraphed copies of part of the material and send them out to leading women all over the world for their indorsement and material support to get out a popular edition. Unfortunately, the initial expenses will be high, probably as much as Berkman had to pay for his work and that of his colleagues. It will be necessary to do a lot of translations from various Soviet papers. Still I am very anxious to do the work because I think it is the best proof against the Moscow regime and will speak for itself. I have written some friends in America to raise some money. Could you do anything in the matter? I do not mean personally. I mean, do you think you could reach some people sufficiently interested in such an undertaking to contribute toward making it possible? I do not want the project made public until it is carried out. But it would be perfectly alright to speak to a few people who are interested in the tragic fate of the thousands of children now forsaken by all, — people who would like to know the facts. If I can get a part of the initial expenses raised in America, say six or seven hundred dollars I could get some of the Russian refugees in London

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[Letter] 1925 April 20, London [to] Roger Baldwin, [New York] / E[mma] G[oldman].— 7 p. ; 28 x 21 cm.

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RB/77

to raise some too. Between the two sources about \$1200 ought to be gotten together. Let me know by return post if the venture appeals to you and if I can count on you for help. But I must know this as soon as possible. I cannot start before I am assured that I will have enough material support to pay for the translations. It is entirely too much for any one person to do and I already have plenty of material from the *Pravda* and *Izvestia* with which to begin.. Please, dear Roger, do not delay, as you usually do in writing me. Do it this time by return mail, won't you?

I may say that I am living in the house of an old comrade and revolutionist, Doris Wess Zhook, who is a fine translator. Until two weeks ago she worked as such in the Soviet Trade Union Mission. Evidently, the Russian Tcheka in London discovered that I lived in the same house with her and that the work of the British Committee is also done there. Anyway, Doris was dismissed from her post without reason of any sort. I naturally feel quite badly and keenly sense the guilt of having been the cause of her dismissal and I would like to enable her to work with me on the proposed book about the condition of the children in Russia. I could start her at once, but I must wait until I hear from you and other friends to whom I have written.

Why should you be surprised at the work Berkman has done? Did you not know that he is always very thorough and dependable? I hope the material will soon appear in Book form.

I must close, my ribbon has gone to bits and I can get no other. I am always glad to hear from you, dear Roger. Never mind our little disagreements. Real friendship requires that we be able to disagree with our friends and still have faith in their sincerity and integrity.

Affectionately

E.G.

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850702139

[Letter] 1925 April 20, London [to] Roger Baldwin, [New York] / [Emma Goldman]. — 6 p. ; 36 x 22 cm.

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3 Titchfield Terrace,
St John's Wood Road,
London, N, W.1. Norwich, April 20th,
1925.

Dear Roger Baldwin. It was good to hear from you again after such prolonged silence. I myself am no longer so punctual in my correspondence so I must not be dissatisfied when some of my friends are tardy. I know that you are my friend whatever our differences of opinions may be. And that is some comfort.

First about your speech which I read with interest and then sent on to Berkman. He has not yet returned it so I can not take up some of the points you made and which certainly need some reply. On the whole your speech impressed me as exceedingly mild. Naturally so since you are always ready to credit your opponents with far more than they deserve. The amusing part is that even so mild a speech as yours should have enraged the Communists. But then, they are only too ready to quarrel everybody who in the least disagrees with them. I must say I am "vindictive" enough to rejoice over the actions of the Communists which broke up the meeting. This will prove to you and your liberal friends what the Communists would do if they had power. Indeed, you and the rest would be the first to cry, or rather to be shot since that is their favorite method of punishment. I assure you that people were shot in R. far less than you have said which is going some.

You are terribly naïve Roger dear if you think that any authentic material you might present will make the Russian Government recognize that the case is unvariable. If you had a thousand facts sworn to by people of sterling character, the Russian Government would still deny these facts and denounce these people as "traitors, counter-revolutionists and as having been bought by the enemies of the people. That is the only argument the Russian Government and its satellites abroad have been using.

Yes, I have seen Ward's artifice and it is exactly what I have expected, a weak, pale attempt to exonerate the Russian Government. I tell you dear Roger that people who go to Russia for several weeks either as official guests or somewhat under the protection of the Government have and not and will not see the actual conditions. Ward quotes Peshkova. What an idea to expect that Peshkova can speak out while remaining in Russia. If she told Ward anything she told him what under the circumstances she chose to tell. By that I do not mean to imply that Peshkova was concerned so much in her own safety, but she is concerned in the work she is doing for the prisoners and to be able to keep up that work Peshkova had to gloss over many of the facts known to every child in Russia. Anyway, Ward's account is colorless and wanting in every respect. Yet you wrote me that his was the most dependable so far received in America. Well, if you think his is more dependable than the material collected by Berkman and his coworkers you are welcome. I do not think that it is. In fact, I insist that reports as like Ward's do more harm than good because they contain so many half truths.

Dear man how can we even be agreed in "condemning terrorism" when we do not agree with the causes of the latter. I insist that the terror used by the Bolshevik Government has not been imposed upon them by ~~any~~ outside circumstances but is inherent in the Dictatorship. It is that which compelled Lenin and the rest to eliminate every

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[APR. 20, 1925]

2.

one who could or would not bow to the Dictatorship. I do not deny that counter-revolution within and intervention from without may not in a measure have been a contributory factor. But they also helped to strengthen the arm of the Dictatorship because they furnished it with ever so many excuses for the terror employed. But over and above that is the idea of the Dictatorship, the obsession that the transition period must be directed by an iron hand which at the exclusion of all other methods will impose itself upon the whole country. There is no difference whatever between the old belief of Divine rights of the King whom God hath put on the throne, and the Divine right of the Bolsheviks whom Marx hath put on the throne and the Tcheka continued to keep there. In other words, once you admit that the Dictatorship, even if it really were of the workers and peasants, is inevitable, you must also admit of the use of terror and political suppression. The Dictatorship without the latter is unthinkable. You seem to think that "Russia is a dictatorship in the interest of the workers and the peasants" therefore your opposition to terror is much more inconsistent than that of the Communists, since you can not exercise the one without the other.

Dear Roger, I always knew you were naive, but I did not believe that you were so naive that you would go on rehearsing the fable that "Russia continues to be a dictatorship in the interests of workers and the peasants" I can imagine people outside of Russia clinging to that found idea until 1921. Before it was possible to get at the actual facts and before the New Economic policy reintroduced Capitalism, exploitation and the acquisition of private property. But to say that "Russia is now a dictatorship in the interest of workers and the peasants" is really childish. The fact is that to day the dictatorship is like all governments, in the interest of a privileged class and that class is the Communist Party with those who are working with the Communist Party, for material reasons and not out of conviction and the ultimate aim of that privileged class is State Capitalism with all the resultant evils that Capitalism contains. The difference between the privileged class in Russia and that of any other country is mere pretense, a superstition foisted upon the world. In the name of this superstition the Dictatorship even as the Christian Church uses fire and sword to exterminate all who dare have any independent opinion. To be sure "it is for the ultimate good of the workers and peasants" So too it was for the "ultimate good of man's soul" to be sent to the torture chamber or to be burned at heretics and wizards and dissenters. The means are identical and the pretense is identical. Proof for that are the large numbers of workers and peasants in Russian prison. Proof for that is the heart breaking conditions of the peasants as even admitted in the Soviet press which is not intended for European propaganda.

Another error on your part is that "Russia continues to be attacked by all the Capitalist Governments" Fact is the Capitalist Governments while still pretending opposition look to it with greedy eyes since they have realized that Russia is being parceled up and is fast becoming a Mexico of Europe. Russia with her unlimited resources has become the fleshpot for International Capitalism. And the tragic part is that the Russian Socialist Republic is putting International Capitalism on its feet and giving it a new lease on life. Without Russia International Capitalism would indeed have gone smash and the peoples of the world would have been driven to International solidarity. Not so since the introduction of the New Economic policy. That infused new blood and new life into the withering body

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[Apr. 20, 1925]

of Capitalism. A sorry finale for a great beginning.

The tragedy of tragedies, however is, that men like you^x and many other earnest revolutionists will not see the tragedy that is being enacted in Russia and in which the Russian people are being slain.

I understand the position of Labour outside of Russia. I understand that the I, L, P for instance, can not take a stand against Russia. But it is not for the reasons that you give namely that "Russia is being attacked" etc. It is because the Labour Party like all political parties strive for power, make desperate efforts to get into the Government and in this respect they are very much akin to the Bolsheviks. And it is certain to me that if they will ever be in the position of the Russian rulers they will set up a dictatorship as surely as Russia has. For this reason and for no other must they now keep silent on the political persecution going on in R. Or if they protest it must be done in a faint hearted "delicate" manner. Above all, it must not be in cooperation with one who is an out and out Anarchist and who is attacking the Dictatorship in its fundamental tendencies and not in its abuses merely. Political parties are as they have always been, clamoring for power by every means fair or foul, mostly foul though. Whatever objection they have expressed to Bolshevism was due more to a pose than to sincerity. But now that "Russia has become a stable Government" Socialists in the persons of the British Trade Union Delegation plead with their own Government for investments in Russia. Why not? Russia is now respectable. And if political terror continues, what of that. Trade is more important than justice, and liberty. Did not some members of the I, L, P tell me that my trouble is that I am still like the old Christians who believed in truth and justice, who insisted on speaking out, when what was needed in modern times was trade with Russia.

Certainly "radicals should be cautious in attacking that which is attacked by their bitterest enemies" But that can only apply if what you call that has retained its character and quality, if it has remained true to its revolutionary inception. If that has become exactly like the enemies and if it continues to use the same vile, cruel methods the thing we are not to attack must be exposed to the last degree. The trouble is that you and your friends, or in America and the same people in England hate to face the fact that what we are attacking is not the Revolution, is not the Russian people, but the regime which has been set up on the bleeding body of the Russian Revolution. Your people refuse to see the myth that the Bolsheviks are no longer expressive of the Revolution, if they ever were at all. Here is the deep gap between us Roger dear, and no amount of arguing can bridge it. Besides, your contention that "radicals should on the whole be cautious of attacking what is being attacked by their bitterest enemies" somewhat reminds me of the argument used by hundred percenters about ~~Germany~~ the evils of war. You and I and thousands of other were thrown into prison because we dared to show up these evils when the good patriots insisted that we must keep quiet when the country is at war. Believe me it is the same principle which now makes many good radicals resent our stand on Russia. We must keep silent because our enemies attack R. Well, supposing our enemies criticism rests on facts? Are we to keep silent? Is it not imperative that we are big enough to admit our error if error there be, even if pointed out by our enemies? The most important aspect of the whole situation is the angle from which the criticism is directed. And our angle is the Russian Revolution. While the attacks of the enemies of Labour is not directed so much against Bolshevism as it is the Revolution as such.

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[Apr 22, 1925]

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Henry Alsberg must have read Kropotkin's letter written for the British Mission in 1920. I know of no other. Naturally Kropotkin would urge caution then. In the first place the Dictatorship made some pretense then in Communist experiment. Secondly Russia was then engaged on an half dozen fronts. For this reason Kropotkin urged caution. But do you believe that Kropotkin would urge caution now? Indeed, he would have been the first to cry out against the New Economic Policy and all the evils reintroduced into Russia. Much more outspoken would he have been against the continued terror. Kropotkin was irrevocably opposed to the Dictatorship even in 1920, he saw its devastating and ruinous effect upon R. He protested against it over and over again. Still, he hoped against hope that when the fronts will be liquidated that ~~all~~ *there* might be a let up of the terror, the use of hostages, the terrible crushing of thought and speech. I can well imagine how he would have thundered now against all that is happening since 1921.

"The Bolshevik Government is finding that centralization of power in the hands of a bureaucracy does not build up industry" Since when does the Bolshevik Government find this? And where did you get that idea? Really, old man, you are repeating the unfounded stuff Communists use for American and European propaganda. There is no such a thing in Russia. Zinoviev still speaks for the Dictatorship and his recent speech before the Party points out that the "Party is above the State and must rule the State and all else." He adds, "as long as the Communist Party exists and as long as Leninism exists the Party must rule the State" That is somewhat different than what you ascribe to the Bolshevik Government. But you are right when you say that "the I, E, W boys found that an autonomous colony could not ~~exist~~ live in the midst of a State in which industrial relationship had to be fixed through some central authority" Precisely. But that gives your case away dear Roger, and it strengthens our contention that the centralized bureaucracy made all endeavour impossible in Russia and to this day it is itself inefficient and incompetent to build up Russia. That is the crux of the whole situation.

I shall be very glad if the Kusbas venture is really succeeding, but until I would see it I should certainly have my doubts about it. I do not mean to imply that you are not absolutely dependable, or even your friends. I am too fast to credit people who disagree with me with lack of veracity. But I know the deadly censorship of the Dictatorship and I know that nothing of an official nature can come out which contains facts. Therefore I am rather dubious about the success of Kusbas. No, you and your friends certainly did not use Kusbas for Communist propaganda, but the Communists did in America and in Russia, as they use everything for propaganda. In that they excel us all, they are marvelous propaganda dists. They use the Red Relief, the United Front, the Relief for Russian scientists, the Famine, in short everything for their propaganda. That is how they manage to get under the skin of people. Jesuites all over again/ every one of the Communists. Yes, I dare say the article in the Nation on Kusbas were accurate and ~~was~~ disinterested, like Fischer's articles, like everything that has appeared in the Nation about Russia. Why, Roger dear, the Nation was as false in behalf of Russia as the N. Y Times was and usually is false against Russia. Both have played a shameful part in misrepresenting the actual situation and in misleading the A. people. And I can prove that by merely taking the Soviet press and show by its own account of things in Russia how the Nation has covered up facts. I wish I had the time and means to do it, it would make a fine picture.

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[Apr. 20, 1925]

5.

We have a recent example of how Moscow can mesmerize people and how it can make them gloss over the most glaring facts in the report of the British Trade Union Delegation. They were there five weeks and brought out enough material for an encyclopedia. Yet not one word in the Report is actually true. At least if we are to believe Lunacharsky, Semashko, Rykov, or other leading Communists who in their articles in the Pravda and Izvestia completely refute most of the Trade Union report. I have compiled a pamphlet out of the Soviet sources. It is now being published by my Committee. I will send you a copy. Compare the quotations from the various papers with the Report on the same subject and you will see why I have no faith in anything that appeared in the Nation. I know how things are prepared for the European and American palate. But enough of this.

I started to write this letter in Norwich and I am finishing it in Leeds. My stay in Norwich was very pleasant. The meeting splendid and our comrades one of the finest set I have met since I am in England. In Leeds the meeting was small and spiritless, perhaps due to the fact that there was an ad in "The Citizen" a Labour paper several days before I arrived that E. G. is the agent of British Imperialism and a traitor to the workers. So now you know who your friend is. I had the same accusations while in South Wales, that I am paid by the Mensheviks, that I am working for the Rotherham press. In short I am considered as valuable everywhere that I am being highly paid. Oh, yes, I forgot the ad I referred to also stated that the Capitalist press in A. is calling E. G. back to teach anti Communism in the A. schools. Did you see anything about that in the A. press? It did appear in the A. Communist paper and was written by Engdahl. The miserable creature who inserted the ad is merely using Engdahl's stuff to make it appear that I am wanted back to teach anti Communism. Poor visionless, brainless people who will write such stuff. But of course, there are fools who will be influenced by such slander, hence the poor meeting but that is all in a day's work.

Two weeks ago I was in South Wales. I must say I like the Welsh people better than the English I have met. They are more genuine, more responsive and have a fine spirit of hospitality. The condition of the miners especially in the Rhondda Valley is appalling, seven thousand out of work and those who work make barely enough to subsist on. The whole Valley is a dreadful dump with miles and miles of drab barracks where the miners live. It is a heart breaking picture. The Ammanfort Valley produces anthracite coal which seems to be better paid. Then too, the hills do not close in so crushingly, there are fine meadows and some expanse of country. And the miners have their own patch of land, at least most of them have. Much could be done in South Wales, no doubt everywhere in England, but it would require years and some income to awaken a movement away from the political parties. I have not so many years at my disposal and though I am "being paid" by every so many people, I have not the income to be relieved of material worry. And of course, I could not possibly accept a penny for lecture work, the poverty is all together too great to charge fees. Well, the lecture season indoors is over and as I am not an outdoor speaker and have no faith in its effect, I will not lecture during the Summer. And I can make no plans for the autumn, my position is altogether too uncertain to make plans too long in advance. The Communists are trying hard enough to make the Foreign Office take steps in my case. They keep on pointing out that others have been deported while E. G. is allowed to remain. Some of these days the Foreign Office may take the Communist suggestion and send me hither. But I am not worried about that.

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There is however one thing I want to do and for which I would like you help. It is this; The Bolsheviks boast particularly of their achievements for the child and education. I want to compile a book entirely from Bolshevik sources to show up the truly terrible conditions of children in Russia to day, the huge number of destitute children. I am sure such a work would meet with an universal appeal and would be a greater indictment against the Dictatorship than even the material compiled by Don Levine and Berkman. The important thing is to get out multigraphed copies of part of the material and send them out to leading women all over the world for their endorsement and material support to get out a popular edition. Unfortunately, the initial expenses will be high, probably as much as Berkman had to use for his work and that of his colleagues. For it will be necessary to do a lot of translations from various Soviet papers. Still I am very anxious to do the work because I think it is the best proof against the Moscow regime and will speak for itself. I have written some friends of mine in America to raise some money. Could you do anything in the matter? I do not mean personally? I mean do you know a few people sufficiently interested in such an undertaking to contribute? I do not want the project made public until it is carried out. But it will be alright for you to speak to a few people who are interested in the tragic faith of masses of children now forsaken by all and who would like to know the facts. If I can get part of the expenses raised in A, say six seven hundred dollars I could get some of the Russian revolutionists in London to raise some, between the two \$1200 ought to be gotten together. Let me know by return mail if the venture appeals to you and if you will help. But I must know that as soon as possible. I can not start though I already have enough material from the Pravda and Isvestia to begin, but I must know if I can count on some material support to enable me to pay for translations as it is entirely too much for one person to do. Please dear Roger do not delay as you always do in writing me, write me by return mail.

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Why should you have been surprised at the work B. has done. Did you not know that he was always very thorough and dependable. I hope the material will soon appear in book form.

I must close, my ribbon has gone to bits and I can get no other. I am always glad to hear from you dear Roger. Never mind if we do not agree. Real friendship consists in being able to disagree with our friends and to have faith in their sincerity and integrity.

Affectionately.

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[Letter] 1925 April 20, London [to] Roger Baldwin, [New York] / E[mma] G[oldman]. — 8 p. ; 22 x 17 cm.

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3 Titchfield Terrace,
St John's Wood Road,
London, N. W.8, Norwich
20th April 1925.

Dear Roger Baldwin:

It was good to hear from you again after such a prolonged silence. I, myself, am no longer so punctual in my correspondence, so I must be generous when some of my friends are tardy. I know that you are my friend, whatever our differences of opinions may be. And this is some comfort!

First, about your speech, which I read with interest and then sent to Berkman. He has not yet returned it so I cannot now take up some of the points you made and which certainly need some reply. On the whole, your speech impressed me as being exceedingly mild. Naturally so, since you are always so ready to credit your opponents with far more glory than they deserve. The amusing part is that courage so mild a speech caused the Communists. But then, they are only too ready to crush everybody who in the least, disagrees with them. I must say that I am 'vindictive' enough to rejoice over the actions of the Communists which broke up the meeting. This should prove to you and your liberal friends that the Communists could do if they had the power. Indeed, you well know that you and others of the same persuasion would be the first to advise, rather, to be shot, since that is their favourite method of punishment. I assure you that people have been shot in Russia for much less than you have said.

You are terribly naive, Roger dear, if you think that any authentic material you might present will make the Russian Government recognize that the case is unanswerable. If you had a thousand facts vouched for by people of sterling character, the Russian Government would still deny those facts and denounce those people as 'traitors, counter-revolutionists, and as having been bought by the enemies of the people'. This is the only argument the Russian Government and its satellites are using.

Yes, I have seen Ward's article and it is exactly what I expected would be — a weak, pale attempt to exonerate the Russian Government. Tell you, dear Roger, people who go to Russia for several weeks as official guests, or otherwise under the protection of the Government, have not, and will not see the actual conditions in Russia. What an idea to expect that Peckova could be so naive as to go to Russia. If she told Ward anything, she told him first, under the circumstances, she chose to tell. By this, I do not mean to imply that Peckova was concerned so much in her own safety as in the work she was doing for the prisoners. To be able to keep up that work she had to tell over many facts known to every child in Russia. Anyway, Ward's article is colourless and wanting in every respect. Let me state that it was the most dependable so far received in America. Still, I think his more dependable than the material collected by Berkman's workers, you are welcome to think so. I do not think that the fact, I insist that reports like Ward's do more harm than good, they contain so many half truths.

My dear man, how can we even be agreed in 'opposing terrorism'? We do agree as to the cause of terrorism? I insist that the cause used by the Bolsheviks has not been imposed upon the

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[enclosure]

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First, about your speech, which I read with interest and then sent to Berkman. He has not yet returned it so I cannot now take up some of the points you made and which certainly need some reply. On the whole, your speech impressed me as being exceedingly mild. Naturally so, since you are always so ready to credit your opponents with far more glory than they deserve. The amusing part is that enrage so mild a speech caused the Communists. But then, they are only too ready to crush everybody who in the least, disagrees with them. I must say that I am 'vindictive' enough to rejoice over the actions of the Communists which broke up the meeting. This should prove to you and your liberal friends what the Communists would do if they had the power. Indeed, you well know that you and others of the same persuasion would be the first to swing, or rather, to be shot, since that is their favourite method of punishment. I assure you that people have been shot in Russia for much less than you have said.

You are terribly naive, Roger dear, if you think that any authentic material you might present will make the Russian Government recognize that the case is answerable'. If you had a thousand facts vouched for by people of sterling character, the Russian Government would still deny those facts and denounce those people as 'traitors, counter-revolutionists, and as having been bought by the enemies of the people'. That is the only argument the Russian Government and its satellites abroad are using.

Yes, I have seen Ward's article and it is exactly what I expected it would be - a weak, pale attempt to exonerate the Russian Government. I tell you, dear Roger, people who go to Russia for several weeks, either as official guests, or otherwise under the protection of the government have not, and will not see the actual conditions. Ward quotes Peshkova. What an idea to expect that Peshkova can speak out while remaining in Russia. If she told Ward anything, she told him what, under the circumstances, she chose to tell. By this, I do not mean to imply that Peshkova was concerned so much in her own safety as in the work she is doing for the prisoners. To be able to keep up that work she had to gloss over many facts known to every child in Russia. Anyway, Ward's account is colourless and wanting in every respect. Yet you wrote me that his was the most dependable so far received in America. Well, if you think his more dependable than the material collected by Berkman and his co-workers, you are welcome to think so. I do not think that it is. In fact, I insist that reports like Ward's do more harm than good, because they contain so many half truths.

My dear man, how can we even be agreed in 'opposing terrorism' when we do agree as to the cause of terrorism? I insist that the terror used by the Bolsheviks has not been imposed upon them by outside cir-

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RB/2

circumstances, but is inherent in the Dictatorship. It is that which compelled Lenin and the rest to eliminate every one who could not or would not bow to the Dictatorship. I do not deny that counter-revolution within, and intervention from without may not, in a measure, have been a contributory factor. But they also helped to strengthen the arm of the Dictatorship because they furnished it with ever so many excuses for the terror they employed. But over and above that, is the idea of the Dictatorship — the obsession that the transition period must be directed by an iron hand which, at the exclusion of all other methods, will impose itself upon the whole country. There is no difference whatever between the old belief in the Divine Right of the King, whom God hath put upon the throne and the Divine Right of the Bolsheviks, whom Marx hath put upon the throne — and whom the Tcheka continue to keep there. In other words, once you admit that the Dictatorship, even if it really were of the workers and peasants, is inevitable, you must also admit of the use of political terror and oppression. The Dictatorship without tyranny is unthinkable. You seem to think that "Russia is a Dictatorship in the interests of the workers and peasants" and therefore, your opposition to terror is much more innocent than that of the Communists since you cannot exercise the one without the other.

Dear Roger, I always knew of your naiveté, but I did not believe it would extend to the point of making you rehearse the fable that 'Russia continues to be a Dictatorship in the interests of the workers and peasants'. I can imagine people outside of Russia clinging to that fond idea prior to 1921. Before that it was impossible to get at the actual facts, but now that the New Economic Policy has reintroduced Capitalism, exploitation and the sanctity of private property, to say such a thing is really quite childish. The fact is that the Dictatorship is like all other governments, operating in the interests of a privileged class which happens in Russia to be the Communists and others who are working for the Communist Party for sheer material reasons and not at all because of conviction. The ultimate aim of that privileged class is State Capitalism with all the resultant evils that Capitalism contains. The difference between the privileged class in Russia and that of any other country is mere pretence, a superstition foisted upon the world in the name of the Dictatorship. Even as the Catholic Church uses the word 'heretic' to exterminate all who dare to have an independent opinion. To the Soviet it is for 'the ultimate good of the workers and peasants'. No too was it for ultimate good of man's souls that the heretics and dissenters were sent to the fire and torture chambers. The means and pretences are identical. Proof of this point is the continued imprisonment of large numbers of workers and peasants in Russian prisons. Proof of this is the inhuman conditions prevailing among the peasants as depicted in the Soviet press. Such, of course, is not intended for European propaganda.

Another error of yours is the idea that Russia continues to be attacked by all the Capitalist Governments. The fact is that while these governments pretend opposition they are in reality looking with eyes of envy at Russia in its process of being parcelled up and becoming the Mexico of Europe. Her unlimited resources in making Russia the flesh pot of International Capitalism. The most tragic part is that the Russian Socialist Republic is putting International Capitalism to work for her, giving it a new lease of life.

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RB/3

Without Russia, International Capitalism would indeed have gone to smash and the people would have been forced into International solidarity. Not so however, since the introduction of the N.E.P. That infused new blood and new life into the withering body of Capitalism -- a sad finish for a great beginning.

The tragedy of tragedies however, is that men like you and many other earnest revolutionists will not see the tragedy that is being enacted in Russia and in which the Russian people are being slain.

I understand the position of Labour outside of Russia. I understand that the I.L.P. for instance, cannot take a stand against Russia. But it is not for the reasons that you give, namely; 'that Russia is being attacked...' It is because the Labour Party, like all political parties striving for power must make desperate efforts to get into the government and in this respect they are very much akin to the Bolsheviks. And it is clear to me that if they will ever be in the position of the Russian rulers they will set up a dictatorship as surely as Russia has. For this reason, and for no other, must they now keep silent on the political persecution going on in Russia. Or, if they protest, it must be done in a faint hearted 'delicate' manner. Above all, it must not be in cooperation with one who an out and out Anarchist and who is attacking the Dictatorship in its fundamental tendencies and not merely in its abuses. Political Parties are, as they always have been, clamouring for power by every means, fair or foul -- mostly foul. Whatever objection they have expressed toward Bolshevism was due, more to a pose than to sincerity. But now that Russia has become a stable Government Socialists, in the persons of the British Trade Union Delegation plead with their own Government for investments in Russia. Why not? Russia is now respectable. And if political terror continues, what of that! Trade is more important than justice or liberty. Did not some members of the I.L.P. tell me that my trouble is that I am still like the old Christ? I am the believer in truth and justice, who insisted in speaking out when that is needed in modern times is Trade with Russia.

Certainly radicals should be cautious in attacking that which is attacked by their bitterest enemies'. But this can only apply if that which you call 'that' has retained its character and quality, if it has remained true to its revolutionary inception. If 'that' has become exactly like the enemies' and if it continues to use the same vile, cruel methods, the 'thing' we are not to attack must be exposed to the last degree. The trouble is that you and your friends in America and the same people in England hate to face the fact that what we are attacking is not the Revolution, is not the Russian people, but the regime which has been set up on the bleeding body of the Russian Revolution. You people refuse to see the myth that the Bolsheviks are no longer expressive of the Revolution, if indeed, they ever were at all. Here is the deep gap between us, Roger dear? and no amount of arguing can bridge it. Besides, you contention that 'radicals should, on the whole, be cautious of attacking what is being attacked by their bitterest enemies' some who reminds me of the argument used by hundred percenters about the evils of war. You and I and thousands of others were thrown into prison because we dared to show up those evils when the good patriots insisted that we must keep quiet when a country is at war. Believe me, the same principle which now makes many good radicals resent our attack on Russia. We must keep silent because our enemies are attacking us.

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FD/4

supposing our enemies criticism rests on facts? Are we to keep silent? Is it not imperative that we should be big enough to admit an error if error there be, even if pointed out by our enemies? The most important aspect of the whole situation is the angle from which the criticism is directed. And our angle is the Russian Revolution, while the attacks of the enemies of Labour are not directed so much against Bolshevism as against Revolution, as such.

Henry Alsberg must have read of Kropotkin's letter written for the British Mission in 1920. I know of no other. Naturally, Kropotkin would urge caution then. In the first place, the Dictatorship made some pretence then, in the Communist experiment. Secondly, Russia was then engaged on half a dozen fronts. For this reason Kropotkin urged caution. But do you believe that Kropotkin would urge caution now? Indeed, he would be the first to cry out against the W.K.P. and all the evils re-introduced in Russia. Much more outspoken would he have been against the continued terror. Kropotkin was irrevocably opposed to the Dictatorship even in 1920. He saw its devastating and ruinous effect upon Russia. He protested against it over and over again. Still, he hoped against hope that when the fronts will be liquidated that there might be a letup of the terror, the usage of hostages, the terrible crushing of thought and speech. I can well imagine how he would have thundered now against all that has happened since 1921.

"The Bolshevik Government is finding that centralization of power in the hands of a bureaucracy does not build up industry". Since when does the Bolshevik Government find this and where did you get that idea? Really, old man, you are repeating the unfounded stuff the Communists use for American and European propaganda. There is no such thing in Russia. Zinoviev still speaks for the Dictatorship in his recent speech before the Party pointing out that the Party must rule the State and must rule the State and all else. He adds, 'as long as the Communist Party exists and as long as Leninism exists, the Party must rule the State.' That is somewhat different from what you ascribe to the Bolshevik Government. But you are right when you say that 'the I.W.O. has found that an autonomous colony could not exist in the midst of a state in which industrial relations had to be controlled by some central authority'. Precisely. But that gives your propaganda no ground at all. It is not possible to build a state and to this day the I.W.O. has not found any ground to build upon Russia. That is the nature of the situation.

I will be surprised if the Yurban version is really as bad as it is. But I really see it I will certainly have read it. I am not going to imply that you are not absolutely honest with your friends. I am the least the credit people for doing so. But I know the deadly capacity. But I know the deadly capacity of the I.W.O. and I know that nothing of an official nature can be said of it which contains facts. Therefore, I am rather delicate about the version of Kibbas. If you and your friends certainly do not know the Communist propaganda, but the Communists did, both in the I.W.O. and in

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I began this letter in Norwich and I am finishing it in London. My stay in Norwich was very pleasant; the meetings splendid and the people who helped our comrades one of the finest set I have met. I have not been in London, in fact, the meeting was small and a little disappointing. This was, however, due, more than to the fact that there were no "The Citizens," which I had hoped would appear several days before the start of the trial. In fact, I had written them asking them to come to the hearing. So they will probably arrive in South Wales except they had it that I was going to the trial and work for the Red Star newspaper. In short, I found that the meeting was tremendously valuable that our comrades are in great demand and that we are highly paid. Oh, yes, I forgot to add "The Citizens" article and that the Capitalist Press in America is calling R.D. a traitor and anti-Communist in the American schools. Have you ever noticed that in the Soviet papers? It did appear in "The Worker" and Communist Party printed in Chicago and the article was signed J. H. Randall. The miserable creature who inserted the article in the paper was merely using Randall's stuff to make his own case. He wanted back in the U.S. as a propaganda machine. The article was viciousness, brainless lies and a lot of other things. I believe you believe and please let me know if you want to see the original in all its glory.

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RM/6

Two weeks ago I was in South Wales. I must say that I like the Welsh people better than the English I have met. They are more genuine, more responsive and have a finer spirit of hospitality. The condition of the miners, especially Rhonda Valley is appalling. Seven thousand were out of work when I was there and those who do work are paid barely enough to live on. The whole valley is a dreadful dump with miles and miles of drab barracks where the miners live. It is a heart-breaking picture. The Amsonfort Valley district produces anthracite coal and the miners there seem to be better paid. Then, too, the hills do not close in so crushingly. There are fine meadows and some expanse of country so the miners have some chance to have a little patch of land. Much could be done in South Wales, no doubt much could be done everywhere in England, but it would require years of labour and some considerable funds to awaken a movement away from the political parties. I have not so many years at my disposal even though I am being 'highly paid' by over so many wealthy people. Truth to tell, I have not enough income to even leave my mind free from material worry. Of course, I could not accept a penny for lecture work. The poverty is altogether too great to charge a fee. Well, now the lecture season is over, at least indoors, and as I am not an outdoor speaker and have no faith in the effect of outdoor speaking I will probably not lecture at all during the summer. And I can make no plans for the Autumn. My position is altogether too uncertain to make plans too long in advance. The Communists are trying hard enough to make the Foreign Office takes some definite steps in my case. They keep on pointing out that others have been deported while E.G. is permitted to remain. Some of these days the Foreign Office may take the Communists suggestion and send me hither. But I am not worried about that. I. Last eight years have taught me to build my world on nothing, and to be ready for every emergency.

However, there is one thing I do want to do, and for which I would like your help. It is this: the Bolsheviks want of their achievements for the child and education. I want to compile a book entirely from Bolshevik sources to show up the truly terrible condition of children in Russia to-day. I am sure such a work would meet with a universal appeal and would be a greater indictment against the Dictatorship than even the material compiled by Don Levine and Bertram. The important thing, just now, is to get out multilingual copies of part of the material and send them out to leading women all over the world for their endorsement and material support to get out a popular edition. Unfortunately, the initial expenses will be high, probably as much as Bertram had to pay for his work and that of his colleagues. It will be necessary to do a lot of translations from various Soviet papers. Still I am very anxious to do the work because I think it is the best proof against the Moscow regime and will speak for itself. I have written some friends in America to raise some money. Could you do anything in the matter? I do not mean personally, I mean, do you think you could reach some people sufficiently interested in such an undertaking to contribute toward making it possible? I do not want the project made public until it is carried out. But it would be perfectly alright to speak to a few people who are interested in the tragic fate of the thousands of children now forsaken by all people who would like to know the facts. If I get a part of the initial expenses raised in America, say a hundred dollars I could get some of the Russian refugees to do

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XB/7

to raise some too. Between the two sources about \$1200 ought to be gotten together. Let me know by return post if the venture appeals to you and if I can count on you for help. But I must know this as soon as possible. I cannot start before I am assured that I will have enough material support to pay for the translations. It is entirely too much for any one person to do and I already have plenty of material from the Pravda and Ivestia with which to begin.. Please, dear Roger, do not delay, as you usually do in writing me. Do it this time by return mail, won't you?

I may say that I am living in the house of an old comrade and revolutionist, Doris Wess Shock, who is a fine translator. Until two weeks ago she worked as such in the Soviet Trade Union Mission. Evidently, the Russian Tolchka in London discovered that I lived in the same house with her and that the work of the British Committee is also done there. Anyway, Doris was dismissed from her post without reason of any sort. I naturally feel quite badly and keenly sense the guilt of having been the cause of her dismissal and I would like to enable her to work with me on the proposed book about the condition of the children in Russia. I could start her at once, but I must wait until I hear from you and other friends to whom I have written.

Why could you be surprised at the work Berkman has done? Did you not know that he is always very thorough and dependable? I hope the material will soon appear in Book form.

I must close, my ribbon has gone to bits and I can get no other. I am always glad to hear from you, dear Roger. Never mind our little disagreements. Real friendship requires that we be able to disagree with our friends and still have faith in their sincerity and integrity.

Affectionately

E.G.

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8708201 16

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6977

It had just to hear from you again after such a prolonged silence. I myself, am no longer so punctual in my correspondence, so I understand that some of my friends are tardy. I know that you are a friend, that over our differences of opinions may be. And this is a comfort.

[illegible][illegible]

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RB 12

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Dear Roger I always knew of your naiveté, but I did not believe it would extend to the point of making you rehearse the fable that Russia continues to be a Dictatorship in the interests of the workers and peasants! I can imagine people outside of Russia clinging to that fond idea prior to 1921. Before that it was impossible to get at the actual facts, but now that the New Economic Policy has reintroduced Capitalism, exploitation and the sanctity of private property, to say such a thing is really quite childish. The fact is that the Dictatorship is like all other governments, operating in the interests of a privileged class which happens in Russia to be the Communists and others who are working for the Communist Party for sheer material reasons and not at all because of conviction. The ultimate aim of that privileged class is State Capitalism with all the resultant evils that Capitalism contains. The difference between the privileged class in Russia and that of any other country is mere pretence, a superstitution foisted upon the world in the name of the Dictatorship even as the Christian Church uses the word and deed to exterminate all who dare to have an independent opinion. So far as it is for 'the ultimate good of the nations' or generally so far as it is for ultimate good of mankind's hands' and the doctrine of the Church is sent to the same end, torturing children. The purpose of the Dictatorship is identical. And what is point of the word 'dictatorship' if it means anything? It means a rule by one man or a few men over many men without regard to their rights or wishes. The Russian revolutionaries, realizing that they were going to do what the British had done, called off the dogs.

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RB/3

6979

Without Russia, International Capitalism would indeed have gone to smash and the people would have been forced into International solidarity. Not so however, since the introduction of the N.E.P. That infused new blood and new life into the withering body of Capitalism .. a sad finish for a great beginning.

The tragedy of tragedies however, is that men like you and many other earnest revolutionists will not see the tragedy that is being enacted in Russia and in which the Russian people are being slain.

I understand the position of labour outside of Russia. I understand that the I.L.P. for instance, cannot take a stand against Russia. But it is not for the reasons that you give, namely; 'that Russia is being attacked...' It is because the Labour Party, like all political parties striving for power must make desperate efforts to get into the government and in this respect they are very much akin to the Bolsheviks. And it is clear to me that if they will ever be in the position of the Russian rulers they will set up a dictatorship as surely as Russia has. For this reason, and for no other, must they now keep silent on the political persecution going on in Russia. Or, if they protest, it must be done in a faint hearted 'delicate' manner. Above all, it must not be in cooperation with one who an out and out Anarchist and who is attacking the Dictatorship in its fundamental tendencies and not merely in its abuses. Political Parties are, as they always have been, clamouring for power by every means, fair or foul - mostly foul. Whatever objection they have expressed toward Bolshevism was due, more to a pose than to sincerity. But now that Russia has become a stable Government Socialists, in the persons of the British Trade Union Delegation plead with their own Government for investments in Russia. Why not? Russia is now respectable. And if political terror continues, what of that? Trade is more important than justice or liberty. Did not some members of the I.L.P. tell me that my trouble is that I am still like the old Christ? I am who believed in truth and justice, who insisted in speaking out when what is needed in modern times is Trade with Russia.

Certainly radicals should be cautious in attacking that which is attacked by their bitterest enemies - but this can only apply if that which you call 'that' has retained its character and quality, if it has remained true to its revolutionary inception. If 'that' has become exactly like the enemies - and if it continues to use the same vile, cruel methods - the friends who do not wish to attack must be exposed to the last degree. My trouble is that you and your friends in America and the same people in England hope to shut the door that what we are attacking is not the Revolution - so near the Russian people - but the regime which has been set up on the bloody body of the Russian Revolution. The people refuse to see the myth that the Bolsheviks are no longer representatives of the Revolution - if indeed, they ever were at all. Here as the day goes, 'others no longer deaf' and no amount of arguing can bridge it. Besides, I am convinced that radicals should on the whole be cautious of attacking that which is being attacked by their bitterest enemies - some of the arguments of the argument used by hundred percenters about the evils of war. You and I and thousands of others were thrown into prison and we had to show up those evils - the good patriots in the United States and other countries in the world. But even now, when the world is so much more enlightened, our good radicals must keep silent because our enemies are still so strong.

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It is interesting that we read of Kropotkin's letter written for the French Revolution in 1871. I know of no other. Naturally, Kropotkin would urge caution then. In the first place, the Dictatorship made some sense. It was in the Communist experiment, secondly, Russia was then engaged in a civil war. For this reason Kropotkin urged caution. But, you believe that Kropotkin would urge caution now? Indeed, he would be the first to oppose against the NEP, and all the evils resulting therefrom. If Kropotkin were alive, he would have been a most considered voice. His advice is invariably opposed to the Dictator. He would have been a voice for reason, and humane effort upon Russia. He would have been a voice for peace over again. Still, he urged against the Dictator. He would have been that there might be a chance for peace. He would have urged the terrible crushing of the Dictator. He would have urged that he would have threatened now.

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My dear Mr. Baldwin,
I am glad to hear from you and that you are still
active in the fight for the rights of the oppressed.
I am sure that your efforts will be successful.
I am sure that you will be able to get
the Committee to do what is right.
I am sure that you will be able to get
the Committee to do what is right.
I am sure that you will be able to get
the Committee to do what is right.
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No words ago I was in South Wales. I said over that I like the Welsh people better than the English I have met. They are more genuine, more responsive and have a finer spirit of hospitality. The condition of the miners, especially Rhonda Valley is appalling. Seven thousand were out of work when I was there and those who do work are paid barely enough to live on. The whole valley is a dreadful dump with miles and miles of drab barracks where the miners live. It is a heart-breaking picture. The Armonfort Valley district produces anthracite coal and the miners there seem to be better paid. Then, too, the hills do not close in so crushingly. There are fine meadows and some expanse of country so the miners have some chance to have a little patch of land. Much could be done in South Wales, no doubt much could be done everywhere in England, but it would require years of labour and some considerable funds to awaken a movement away from the political parties. I haven't so many years at my disposal even though I am being highly paid by over so many wealthy people. That is all I haven't enough income to even leave myself free from material worry. Of course, I couldn't accept money for lecture work. The poverty is altogether too great to charge a fee. Well, as the lecture season is over, at least indoors, and as I am not an outdoor speaker and have no faith in the effect of outdoor speaking, I will probably not lecture at all during the summer but I am willing to leave for the United States position in about three to four months to make plans for the long in advance. The Government are trying hard enough to make the Foreign Office take some action to stop in my way. They keep on printing out that there have been reports while H.G. is recruiting a mission. Some of these days the Foreign Office may call the German suggestion and send an officer but I am not worried about this. In last eight years have thought up to build my world of nothing and to be ready for every emergency.

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6983

to which come too. Between the two sources about \$1200 ought to be
sufficient to either. Let me know by return post if the venture appeals to
you and if I can count on you for help. But I must know this as soon as
possible. I cannot start before I am assured that I will have enough
material support to pay for the translations. It is entirely too much
for any one person to do and I already have plenty of material from
the Pravda and Isvestia with which to begin. Please, dear Roger, do
not delay, as you usually do in writing me. Do it this time by return
mail, won't you?

I am very glad that I am living in the house of an old comrade and revolu-
tionist, Boris Weis Zuck, who is a fine translator. Until two weeks
ago he worked as such in the Soviet Trade Union Mission. Recently,
Mrs. John T. T. in London discovered that I lived in the same house
and that the work of the British Committee in Moscow was there.
I am, however, a good deal further east without reason of any sort.
I am really glad and badly and heavily excuse the guilt of having been
so long in the hospital and I would like to enable her to work with
me in the hospital. I am about the condition of the children in Russia.
I am about her. I am, but I am not sure if I have enough and
other friends to whom I have written.

What will you be surprised at the fact. But what has it? Did you
and the other things were thorough and dependable? I hope the
and will soon appear in the future.

I must close, my ribbon has gone to bits and I can go no other. I
am glad to hear from you, dear Roger. Never mind our little
disagreements. And this is the only one that we are able to disagree
and still have still like faith in their sincerity and integrity.

Affectionately

EMG

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The Emma Goldman Papers

870820119

[Letter] 1925 April 20, London [to] Roger Baldwin, [New York] / E[mma] G[oldman]. — 6 p. ; 30 x 20 cm.

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Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

3 Titchfield Terrace,
- St John's Wood Road,
London, N, W.8. Norwich, April 20th,
1925.

Dear Roger Baldwin. It was good to hear from you again after such prolonged silence. I myself am no longer so punctual in my correspondence so I must not be dissatisfied when some of my friends are tardy. I know that you are my friend whatever our differences of opinions may be. And that is some comfort.

First about your speech which I read with interest and then sent on to Berkman. He has not yet returned it so I can not take up some of the points you made and which certainly need some reply. On the whole your speech impressed me as exceedingly mild. Naturally so, since you are always ready to credit your opponents with far more than they deserve. The amusing part is that even so mild a speech as yours should have enraged the Communists. But then, they are only too ready to quarrel with everybody who in the least disagrees with them. I must say I am "vindictive" enough to rejoice over the action of the Communists which broke up the meeting. This will prove to you and your Liberal friends what the Communists would do if they had power. Indeed, you and the rest would be the first to swing, or rather to be shot since that is their favorite method of punishment. I assure you that people were shot in R, for less than you have said which is going some.

You are terribly naïve Roger dear if you think that any authentic material you might present will make the Russian Government recognize that the case is unwarrantable. If you had a thousand facts sworn to by people of sterling character, the Russian Government would still deny these facts and denounce these people as "traitors, counter-revolutionists and as having been bought by the enemies of the people. That is the only argument the Russian Government and its satellites abroad have been using.

Yes, I have seen Ward's artifice and it is exactly what I have expected, a weak, pale attempt to exonerate the Russian Government. I tell you dear Roger that people who go to Russia for several weeks either as official guests or somewhat under the protection of the Government have ~~and~~ not and will not see the actual conditions. Ward quotes Peshkova. What an idea to expect that Peshkova can speak out while remain in Russia. If she told Ward anything she told him what under the circumstances she chose to tell. By that I do not mean to imply that Peshkova was concerned so much in her own safety, but she is concerned in the work she is doing for the prisoners and to be able to keep up that work Peshkova had to gloss over many of the facts known to every child in Russia. Anyway, Ward's account is colorless and ranting in every respect. Yet you wrote me that his was the most dependable so far received in America. Well, if you think his is more dependable than the material collected by Berkman and his coworkers you are welcome. I do not think that it is. In fact, I insist that reports ~~as~~ like Ward's do more harm than good because they contain so many half truths.

Dear man, how can we even be agreed in "opposing terrorism when we do not agree with the causes of the latter. I insist that the terror used by the Bolshevik Government has not been imposed upon them by ~~the~~ outside circumstances but is inherent in the Dictatorship. It is that which compelled Lenin and the rest to eliminate every

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one who could or would not bow to the Dictatorship. I do not deny that counter-revolution within and intervention from without may not in a measure have been a contributory factor. But they also helped to strengthen the arm of the Dictatorship because they furnished it with ever so many excuses for the terror employed. But over and above that is the idea of the Dictatorship, the obsession that the transition period must be directed by an iron hand which at the exclusion of all other methods will impose itself upon the whole country. There is no difference whatever between the old belief of Divine rights of the King whom God hath put on the throne, and the Divine right of the Bolsheviks whom Marx hath put on the throne, and the Tcheka continued to keep there. In other words, once you admit that the Dictatorship, even if it really were of the workers and peasants, is inevitable, you must also admit of the use of terror and political suppression. The Dictatorship without the latter is unthinkable. You seem to think that "Russia is a dictatorship in the interest of the workers and the peasants" therefore your opposition to terror is much more inconsistent than that of the Communists, since you can not exercise the one without the other.

Dear Roger, I always knew you were naive, but I did not believe that you were so naive that you would go on rehashing the fable that "Russia continues to be a dictatorship in the interest of workers and the peasants" I can imagine people outside of Russia clinging to that found idea until 1921. Before it was possible to get at the actual facts and before the New Economic policy reintroduced Capitalism, exploitation and the acquisition of private property. But to say that "Russia is now a dictatorship in the interest of workers and the peasants" is really childish. The fact is that to day the Dictatorship is like all governments, in the interest of a privileged class, and that class is the Communist Party, with those who are working with the Communist Party for material reasons, and not out of conviction. And the ultimate aim of that privileged class is State Capitalism with all the resultant evils that Capitalism contains. The difference between the privileged class in Russia and that of any other country is mere pretense, a superstition foisted upon the world. In the name of this superstition the Dictatorship even as the Christian Church uses fire and sword to exterminate all who dare have any independent opinion. To be sure "it is for the ultimate good of the workers and peasants" So too, it was for the "ultimate good of man's soul" to be sent to the torture chamber or to be burned as heretics and ~~witches~~ and dissenters. The means are identical and the pretense is identical. Proof for that are the large numbers of workers and peasants in Russian prison. Proof for that is the heart breaking conditions of the peasants as even admitted in the Soviet press which is not intended for European propaganda.

Another error on your part is that "Russia continues to be attacked by all the Capitalist Governments" Fact is the Capitalist Governments while still pretending opposition, look to it with greedy eyes since they have realized that Russia is being parceled up and is fast becoming a Mexico of Europe. Russia with her unlimited resources has become the fleshpot for International Capitalism. And the tragic part is that The Russian Socialist Republic is putting International Capitalism on its feet and giving it a new lease on life. Without Russia International Capitalism would indeed have gone smash and the peoples of the world would have been driven to International solidarity. Not so since the introduction of the New Economic policy. That infused new blood and new life into the withering body

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of Capitalism. A ... finale for a ... beginning.

The tragedy of tragedies, however is, what men like your and many other earnest revolutionists will not see the tragedy that is being ~~inflicted~~ in Russia and in which the Russian people are being slain.

I understand the position of Labour outside of Russia. I understand that the I, L, P for instance, can not take a stand against Russia. But it is not for the reasons that you give namely that "Russia is being attacked" etc. It is because the Labour Party like all political parties strive for power, make desperate efforts to get into the Government, and in this respect they are very much akin to the Bolsheviks. And it is certain to me that if they will ever be in the position of the Russian rulers they will set up a dictatorship as surely as Russia has. For this reason and for no other must they now keep silent on the political persecution going on in R. Or if they protest it must be done in a faint hearted "delicate" manner. Above all it must not be in cooperation with one who is an out and out Anarchist and who is attacking the Dictatorship in its fundamental tendencies and not its abuses merely. ~~Political~~ parties are as they have always been, clamoring for power by every means, fair or foul, mostly foul though. Whatever objection they have expressed to Bolshevism was due more to a pose than to sincerity. But now that "Russia has become a stable Government" Socialists in the persons of the British Trade Union Delegation plead with their own Government for investments in Russia. Why not? Russia is now respectable. And if political terror continues, what of that. Trade is more important than justice, and liberty. Did not some members of the I, L, P tell me that my trouble is that I am still like the old Christians who believed in truth and justice, who insisted on speaking out, when what was needed in modern times was trade with Russia.

Certainly "radicals should be cautious in attacking that which is attacked by their bitterest enemies" But that can only apply if what you call that has retained its character and quality, if it has remained true to its revolutionary inception. If that has become exactly like the enemies, and if it continues to use the same vile, cruel methods, the thing we are not to attack must be exposed to the last degree. The trouble is that you and your friends, in America and the same people in England hate to face the fact that what we are attacking is not the Revolution, is not the Russian people, but the regime which has been set up on the bleeding body of the Russian Revolution. You people refuse to see the myth that the Bolsheviks are no longer expressive of the Revolution, if they ever were at all. There is the deep gap between us Roger dear, and no amount of arguing can bridge it. Besides, your contention that "radicals should on the whole be cautious of attacking what is being attacked by their bitterest enemies" somewhat reminds me of the argument used by hundred percenters about ~~the~~ the evils of war. You and I and thousands of other were thrown into prison because we dared to show up these evils when the good patriots insisted that we must keep quiet when the country is at war. Believe me it is the same principle which now makes many good radicals resent our stand on Russia. We must keep silent because our enemies attack R. Well, supposing our enemies criticism rests on facts? Are we to keep silent? Is it not imperative that we are big enough to admit our error (if error there be) even if pointed out by our enemies? The most important aspect of the whole situation is the angle from which the criticism is directed. And our angle is the Russian Revolution. While the attacks of the enemies of Labour is not directed so much against Bolshevism as it is the Revolution as such.

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Henry Alsberg must have read Kropotkin's letter written for the British Mission in 1920. I know of no other. Naturally Kropotkin would urge caution then. In the first place the Dictatorship made some pretense then in Communist experiment. Secondly Russia was then engaged on an half dozen fronts. For this reason Kropotkin urged caution. But do you believe that Kropotkin would urge caution now? Indeed, he would have been the first to cry out against the New Economic Policy and all the evils reintroduced into Russia. Much more outspoken would he have been against the continued terror. Kropotkin was irrevocably opposed to the Dictatorship even in 1920, he saw its devastating and ruinous effect upon R. He protested against it over and over again. Still, he hoped against hope that when the fronts will be liquidated that might be a let up of the terror, the use of hostages, the terrible crushing of thought and speech. I can well imagine how he would have thundered now against all that is happening since 1921. *there*

"The Bolshevik Government is finding that centralization of power in the hands of a bureaucracy does not build up industry" Since when does the Bolshevik Government find this? And where did you get that idea? Really, old man, you are repeating the unfounded stuff Communists use for American and European propaganda. There is no such a thing in Russia. Zinoviev still speaks for the Dictatorship and his recent speech before the Party points out that the "Party is above the State and must rule the State and all else. He adds," as long as the Communist Party exists and as long as Leninism exists the Party must rule the State" That is somewhat different than what you ascribe to the Bolshevik Government. But you are right when you say that "the I, W, W boys found that an autonomous colony could not ~~exist~~ live in the midst of a State in which industrial relationship had to be fixed through some central authority" Precisely. But that gives your case away, dear Roger, and it strengthens our contention that the centralized bureaucracy made all endeavour impossible in Russia and to this day it is itself inefficient and incompetent to build up Russia. That is the crux of the whole situation.

I shall be very glad if the Kuzbas venture is really succeeding, but until I would see it I should certainly have my doubts about it. I do not mean to imply that you are not absolutely dependable, or even your friends. I am the last to credit people who disagree with me with lack of veracity. But I know the deadly censorship of the Dictatorship and I know that nothing of an official nature can come out which contains facts. Therefore I am rather dubious about the success of Kuzbas. No, you and your friends certainly did not use Kuzbas for Communist propaganda, but the Communists did in America and in Russia, as they use everything for propaganda. In that they excel us all, they are marvelous propagandists. They use the Red Relief, the United Front, the Relief for Russian scientists, the Famine, in short everything for their propaganda. That is how they manage to get under the skin of people. Jemison all over again, every one of the Communists. Yes, I dare say the articles in the Nation on Kuzbas were accurate and ~~not~~ disinterested, like Fischers articles, like everything that has appeared in the Nation about Russia. Why, Roger dear, the Nation was as false in behalf of Russia as the N. Y Times was and usually is false against Russia. Both have played a shameful part in misrepresenting the actual situation and in misleading the A. people. And I can prove that by merely taking the Soviet press and show by its own account of things in Russia how the Nation has covered up facts. I wish I had the time and means to do it, it would make a fine picture.

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We have a recent example of how Moscow can mesmerize people and how it can make them gloss over the most glaring facts in the report of the British Trade Union Delegation. They were there five weeks and brought out enough material for an encyclopedia. Yet not one word in the Report is actually true. At least if we are to believe Lunacharsky, Semashko, Rykov, or other leading Communists who in their articles in the Pravda and Izvestia completely refute most of the Trade Union report. I have compiled a pamphlet entirely from Soviet sources. It is now being published by my Committee. I will send you a copy. Compare the quotations from the various papers with the Report on the same subject and you will see why I have no faith in anything that appeared in the Nation. I know how things are prepared for the European and American palate. But enough of this.

I started to write this letter in Norwich and I am finishing it in Leeds. My stay in Norwich was very pleasant, the meeting splendid and our comrades one of the finest set I have met since I am in England. In Leeds the meeting was small and spiritless, perhaps due to the fact that there was an ad in "The Citizen" a Labour paper/several days before I arrived that "E. G. is the agent of British Imperialism and a traitor to the workers" So now you know who your friend is. I had the same accusations while in South Wales, that I am paid by the Mensheviks, that I am working for the Rothermere press. In short I am considered so valuable everywhere that I am being highly paid. Oh, yes, I forgot the ad. I referred to also stated that the Capitalist press in A is calling A, G back to teach anti Communism in the A, schools. Did you see anything about that in the A, press? It did appear in the A, Communist paper and was written by Engdahl. The miserable creature who inserted the ad is merely using Engdahl's stuff to make it appear that I am wanted back to teach anti Communism. Poor visionless, brainless people who will write such stuff. But of course, there are fools who will be influenced by such slander, hence the poor meeting but that is all in a days work.

Two weeks ago I was in South Wales. I must say I like the Welsh people better than the English I have met. They are more genuine, more responsive and have a fine spirit of hospitality. The condition of the miners especially in the Rhondda Valley is appalling, seven thousand out of work and those who work make barely enough to subsist on. The whole Valley is a dreadful dump with miles and miles of drab barracks where the miners live. It is a heart breaking picture. The Ammanfort Valley produces anthracite coal which seems to be better paid. Then too, the hills do not close in so crushingly, there are fine meadows and some expanse of country. And the miners have their own patch of land, at least most of them have. Much could be done in South Wales, no doubt everywhere in England, but it would require years and some income to awaken a movement away from the political parties. I have not so many years at my disposal and though I am "being paid" by every so many people, I have not the income to be relieved of material worry. And of course, I could not possibly accept a penny for lecture work, the poverty is altogether too great to charge fees. Well, the lecture season indoors is over and as I am not an outdoor speaker and have no faith in its effect, I will not lecture during the Summer. And I can make no plans for the autumn, my position is altogether too uncertain to make plans too long in advance. The Communists are trying hard enough to make the Foreign Office take steps in my case. They keep on pointing out that others have been deported while E, G is allowed to remain. Some of these days the Foreign Office may take the Communist suggestion and send me farther. But I am not worried about that.

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The last eight years have taught me to build my world on nothing and to be ready for every emergency.

There is however one thing I want to do and for which I would like your help. It is this; The Bolsheviks boast particularly of their achievements for the child and education. I want to compile a book entirely from Bolshevik sources to show up the truly terrible conditions of children in Russia to say, the huge number of destitute children. I am sure such a work would meet with an universal appeal and would be a greater indictment against the Dictatorship than even the material compiled by Don Levine and Berkman. The important thing is to get out multigraphed copies of part of the material and send them out to leading women all over the world for their endorsement and material support to get out a popular edition. Unfortunately the initial expenses will be high, probably as much as Berkman had to use for his work and that of his colleagues. For it will be necessary to do a lot of translations from various Soviet papers. Still I am very anxious to do the work because I think it is the best proof against the Moscow regime and will speak for itself. I have written some friends of mine in America to raise some money. Could you do anything in the matter? I do not mean personally. I mean do you know a few people sufficiently interested in such an undertaking to contribute? I do not want the project made public until it is carried out. But it will be alright for you to speak to a few people who are interested in the tragic faith of masses of children now forsaken by all and who would like to know the facts. If I can get part of the expenses raised in A, say six, seven hundred dollars, I could get some of the Russian revolutionists in London to raise some, between the two £1200 ought to be gotten together. Let me know by return mail if the venture appeals to you and if you will help. But I must know that as soon as possible. I can not start though I already have enough material from the Pravda and Izvestia to begin, but I must know if I can count on some material support to enable me to pay for translations as it is entirely too much for one person to do. Please, dear Roger do not delay as you always do in writing me, write me by return mail.

I may say, I am living in the house of an old revolutionist, Doris Weiss Zhok who is a fine translator. Until two weeks ago she worked as such in the Soviet Trade Mission. Evidently the Russian Teneka in London discovered that I am living there and that the work of the British Committee is done there. Anyway, Doris was dismissed from her post without reason of any sort. I feel quite guilty to having been the cause and would like to enable Doris to work with me on the proposed book about the condition of children in R. I could start her at once. But I must wait until I hear from the friends I have written to and from you.

Why should you have been surprised at the work being done. Did you not know that he was always very thorough and dependable. I hope the material will soon appear in book form.

I must close, my ribbon has gone to bits and I can get no other. I am always glad to hear from you dear Roger. Never mind if we do not agree. Good friendship consists in being able to disagree with our friends and to have faith in their sincerity and integrity.

Affectionately.

E. G.

Indicate the date of the letter in the margin

I had a use the old with which because of my the of the children.

Just does not mean that there is at it may be value. It merely means that the tragedy of children is a larger number.

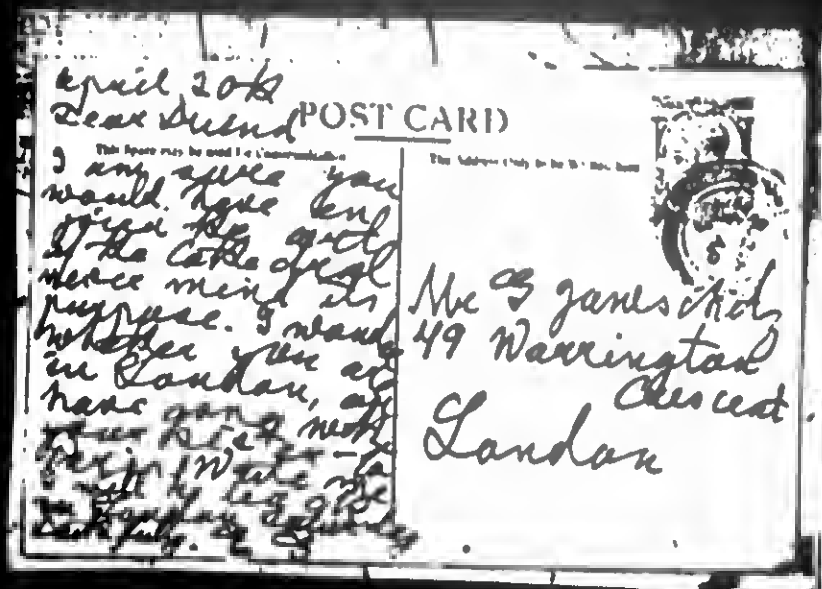
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880615007

[Postcard, 1925?] April 20 [London? to] G[abriel] Ja[vsicas], London / E[mma] G[oldman].— 1 p. ; 6 × 9 cm.

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870920254

[Letter, 1925] April 21 [London to Emma] Goldman, [London] / Juliet Soskice. —
1 p. ; 25 x 20 cm.
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Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

5061

Drayton Lodge

April 21st.

My dear Miss Goldman,

So many thanks for your letter, and-farewell for the present. I do hope we may be able to come to St Tropez in the Summer, but everything is so terribly uncertain these strange days. I hope the samovar may prove a success and provide you with many consoling cups of Tchai Kitaiski, and if ever you do come across that elusive brother of mine do please remind him that his relations in London are still alive. David is away in Belgrade or I'm sure he would send you all sorts of messages.

I'm sorry you found my country men and women so trying, because from the bottom of my heart I love them. Perhaps I should say as Touchstone said of Audrey: "They're foul but they're my own!" Anyway one can't only love perfection. I quite agree they are possessed of a certain pig-headed belief that they are capable of managing their own affairs best. They may be right. But, on the other hand if they are wrong and refuse to listen to advice then the only way is to let them go to perdition (if go they must) in their own sweet way.

It seems to me that to attempt to stem the immense and sinister tidal-wave, which appears to be advancing to engulf our whole civilisation, by reason, is as impossible as to stop the rush of a mad dog by making the sign of the cross over it. When men of science have come to devoting their energy and intellect to producing gasses one whiff of which will be sufficient to annihilate the complete population of a town, the time has arrived for us and our civilisation to pass out.

May something better arise from our ashes! Patchwork will only temporarily delay the final crash- unless God sends a miracle!

Nevertheless it does not prevent one from admiring the immense courage and devotion of those who are ready to fling themselves body and soul into the struggle for what they believe to be right. Your book impressed me immensely, especially the second part. It seems terrible that such boundless fearlessness and perseverance should have led to so little but disappointment. I thought the part about Russia particularly brilliant.

The growing belief in Bolshevism all over the world is appalling. Well, those whom the Gods wish to destroy they send mad! Perhaps the Moscow trial may be a bit of an eye-opener. A more striking display of the methods and mentality of the Soviet Powers could hardly be imagined.

Well, once again, good-bye for now. May we meet again before so very long.

With kindest regards

Yours very sincerely

Juliet Soskice..

The Emma Goldman Papers

880817034

[Letter] 1925 April 22, London [to Isaac] Don [Levine, Berlin] / E[mma] G[oldman].— 1 p ; 28 x 22 cm.

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Institutional Location: Levine Collection.

3, Titchfield Terrace.
St John's Wood Road.
London, N, W.8. April 22nd. 1925.

Dear Don. I learn through Sasha that you are difinitely going to America and that very soon. You are certainly a queere duck. Are you coming to England before you go to the States? And what is to become of the material Volodin is collecting? How am I to get it? I wish you would write me. Does it mean that Hearst has accepted your proposition of a page for the Jews? What about your book, have you heard from Curtiss Brown or Fischer? I am tremendously interested in all these things so you had better write.

I am going back to London Saturday, Tuesday next I go to Manchester and the 30th I leave Manchester for Bristol where I will be until the fourth of ~~April~~ May. I think it will be a shame if you go to the States without runing over to London. The weather is much better so you will not freeze. But unless you can come when I am in London to take care of you, since you seem to need care, I am not concerned whether you come or not. You see how selfish we all are.

In any event I expect to hear from you as soon as possible, I want to know what about the material from Volodin You paid him for a month did you? And are you arranging with him what he is to do about the stuff he is copying? Please be sure to write.

Faithfully.

EG

Affectionate greetings to Mary, how will she bear up under her tragic lot of remaining a ~~st~~aw widow?

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The Emma Goldman Papers

880817035

[Letter] 1925 April 23 [New York to] Emma [Goldman, London] / M[ichael] A. C[ohn].— 1 p. ; 28 × 22 cm.

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Institutional Location: Levine Collection.

April 23, 1925.

Dear Emma:-

I am writing this in haste, but thought I might as well utilize the few minutes' time I have to spare to answer your kind letter of April 3d.

I don't blame you a bit for being depressed. Black reaction seems to run rampant all over the civilized world, but I believe it is worse in the Anglo-Saxon countries than anywhere else. There is a stupendous amount of work to be done here in this country, as well as in England. Unfortunately we are lacking both funds, as well as workers. Under the circumstances, what else was there to be expected than bitter disappointment; all along your tour thru the English Islands.

As to your idea of publishing a book about the Children of Russia, there is no question it would be extremely interesting and instructive. Unfortunately, however, the way things stand now, I do not believe any book on Russia would meet with any kind of success at the present time. Anyway, it's not to be thought of before we see what is going to happen to Sasha's book and to the book about to be published by Baldwin. The market is overflooded with books on Russia. There seems to prevail nothing but apathy on the part of the general public towards anything Russian.

I presume you know that Rudolph intends to come here in September for a tour thru the U.S. and Canada. Personally I am expecting great results from this next Winter. Should our comrades bestir themselves a bit because of his presence here, there are hopes that we will be able to do many things.

Your letter to Nettlau is extremely interesting. I have read it to a number of comrades, and have just written Nettlau a long letter.

With hearty greetings, I am

Cordially and Sincerely yours,

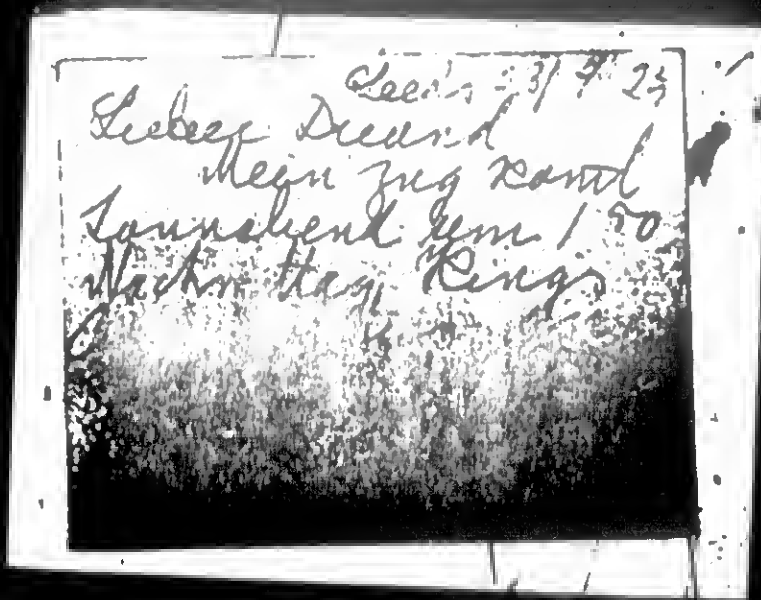
MGC

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880615005

[Letter] 1925 April 23, Leeds [England to Gabriel Javicas, London] / [Emma Goldman]. — 1 p. ; 6 × 7 cm.

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870924378

[Letter] 1925 April 26 [London to] Josiah C. Wedgwood, [London] / [Emma Goldman].— 1 p. ; 20 × 16 cm.

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Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

8, Fitzfield Terrace,
Regent's Park, N.W.8.

16442

26th April, 1925.

Dear Colonel Wedgwood,

I received your letter of the 14th instant, before I left for Norwich, and knowing that you, too, have left London, I delayed answering it. Needless to say, your name was omitted from the pamphlet.

You ask: "When, where was I summoned, or did I forget all about it?" I have before me a letter from you, dated February 8th, which was a reply to my letter of Feb. 5th, thanking you for your encouragement in my work on Russia and asking you whether you will let us use your name on our Committee. This is what your letter contains: "I am with you over the prisoners, but I haven't 10/- on me at the moment - so you may borrow my name and expect the 10/-". It was therefore with your permission that your name was put on our Committee. It was my hope that you would, though a very busy man, be able to give a little of your valuable time to the work my Committee is doing for the political prisoners in Russia. But, during my last visit at your house, you made it clear that you could not possibly devote any time whatever to the movement against the continued political persecution in Russia. This explains, why my Committee did not burden you with frequent reports of their doings and also why you were not asked to attend the meeting at which the Committee decided to publish the forthcoming pamphlet. There certainly was no intention on the part of the Committee or myself to abuse your "good nature", still less to use you as "a drawing shop window lay figure". We all think too much of you and of the sacred right of personal liberty to make light with anyone's name.

My Committee is preparing a full report of all that has been done since our first meeting in South Place Institute. As soon as it is published, together with the financial statement, a copy will be sent to you, so that you may be able to judge for yourself, whether the activities of the Committee is deserving of your co-operation. Of course, we will also send you a copy of the pamphlet.

Yours sincerely,

Col. JOSIAH C. WEDGWOOD, M.P.
12, Beaumont House,
Chelsea, S.W.8.

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The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1925 April 28 [Berlin to] E[mma] G[oldman, London] / [Isaac] Don [Levine]. — 1 p. ; 14 × 22 cm.

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16040

April 28, 1925.

Dear E.G.-

Having your schedule, I hope to be able to drop in^{to} London before my departure so as to see you and talk matters over. The S. Fischer Verlag has definitely refused to publish the book. Not a word from Curtis Brown. On account of the Hindenburg election, I think no liberal publisher will touch the book here. It will be necessary to raise funds in order to finance its translation and publication. I cannot raise such funds in Germany or France or England. I still have one prospect in Europe, and will try to exploit it before crossing over. If it fails, America is the only hope ~~of~~ for the financing of the publication of the book. From all of which you might conclude that your opinion as to my being a "quack duck" (which I took as a pleasant jest) was a bit wrong.

I sent you some stuff last week on the Children. Volodin will mail you at the end of this week another batch of material. He will continue the work afterwards too, hoping however that your Auxiliary Committee will pay him for it. (I enclose his receipt for my contribution.) It is my suggestion that you should prepare a 64-page pamphlet at once on the Children and Education in Russia, so as to have it published by the time the latest Soviet Touring Party (consisting of British women exclusively) returns to report on the blessing of Soviet education. I think you could raise the necessary fund for that. It would help you in preparing the larger book, which could not be published before November at best.

Writing this in a terrific hurry. Am going to Paris, where my address is Hotel Astra, rue Caumartin. Love from Mary.

Cordially Don

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The Emma Goldman Papers

870916239

[Letter] 1925 April 28 [New York to] Emma Goldman, London / [W.S.] Van [Valkenburgh]. — 3 p. ; 28 x 21 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the International Institute of Social History.
Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

10708

April 28, 1925.

Dear Old Girl of Mine:

I suppose you have received my note enclosing some carbon copies of your letter to Nettlau by this time. I could not write you at length then because I was quite busy, but now I have a little more time at my disposal.

You will probably smile at Mencken's preachment on the Two Wasted Lives which appeared in a syndicated article which he writes for the Sunday World each week.

The aggravating part of Mencken's vitriol is the unusual versatility of the man. He has that feline capacity for torture before he cures or destroys. Of course, Mencken is a consistent individualist, quite as uncompromising as those of whom he writes in this particular instance, and I think he may be forgiven for his paternalistic opening lines for the after-tribute which he pays. However, I do think he might have been less harsh considering the public to whom he addresses his article. Readers of the World, do not as a rule, go through a whole story from beginning to end and the first impression is very likely to prove the last.

I think Mencken is much to be admired and I am not entirely out of sympathy with his views on the mob. If you will recall, we have had a number of little tilts on the question of the worthwhileness of trying to save those who would devour their Saviours.

In his closing paragraph he says something about you that I have never before seen in public print and in saying it he makes a broad statement, the truth of which does not make it the less difficult to advance. I only hope that he follows it up in a subsequent issue of the American Mercury where he can speak more freely and say what he thinks with less likelihood of censorship.

Your letter of the fifth brings me back to other days when our correspondence was not punctuated by the long intervals which have recently marred our contact. You have not changed and Huebsch is surely right in the remark of your being a carbon copy of your former self. But who would want a new Emma Goldman? Synthetic concoctions are never

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10709

real and I see between the lines unmistakable evidence that nothing has daunted you despite the agonies through which you have gone since leaving America.

Incidental to Huebsch's remarks, I heard him speak a few evenings ago at a memorial meeting arranged to commemorate the work of Charles Zubelin who died last year in Zurich. What he said may be gathered from the enclosed copy of a letter I am sending him, and while it will probably result in no change in his attitude toward your manuscript, it at least should act as a check-up on something which looks very much to me like inconsistency.

Of course, Emma, you must appreciate the popular view regarding your repudiation of the Soviets. "The truth about the Bolsheviki" is remembered. In fact, a large mass of the people has not been permitted to forget it because it has been used against your present attitude, despite the fact that it is humanly impossible to foresee the consequences of future events.

The fact that an Anarchist can have no reverence for any form of Government is not permitted, in articles regarding Emma Goldman's attitude, to interfere with the misrepresentation that you once espoused the cause of the Bolsheviks and have now repudiated it. Unfortunately, the opinion is current that you are another Maria Monk who, escaping from the Soviet Convent now expose their priestly practices. Your championing the Revolution in the interests of the Russian people is entirely obliterated by the subsequent fact that you denounced the Soviet Government. All too few can distinguish between a people and a Government. Only posterity will understand!

Indeed, the Communist are a bad gang, drunk or sober. They have disgraced themselves in New York on numerous recent occasions and I am sure it takes more than courage to stand up before such a band under any conditions and attempt to point out the errors of their ways. Sometimes it seems to me that your courage is wantonly wasted for a people do not seem to want to be saved and the deeper they are in the mire, the more repugnant friendliness becomes to them. I am sure that your future work lies along literary endeavors.

I do not know whatever gave you the impression that some rich old relative had just croaked and left me a gold mine. There may be some old geezers in my family with gold mines, but I am mighty sure that if this be true they are either too mean to die or too stingy to leave whatever they have this side of the bone yard. If it should ever happen that I run into a gold mine, I would let you know, young lady, and I might put you on a retainer - who knows? But - wait until I lay hands on that bank roll!

I have spoken with Stella over the telephone and I expect to see her, either this week or next. Much to my surprise, she is still living in Grove Street so I will have no trouble in finding her.

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10710

Now the next thing to helping you in any substantial way is any assistance I might be able to render in getting material together. I understand that the distance between us is a monumental barrier, but if the person who wrote your last letter on the typewriter is a sample of the stenographic ability available in Wales or England, you might at least be glad to get some decent looking typing and if you cannot do better than this, write me in long hand because the spelling is abominable, the typing an eye sore and the whole thing hardly seems to have come from you.

There may be some little things procurable in America that you find difficult in securing in England. If there are, let me know and I will see what I can do to get them for you.

There is so little of dependable information available regarding European conditions here that I feel quite incompetent to intelligently discuss anything affecting the radical movement abroad. In America, of course, everything is perfectly flat. Sentiment is nil and the mass spirit is at a very low ebb.

I feel quite helpless to touch upon your personal problem because sympathy and sentiment are so penniless and one just has to work out one's own material affairs in almost any way the situation permits. We all have problems like that and I appreciate that yours is a most anxious one.

Perhaps I can gather more from Stella when I see her and write a little more interestingly in my next, until then try to think well of an old friend.

Sincerely,

Miss Emma Goldman,
3 Titohfield Terrace,
St. John's Wood Road,
London, N. W. 8.

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The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1925 April 28 [New York to] Emma Goldman, London / [W.S.] Van [Valkenburgh]. — 3 p. ; 28 × 21 cm.

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Sincerely,



Miss Emma Goldman,
3 Titohfield Terrace,
St. John's Wood Road,
London, N. W. 8.

800

The Emma Goldman Papers

851025015

[Letter] 1925 April 29 [London to] Emma Goldman, [London] / [H. Matheson].—
1 p.; 30 × 21 cm.
Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the University of Reading Library. Institutional Location: Lady Astor Collection.

29th April, 1925.

Dear Madam,

Lady Astor has asked me to write to you on her behalf to say that she has been very anxious to meet you, and was hoping that you might perhaps have been able to come to lunch here one day. She has just been summoned unexpectedly abroad to a friend who is in trouble in the south of France, and does not expect to be back in London before about a fortnight. She wonders whether you are likely to be still in London by that time and whether you would perhaps care to come and have a talk with her here at lunch one day. She would very greatly appreciate it.

Yours faithfully,

Political Secretary.

Miss Emma Goldman,
3, Fitzfield Terrace,
St. John's Wood, N.W.

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The Emma Goldman Papers

870925173

[Letter] 1925 April 29 [London to] Emma Goldman, [London] / H. Matheson. —
1 p. ; 21 × 16 cm.
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Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

4, ST JAMES' SQUARE,
S.W. 1.

19th April, 1925.

Dear Madam,

Lady Astor has asked me to write to you on her behalf to say that she ~~has~~ has been very anxious to meet you, and was hoping that you might perhaps have been able to come to lunch here one day. She has just been summoned unexpectedly abroad to a friend who is in trouble in the south of France, and does not expect to be back in London before about a fortnight. She wonders whether you are likely to be still in London by that time and whether you would perhaps care to come and have a talk with her here at lunch one day. She would very greatly appreciate it.

Yours faithfully,

H. Matheson

Political Secretary.

Miss Emma Goldman,
3, Titchfield Terrace,
St. John's Wood, N.W.

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The Emma Goldman Papers

861114063

[Letter, 1925 April 29] London [to] E[mma] G[oldman, London] / [Charles Wright] T[h]om[as].— 1 p.; 26 x 20 cm.

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Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

5220

London,
Wednesday.

Dear E. G.:

Thanks for your letter. I'm glad you've found Norwich the best. I thought perhaps I was prejudiced in it, owing to the fact that Sir Thomas Browne, one of my favorite prose writers, lived there. I think, too, that the people in the East Midlands are not quite as "Londoner"; there's a mixture of English and Celtic in that part of the country.

Thanks for the letter about Crystal Palace's collection. I told a Flakin wants to ask me to take to him, since he is remaining in Paris. If you send her money to me at Oxford as soon as you can, I'll send it to you.

In your position, I mean, I accepted Wisconsin's offer of an assistantship for next year. I believe in Texas offered me an Assistant Professorship at a higher salary, but nine hundred dollars a year to live on; and I want to be in a place where I can study and not be quite out of it all the time.

As usual to see "Theater and the Actor" tonight, last night at the "Theater" one, but I haven't seen any reviews. Tomorrow I'll take a last look at the book and then I'll go to Oxford.

Good luck and a happy time.

Yours,

Tommy

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The
Emma
Goldman
Papers

A Microfilm Edition

Reel 14

Correspondence:

October 1, 1924 to April 30, 1925

Edited by

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and

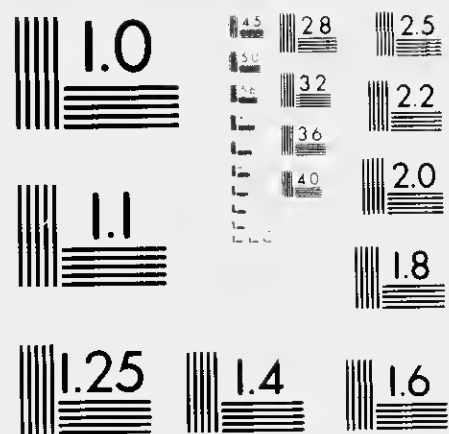
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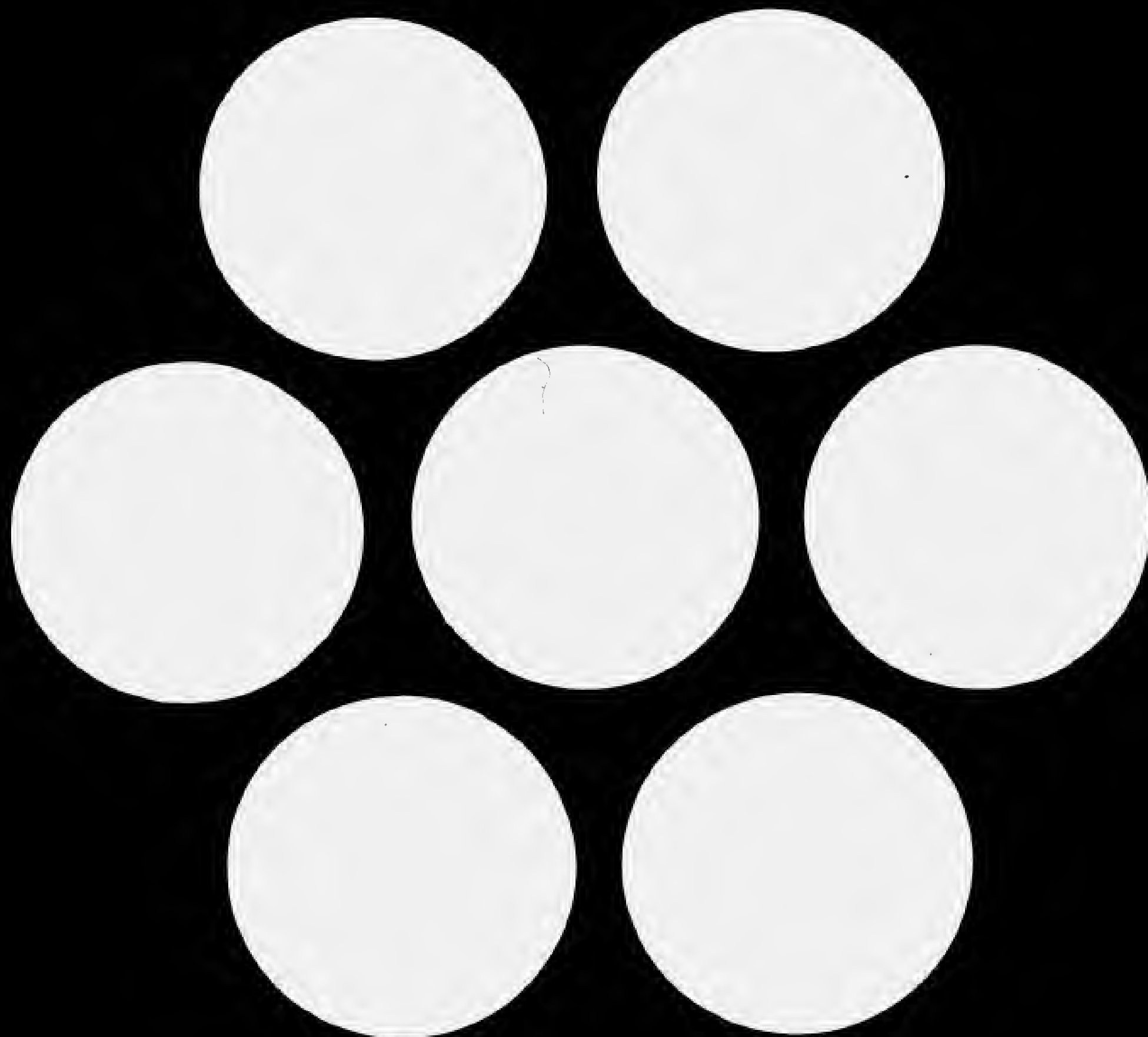
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